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The Gospel Sounds like the Witches' Spell Ethnographic Accounts of Jopadhola, Eastern Uganda

Kiyoshi UMEYA

I. Introduction

This paper attempts to examine why some people can insist on magical explanations developed by local communities for incidents with perfectly reasonable justifications, and why an explanatory discourse in local communities has explanatory power. As an example, I will describe the case of famous death from modern Ugandan history under the regime of tyrant Idi Amin. There are various explanations for the cause of the victim's death, even though the most obvious one is that it was ordered by then-President Idi Amin Dada.¹ According to the estimation by the exile organisation with the help of Amnesty International, during his reign, Amin is said to have killed almost 3,00,000 to 5,00,000 people without reason or sufficient explanation. While the victim discussed in this paper had a good reason to be

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killed in a certain political context, people in his hometown of Tororo District in Eastern Uganda circulated many different explanations, including that he was cursed by the dead.

II. Political History

Gold Scandal and Obote

Our protagonist of this paper is Arphaxad Charles Kole Oboth-Ofumbi (1932–1977), who will be hereafter referred to as ACK (**Fig. 1**).² Upon graduating from the prestigious King’s College in Budo, ACK, aspired to study theology at Makerere College, a premier school in East Africa. However, his academic career was brought to an end by his father’s early death. ACK got his first job at the Bukedi Cooperative Union, where he worked under director, James Silas Malilo Ondo Ochoa (1924–1972), was a fellow clansman who belonged to Jopadhola, ACK’s native ethnic group.³ Ochoa features as a prominent character in this narrative, and we will come back to him later.

ACK was also famous as the author of the first ethnography of the Adhola people, published with support from superiors who were close friends to his father. After his stint with the union, ACK joined local administration and eventually moved on to the central government. In 1960, ACK was appointed Assistant Commissioner of the Acholi and Lango Districts. ACK went on to become Commissioner of Acholi, and it was during this term that he was fortunate enough to meet Prime Minister Apollo Milton Obote (1925–2005), who led Uganda through independence.⁴ Soon after, ACK was appointed as Secretary to the Prime Minister’s Office and subsequently held the post of Permanent Secretary. The last appointment by Obote’s government was that of Secretary of Defence (**Fig. 2**).

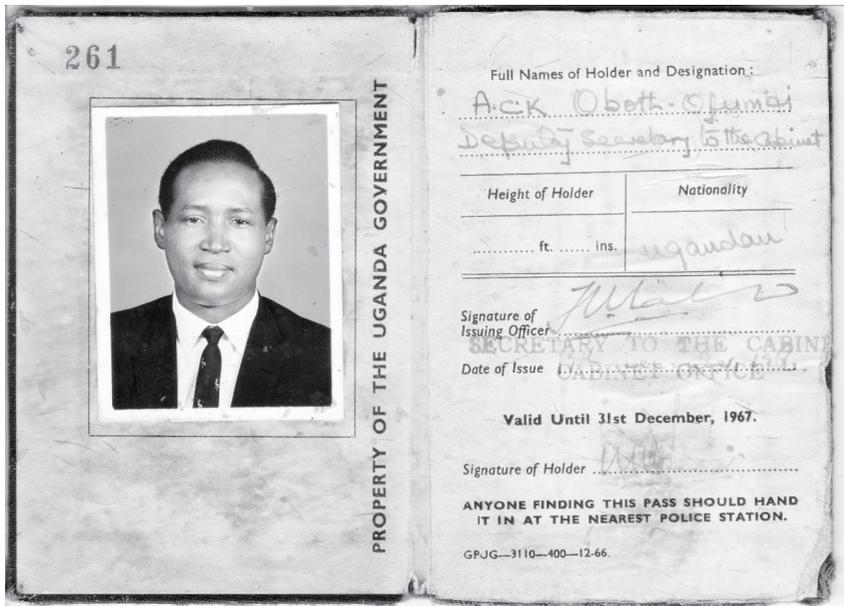


Fig.1 Identity card of A.C.K. Oboth-Ofumbi ©the Ofumbi family

A significant political crisis that rocked Uganda was the Gold Scandal of 1966. The Congolese civil war had been intensifying since 1964. Prime Minister Obote, who believed that former Prime Minister Moise Kapenda Thsombe (1919–1969) had been bribed by the Western front, was secretly supporting the rebels. The US-Soviet Cold War was intensifying, and both West and East Africa, whether socialist or liberalist, were heavily involved. The key player in all of this, who was secretly gaining power while supporting the Congolese rebels, was Idi Amin, then a colonel in the Ugandan Army.

The accusation was brought forth in the parliament by Daudi Ochieng (1925–1967), an MP and Secretary General of the Kabaka Yekka party. As evidence, Ochieng submitted proof of a fund deposit from Idi Amin’s bank

account to the Parliament, proving that Amin was smuggling gold, ivory, and coffee from eastern Congo. Ochieng also voiced suspicion that the bribe was being shared among four people, including the Prime Minister.

At the time of making the accusation, Obote was not in the country. Soon after his return, however, on 22nd February 1966, he was arrested along with five cabinet ministers and imprisoned without a trial. On 26th February, Amin's designation changed from Colonel to Military Commander. On 3rd March, the president of Kabaka was forced to resign, and the constitution was suspended. On April 15, Amin led the military in a siege against the National Assembly, forcing all opposition members to withdraw. An interim constitution was imposed, and Obote claimed the Office of the President.



Fig.2 Idi Amin and ACK ©the Ofumbi family

Political power was largely suppressed under the interim constitution, with President Obote holding all the power. On 24th May, Amin's armed forces attacked the palace of King of Buganda, Kabaka (*kabaka* means king) Mutesa II (formally known as Major General Sir Edward Frederick W. David Walugembe Mutebi Luwangula Muteesa II KBE) (1924–1969). Kabaka narrowly escaped but was forced into exile.⁵

Amin's Regime

The Obote government gradually leaned towards the leftist socialist policies of neighbouring Tanzania, which was led by President Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922–1999). Obote himself called this leaning the 'movement to the left'. Concerned Western nations tried to escape Obote's policies and helped his opposition. On 25th January 1971, while Obote was attending to business at the Commonwealth Congress in Singapore, General Amin led armed forces on a coup and took over.

Following the coup, the military government was undecided on whether it would eventually allow civilian governance. Although the ideals of the West looked promising, there was fear of isolation given that Amin was a Muslim. While this would strengthen relationships with Islamic Middle Eastern countries such as Gaddafi's Libya, it would eventually isolate Uganda from the international community.

Under the constitution made by former president Obote, power was originally concentrated in the hands of the president. Amin revealed his dictatorship. Amin, known as the Hitler of Africa, is said to have executed or secretly killed a large number of civilians, including celebrities, without trials. Amnesty International has estimated 3,00,000 to 4,00,000 victims.

In the absence of war, the disappearance of 3,00,000 ordinary civilians is unbelievable.

Before the coup, Amin often worked with ACK, who was the Secretary of Defence. After Amin's government was established, ACK was initially appointed as Minister of State for Defence (1971), and subsequently as full Minister of Defence (1971–1973), Minister of Finance (1974–1976), Minister of Internal Affairs (1974–1977). When President Amin went abroad, ACK also served as acting President (1972). However, he died on 16th February 1977 while he held the office of Minister of Internal Affairs.

Amin's ethnic background was complex. He was born to a Kakwa father and a Lugbara mother, among a Ugandan sect known as Nubians. Nubians were Muslims from South Sudan who came from a long line of Islamic people who transcended normal ethnic boundaries. Amin actively promoted religious activities as a Muslim while suppressing other religions. He also committed genocide in the military against Acholi or Langi people, who belonged to the similar (although not the same) ethnicity as Obote.

While religious balance was maintained among ministers during the cabinet's inauguration, the Muslim majority steadily increased, and by August 1977, fourteen out of twenty-one ministers on Amin's cabinet were Muslim. Amin blatantly oppressed other religions. When the Christian Church Foundation was fundraising for its centennial event, he criticized the church for making money. Amin even attended the Catholic church ceremony in full Arabian garb and blocked Christmas-related radio broadcasts.

To eradicate his political opponents, in addition to religious targeting, Amin set up a secret police force called the State Research Bureau (SRB). He openly warned that he could not guarantee the security of a celebrity at a

September 1972 cabinet meeting (Kyemba 1977: 116). Among Amin's alleged victims are former Prime Minister and Chief Justice Benedicto Kagimu Mugumba Kiwanuka (1922–1972) and Francis Kalemera Kalimuzo, popularly known as Frank Kalimuzo (1925–1973) who served as Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University, Minister of Finance, and Governor of Bank of Uganda.

Uganda's international relations continued to sever. Amin cut diplomatic ties with Russia by November 1975, followed by Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo) in December 1975, and the United Kingdom in July 1976. He abolished four English newspapers in November 1973 and completely banned foreign magazines in June 1974. Meanwhile, Obote waited for an opportunity to strike back, with support of Tanzanian President Nyerere, with whom he had planned several failed assassination attempts.

*Archbishop Luwum murder case*⁶

A day before the incident that led to the ACK's death, a 'kangaroo court' (a military trial that is considered a sham) was held at Nile Mansion (now a luxury hotel in Uganda) where Amin had an office. An accusation (possibly fabricated) was made by Amin against Archbishop Janani Jakaliya Luwum,⁷ of having accepted weapons from Obote. The following day, it was publicly announced that Luwum had died in a car accident along with the Minister of Mineral Water Resources, Erinayo Wilson Oryema (1917–1977), and ACK, who was the Minister of Internal Affairs. The accident was mentioned in the official statement by the government's spokesperson. Uganda's state-owned *Radio Uganda* at 10:00 a.m. on 17 February 1977 reported:

.....The government spokesperson made public condolence concerning the death of Minister Erinayo Wilson Oryema of Land, Mineral, and Water Resources, Interior Minister Charles Oboth-Ofumbi, and Archbishop Janani Luwum of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Boga-Zaire. It appears that they have died due to involvement in a car accident occurred [sic] in Kampala yesterday. The three were in the process of being taken from Kampala International Convention Center, with Major Moses driving, on the charge of being involved in a plan to plunge our country into chaos. According to a spokesperson, the three attempted to escape and assaulted Major Moses, leading to a collision. Major Moses was brought to the hospital and is presently in an unconscious state.....⁸

Coverage of the incident appeared as front-page news on 17th February in *Voice of Uganda*, a government newspaper:

..... After the sad news of the motor accident in which former cabinet ministers: Erinayo Oryema and Oboth Ofumbi and the late Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Boga Zaire, the Most Rev. Janan Luwum died, the Vice President and Minister for defence Gen. Mustafa Adrisi now also holding the portfolio of Minister of Internal Affairs immediately requested for post-mortem examination to be carried out on the bodies of the deceased.

The place of death of the three deceased was Nakasero on Feb. 16, 1977, and at around 5.15 p.m. EAT. The presumed cause of death on the police form was fatal accident following head on collision between a

Toyota car and a Range Rover.

On arrival of the bodies of the deceased at the hospital, post mortem examination was done and the medical officer gave his detailed reports or findings on each of the deceased on Police Form 48B and in triplicate.’ Report on late Erinayo Oryema: ‘..... the post-mortem revealed a fractured skull involving mainly the left side of his face. There were also bruises on the abdomen and the chest [which] was found completely crashed. Cause of death: Extensive damage because of fractured skull and internal bleeding’ . Report on late Charles Oboth Ofumbi: ‘..... there was bleeding from the nose, ears and a fractured left forearm. The medical examination also found out that there was intra-cranial bleeding, ruptured middle cerebral artery Cause of death: Intra-cranial bleeding due to internal brain damage’ . Report on the late Archbishop Janan Luwum: ‘..... there were bruises on his thighs, abdomen, chest and forehead. It was found out that there was extensive damage to the liver and gross damage to the lung. Cause of death: Ruptured liver and lung’ .⁹

The article described how Obote’s plan to get his minions to commit genocide had been foiled. A photograph of the accident was also included, around which there was much suspicion (**Fig. 3, Fig. 4**). One of the two cars in the collision was a Range Rover, a car Amin had been seen driving for several weeks (Kyemba 1977: 191).

There are several theories of why Amin had to kill all three people. According to Henry Kyemba (1939–), a cabinet minister at the time, the incident was in response to Operation Thunderbolt, a recent incident at Entebbe Airport where a successful counter-terrorist hostage-rescue mission

was carried out by Israeli Defense commandos against Ugandan forces. According to Kyemba, Amin was keen to restore his authority and wanted those who had offended him killed (Kyemba 1977: 179, Umeya 2018a: 519–532).

Operation Thunderbolt began with the high-jacking of Air France's Flight 139 by Palestinian guerrillas immediately after take-off at Athens Airport. Terrorists landed the plane at Uganda's Entebbe airport and took passengers, hostage, as they demanded the release of forty convicted terrorists. The Israeli Air Force raided Entebbe Airport for over 24 hours from 3rd to 4th July, recapturing hostages. They eventually released all but three passengers who died from



Fig.3 *Drum* reporting the 'plotted' accident¹⁰

misfires and another who was hospitalized. Yonatan Netanyahu (1963–1976), the sole victim from the Israeli Air Force and elder brother of Israel’s current Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, is considered a national hero in Israel.

In addition, Kyemba provides some more specific reasons for the death of ACK. ACK was familiar with the 1960’s Gold Scandal as Secretary of Defence and had also served as a Minister of Defence, Interior Minister, and Finance Minister. In other words, ‘he was a man who knew too much and was not trusted enough to be kept alive’. A noteworthy fact is that ACK had been ousted from the cabinet in 1973 and was openly dissatisfied with his relegation ever since. There have been several reports of ACK’s dissatisfaction (Kyemba 1977:179, Umeya 2016, 2018a: 519-532).

Another suggested motive is that Amin, who had overspent mosque construction funds received from Saudi Arabia, knew that a large sum of money was coming from the United Kingdom to Archbishop Janani Luwum



Fig. 4 Range Rover UVW082 allegedly broken at the accident¹¹

for the commemoration ceremony of the 100th anniversary of the church. He demanded this money from Luwum and was refused. Theories suggest that Amin initially sent Oryema to negotiate with Luwum, and then ACK, but when they both failed, he decided to kill everyone involved (Seftel 1994: 176).

It is surprising to find reports of ACK's loyalty to Amin (Onen 2000); however, they are widely doubted. ACK and Obote were both from the same Nilotic ethnic group and also dedicated Protestants. In 1972, James Silas Malilo Ondoa Ochola, the first minister of the state from Jopadhola, a relative of ACK, and a minister who worked for Obote, suddenly disappeared.

III. ACK's Hometown

Attempting to uncover the truth, the author visited ACK's native Kisoko County. ACK lived in Nyamalogo village, while his father's grave is in Korobudi village. At ACK's residence, the author was surprised to find a cross almost three metres high, with electric lights, standing in the middle of the savannah amid an expansive plantation of cassava, coffee and sugarcane (**Fig. 5**). ACK's family members' marble tombs were also visited, which the author felt were out of place in their surroundings (Umeya 2016, 2018a: 519–565, 2019b).

ACK's two-story brick mansion is located a few kilometres from the grave, on a hill. The property stands next to a brick chapel and is equipped with a large water tank (**Fig. 6**). While land seemed to be scarce for others, ACK owned approximately 5,000 acres of land that was encircled by a barbed-wire fence.

An electric wire ran through the property, which was drawing current directly from the nearest substation in the downtown area of Tororo,

almost 20 kilometres away. Now defunct runways for helicopters and small aeroplanes, and a petrol station and a garage were also seen. The house seemed to be well-equipped with surprisingly modern facilities.

Recently, a music video featuring musicians Lucky Dube and Bob Mary was filmed at that location. The song features names of several politicians and lyrics include lines like 'Death doesn't discriminate', 'Obote who made the first government died, everyone afraid of Amin also died', and 'Death was announced, even to ACK who sunk to wealth'. ACK is referenced in the lyrics as a person who was drowned by his own wealth.



Fig. 5 Tombstone of Semu K. Ofumbi, at Korobudi ©the Ofumbi family

Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me kiyer!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3

Jowotan tho me kiyer! Tho rach!
Rast David ma oido amaro jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer!
Odoi Asooka oido amaro jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer!
Obbo Jackson oido amaro jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer!
Jowotan tho me kiyer! Tho rach!!!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me kiyer!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me kiyer! Tho rach!
Obote mo'chako adhumi jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer!
Amin Dada ma oido jijye jolworo jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer!
Sadam Hussein ma jijye jo woro! Jye tho me neko! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Tho rach!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me kiyer!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me kiyer! Tho rach!
Lucky Dube ma' oido ageno jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer!
Tho Onekoran Paulo Kafeero ma oido ageno! Tho me kiyer!
Bob Maley ma' oido ageno jye tho neko! tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me rach!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me kiyer!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me kiyer! Tho rach!
Oboth Ofumbi ma jijye jo lworo jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer!
Bishop Okoth Dhano pa' were jye tho neko! Tho me kiyer!
Odongo Abiriga ma oido ageno jye tho me neko! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Jowotan tho me rach!
Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer! X 3
Nyithindho mowan!
Kinigi chemo ma oido ikano inyalo chamo tho me kiyer! Tho rach!

Pesa ma oido ikwoko inyalo oro tho me kiyer! Tho me rach!

Medho ma oido ikwoko inyalo madho tho me kiyer! Tho rach! X 3

Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer!

Tho me! Tho me kiyer! Nyithindho mowan! Tho me kiyer!

[This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My people, this death is not selective!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My people, this death is not selective! Death is bad!

Rast David whom I loved most was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Odoi Asooka whom I loved most was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Obbo Jackson whom I loved most was also killed by death! This death is not selective! X 3

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My people, this death is not selective! Death is bad!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My people, this death is not selective! Death is bad!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My people, this death is not selective! Death is bad!

Even Obote who began governance of this country was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Even Amin Dada whom people totally feared, was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Even Saddam Hussein whom people totally feared, was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Death is bad!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My people, this death is not selective!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My people, this death is not selective! Death is bad!

Luky Dube whom I loved most was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Death killed Paul Kafeero whom I loved most! Death is not selective!

Bob Maley whom I loved most was also killed by death! Death is not selective!

My friends, death is bad!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My friends, death is not selective!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My friends, death is not selective! Death is bad!

Even Oboth-Ofumbi whom people totally feared, was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Even Bishop Okoth, people's favourite was also killed by death! This death is not selective!

Odongo Abiriga whom I loved most, was also killed by death! This death is not selective! X 3

My people (Kinsmen)! This death is bad!

This Death! This death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective! X 3

My brothers!

If you have food that you had stored, you may eat it, this death is not selective! Death is bad!

The money that you had kept, you can use this death is not selective! Death is bad!

The booze that you had stored, you may drink, this death is not selective! Death is bad! X 3

This Death! Death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective!

This Death! Death is not selective! My people (Kinsmen)! This death is not selective!]

(O.M.C. *Tho me kiyeri*)

When I first attempted to visit Nyamalogo village, people tried to dissuade me from going. They warned me about death, claiming I could be a victim like others who were dying in threes, one of them was killed by snakebites. Consecutive death, it was said, lurked everywhere, and one of ACK's uncles was also an alleged snakebite victim. While some accounts of death by snakebite were true, an interview with ACK's son revealed that the alleged uncle was not even a relative (Umeya 2016, 2018a: 519–565).



Fig. 6 The mansion of the late ACK in Nyamalogo, Tororo ©the Ofumbi family

IV. The Autochthonous Interpretation

Okumu's Ghost (tipo)

There are many different suggested reasons for ACK's death. The local community believed that both ACK and his father were killed by *tipo* (a ghost, particularly a person who was killed) of a dead man called Okumu. Others believed that ACK's death was a result of a *lam* (curse) by an elder of the Lori clan. There are also theories that asserting the *tipo* was the spirit of Ochola, a former minister of the state who was not only related to ACK but also belonged to his Jopadhola ethnic group.¹²

In the local culture, elders are said to use powers to punish disrespectful juveniles. An understanding of some local terms is necessary before we can proceed any further. A *tipo* is the spirit of someone who was killed, while a *chien* is resentful spirit that harms people. A *lam* is a curse while a *jajwok* is a witch and can also mean someone who performs anti-social wickedness, attempts poisoning, goes out and dances at night, such as the night dancers of Uganda, or as they more commonly are known in Africa, night runners. A *jathieth* is a diviner, a traditional spellcaster, or a person who was once haunted and still has the ability to connect with the spirit world. While *yikiroki* is the first step in a burial ceremony, a *lumbe* is a funeral ceremony to forget the dead in the final stages of the funeral. *Okelo* is a ceremony honouring the dead whose performance was outstanding. *Kunu* is a ritual site for ancestral clan sacrifices. The *kwor* is a hostility arising from occasions such as homicides and generally takes many years to compensate and reconcile, and can only be resolved through a 'bone bite' ceremony. Customs dictate that *kwor* outcasts are to be completely shunned; people were forbidden from talking, meeting, eating, drinking or associating with them.

Semu K. Ofumbi, ACK's father, allegedly killed Okumu, a man who had stolen cassava from the church field during the 1944 famine. One of the caretakers of the church had found Okumu on the verge of digging cassava, and Ofumbi is said to have killed him on the spot (Fig. 7).

According to Adhola ontology, when someone is murdered, the victim's *tipo* is said to come to the sinner's house and haunt them. The *tipo* haunts not only the killer, but also first person that the sinner meets, the first space entered, the first person to find the dead body, and so on. The *tipo* is feared as terrifically powerful and religious parties have not found any means to exorcise them. People believe that once a *tipo* latches on, damage continues across generations.

.....*tipo* implies the meaning like the Japanese term, *kage*, which means 'shade' or 'shadow' in an ordinary context. *Tipó* indicates the vision on the surface of water or mirror, shade of the object by harsh light, persons one might encounter in the experience in dream and illusion, and also the dead men The person who is born with a strong *tipo* is highly likely to achieve realisation. In other words, such persons have the power of prophecy and 'curse'. *tipo* of persons who died with anger and resentment are greatly feared because they are spirits of the dead who follow the living and attempt to bring them to ruin (Abe 1989: 214-215).

Semu K. Ofumbi was 42 when he was pushed out of the church. When Ofumbi died four years later, he was found with a swollen stomach, typically seen in abnormal deaths caused by poisoning. Ofumbi was said to have

applied a medicine bag on his hips, and rumours suggest that a Christian belief made him leave to do this. One explanation links Ofumbi's tragic death to his Christian faith. An *okumu* is a child who is born despite his mother continuing to menstruate and is said to have mysterious powers. These anomalous births are said to be as special as twins, which are also considered unusual in most parts of Africa.

When ACK was killed in 1977 he was buried by the army, and as it turned out, the man who conducted his post-mortem examination was named Okumu. While this name is fairly common among Jopadhola and seems like a natural coincidence, people cannot help wonder if this was the work of Okumu's *tipo*.

A death like Okumu's would typically lead to a *kwor* relationship between victims and perpetrators. Such a relationship cannot be set to normal without fulfilment of compensation and the 'bone biting' ceremony. However, Okumu's Lamogi clan and Ofumbi did not have a 'bone bite' ceremony. Instead, Ofumbi was said to have received a second wife from Lamogi clan, and in the logic of outsiders of the barbed wire fence, it is considered to be the behaviour of a *jajwok* or a witch who would destroy the world's order. Christians do not have a 'bone biting' ceremony, and thus Ofumbi was considered cursed.

Chien

When an Adhola man is about to marry his first wife, the groom's father is supposed to gift a plot of land to his son so that he may build a hut for his wife. The father blesses the spot where the pillar of the hut will be, and this is also supposed to demarcate the spot where the man will eventually be

buried. Apparently, there was no such applicable spot for Ofumbi, a church worker who lived on rented land near the church. Ideally, it was impossible for him to be buried there. When ACK tried to negotiate a land deal with people who lived near the church, he was rejected. When a man is not buried in the right place, the door to *chien* or resentment is opened. The plot where ACK eventually buried his father did not belong to his father's party, but in fact, to his mother's community. From all angles, villagers consider ACK's father's gravesite unsuitable adding fuel to the *chien* theory.



Fig. 7 Semu Kole Ofumbi (c. 1904-1951), the second from the left

©the Ofumbi family

The famous Archdeacon Asanasio Malinga refused to perform the burial service on the grounds that by taking a second wife and committing murder,

Ofumbi had gone against the church. Nonetheless, Ofumbi's close friends Mika Omala, Saulo Okado, and other old colleagues from church conducted the burial ceremony with the help of volunteers.

While those on the other side of the barbed wire fence commonly argue that Ofumbi's body should be reburied as he wasn't buried in the right place, even people who lived inside the fence wanted to do so, they failed to have rebuild tombs in the right places. ACK reconstructed his father's grave when he was the Secretary to the Cabinet in the late 1960s, and again during his political upswing between 1971 and 1976, just a year before his own death. A stained glass of the portrait of Semu K. Ofumbi was fixed to the window of the chapel next to ACK's home. Despite being an ordinary citizen who never held a high-ranking church position, Ofumbi was revered as a saint.

As aforementioned, a *lumbe* is a funeral ceremony to forget the dead in the final stages of the funeral, while an *okelo* is a ceremony honouring the dead whose performances were outstanding. Ofumbi's funeral was both a *lumbe* and an *okelo*, as many people gathered to pay respect to his tomb. ACK's mansion houses many photos of the ceremony. In some, the family's prosperity is noticeably discernible in the long line of cars lined up to attend. In others, scenes of the army surrounding Ofumbi's grave are visible. There is also a photo of a small helicopter carrying Amin, who had just declared himself President, landing in the garden of ACK's house.

Chapel and Tomb Construction

The sensibilities of those inside the barbed wire might have hoped to restore Ofumbi's personal honour, however, it was questionable if a portrait of Ofumbi on his memorial stone fit with Christian beliefs. The chapel's

architecture followed a Christian style, yet, the beliefs and practices are interpreted as deeply autochthonous from the eyes of the people who lived on the other side of its fence. Ceremonies performed in the chapel were typically *nyapadhola*—a blend of Adhola and Christian beliefs typically observed in the funeral rites today.

In modern times, the greatness of a man can be judged by the number of people who attend his funeral. Ofumbi's burial ceremony was evidently attended by hundreds of military personnel and even the President, who flew in on a helicopter (**Fig. 8**).

Conversely, it is important to be aware of the interpretations among people who observed the event from the other side of the barbed wire. When the dead are dissatisfied with the conditions of their tombs, repairs and reconstructions of tombs are performed. The information of the dissatisfaction supposedly comes in the form of messages to ill or unhappy living people. The rebuilding of a tomb is a measure to deal with resentment or *chien*. If a family has lost three uncles in succession and tombs are rebuilt three times, outsiders could interpret each rebuilding as an experience of misfortune, sickness, illness, or death in the family (**Fig. 9**).

The structures of the reconstructed tombs, the chapel, and the cross adjacent to them are characterized by their anomalousness and extraordinary individuality, as they have an overwhelming presence. While those inside the barbed wire fence viewed these as nothing other than Christian rituals, those on the outside interpreted these as counter-magic moves performed as protection from *tipo*, or a solace ceremony to counter *chien* using newly introduced foreign witchcraft powers of Christianity.

Ofumbi worked in churches and church-affiliated schools in the past (albeit

in low positions), yet he was driven out of the church before he could reach retirement. One has to question how the cost for reconstructions could have been met when the dead individual did not leave behind any property. Those outside the fence theorized that it was paid for by incomprehensible body, *gavamanti*, or the aliens (Fig. 10).

At the same time, upon ACK's suggestion to Amin's government, Rubongi Army barracks were invited to the area. People generally feared the presence of soldiers, especially around their families. In Uganda, it was rare to have a chapel next to one's home, and it was common to build a magical shrine next to the house, so metaphorically people perceived the chapel as a magical shrine. People believed that ACK's family's devotion to Christianity



Fig. 8 Idi Amin arrived at the compound of ACK by helicopter (1972)

©the Ofumbi family

stemmed from the fear of a powerful *tipo* or an attempt at *chien* consolation. Christianity was thus perceived with bias as foreign, new witchcraft. Outside the fence, it was said that if ACK's family was using the power of Christianity to prevent a *tipo*, they might be *jajwok* or witch doctors, which reduced them to nothing but a family of witches.

Land Disputes with Loli clan and Saulo Okado

Land disputes in Korobudi, where ACK's father's marble tomb was built, posed yet another controversy. ACK purchased land in the area between Korobudi and Nyamalogo in late 1960 and 1970. The land is included in his 5,000-acre estate. However, while ACK claims to have bought the land, those outside his vast barbed wire estate say that, in truth, natives were forced to evict their land. There are accounts of severe conditions of anyone found trespassing. A man named Saulo Okado, for example, is said to have walked on his knees for three kilometres between Korobudi to Mulanda in order to flee. Another man was reportedly injured and hospitalized, only to have narrowly survived. Most victims belonged to the Loli clan, which heavily practised sorcery, and it was believed that they practised sorcery against ACK as revenge.

It may be worth noting that Saulo Okado, who was one of the most critical victims, was also a close friend of ACK's late father Ofumbi, and even performed Ofumbi's funeral rites, the same that was denied by Archdeacon Malinga. Due to this, ACK was infamously perceived a *jajwok*, who couldn't be respectful to his father's benefactor and had no regard for societal norms.

Basically, the natives outside the barbed wire fence considered any unfamiliar practices perceived on ACK's property, especially those related

to Christianity, as counter-magic against the curse of a *tipo*. Even the act of purchasing land by cash was foreign to them. In conventional Padhola life, the land was not a commodity to be sold but was rather controlled by communities. The land was viewed as a personalized space within a community of residents.

In light of this, it may seem ironic to consider ACK as an author of an ethnography. His book includes the following description: 'The people of the Loli clan originally lived in Nyamalogo [where his house built] and later expanded their residence to Korobudi [where his father's tomb built]. Korobudi has the Oyalingoma Rock where they perform sacrifices' (Oboth-Ofumbi 1960: 58-60). Oyalingoma Rock is thus equivalent to a sanctuary, and purchasing it could attract bad omens.



Fig. 9 Semu K. Memorial Chapel ©the Ofumbi family

However, there is another explanation for the feud between the Niirenja and Loli clans with a very long history. The two clans do not eat together, and it is believed that an ailing or sick person from the Loli clan would die immediately if visited by descendants of Obbo-Kole of Niirenja.

These *kwor* relations had lasted for long. By befriending a Loli clansman like Saulo Okado, Ofumbi was in violation of *kwor* relations. Even if Ofumbi used Christianity as an excuse, he was still breaking the taboo and shaming his ancestors. The act of buying land equated to the act of kunu, or sanctuary of the clan, and Ofumbi had thus invoked the collective curse of the clan. The relationship between Niirenja, ACK's clan, and the Loli clan, over the ownership of Korobudi, still remains tense due to this background of curses and spiritual indignations.

Isolation from the community

Another issue influences the debate of the wired fence. ACK's wife belonged to the neighbouring ethnic group, Banyole. She could not speak Dhopadhola and was afraid of the Adhola, unwilling to allow them into the residential compound. This is one of the reasons for the installation of the barbed wire fence.

It may evidently have been difficult to guard this vast, expansive property, so ACK posted numerous security guards equipped with modern firearms around the perimeter of his property for protection. This was not out of the ordinary for a Minister of Defence, but people perceived the presence of armed soldiers as strange, the added barbed wire was enough to get their minds reeling with all kinds of explanations. The Jopadhola, who conventionally turned to magic to avoid theft, automatically associated magic



Fig. 10 Stained Glass of Semu Kole Ofumbi ©the Ofumbi family

to functional aspects such as guards and fences metaphorically.

ACK highly cherished family life, but his need for privacy could also be perceived as extreme. The front door of the house bore, in gold relief, initials of his and his wife's names, as if clearly marking the boundaries between public and private life. ACK was very different compared to his father, Semu K. Ofumbi, who was known to adopt and raise orphans. In one instance, ACK's response on the note to a telegram about his wife's safe journey on an aeroplane was something impersonal to the effect of 'Thanks for the almighty God' .

It is said that ACK was not kind to outsiders. There are accounts of intruders being severely beaten. Another account reports an incident where ACK found some men on his property who claimed to be collecting termites

and ordered them out, reportedly saying, 'This is my land, so are the termites. Get out. And leave behind all termites that you caught' .

A popular song that took a jibe at ACK's greed was called *The Body of a Tomato*. Its lyrics went, 'If you slaughter chickens and give them to your neighbours, they will mourn when you die, but you, the tomato, will eat until you are satisfied, and you will drink until you are satisfied so that you will rot faster'. Rumour had it that ACK had achieved political success with the help of *jathieth's* magical power. As his political career grew, his relationship with people proportionately deteriorated. People, including high ranking elders, were reportedly pleased with the news of ACK's death.

Another tipo, Ochola

Another famous song mentions Amin, ACK, and Ochola. While lyrics described Amin and ACK as those who 'invited barracks, brought bandits, ruined this place' Ochola was 'the man who realizes the need for development by contributing to building hospitals, dispensaries and so on'. ACK is infamous as 'the man who wrote a book and grabbed land', in contrast to fellow minister Ochola, who had a positive image.

Another theory is that the *tipo*, or the spirit that caused ACK's death, was that of Ochola, who was ACK's uncle. As you may recall, ACK's first job was taking care of Ochola, who was then director of the cooperative union. Ochola was the first member of the Adhola ethnic group to land a high-ranking administrative local governmental position, followed by the central government. When ACK was promoted as the clerk in the Prime Minister's office, Ochola was appointed as a Cabinet Minister in Obote's government.

Ochola mysteriously disappeared one Sunday in September 1972. An

entry from ACK's diary, which is still in the family's possession, confirms that it was on the same day that ACK intended to invite Amin for the founding ceremony of the Semu K. Ofumbi Memorial Chapel. It is said that Ochola went to the post office to get the mail and disappeared. Ochola had a strong connection with the Soviets during his ministerial period. Under Obote's regime, military research was also getting cooperation from the Soviet Union. Benedict Kiwanuka, the Supreme Court Justice and a friend of Ochola, was arrested and disappeared on 21st September. The two incidents are considered to be related. Ochola's sister told me, 'He never returned home. ACK, who we referred to as "uncle," called me to inform us that he was recognizing the disappearance'.

SRB had been growing increasingly powerful since 1976. Ochola was most likely captured by the military or by secret police at least officially working for ACK, who was then Minister of the Defence. However, ACK feigned ignorance of any involvement with this incident.

Ochola and ACK

Ochola and ACK were two powerful men who were always depicted in contrast. ACK never contested an election, nor was he popular, while Ochola had considerable public support during elections. ACK's rapid progress with 'qualifications', it is not familiar to the ordinary people, for this reason, his promotion was credited to *jathieth* magic by people.

Ochola was believed to have donated all his private property to the region, living in a modest house in the village. ACK, however, was rumoured to have diverted government barrack funds to pay for building materials for his mansion and to increase the size of his father's grave.

It is reported that the electric wire powering his mansion bypassed a nearby clinic built by Ochola's effort. Residents had repeatedly begged ACK to extend the wire by just 5 metres so that the clinic would have electricity, and pointed out that ACK 'had the power to do so'. Still, ACK refused their petition, harshly responding, 'The answer is no, I'll draw it straight to my house'. This incident was recounted by people from many different regions and communities and seemed to have made quite an unfavourable impression.

People talked about the visible differences in ACK and Ochola's wealth and personal characteristics. Ochola owned plenty of lands and real estate in Tororo Town, in addition to running a bus company. However, not many people are aware of these facts. When villagers saw only one section of a village illuminated each night, that too enclosed by barbed wire, they easily associated it as a nightly gathering of witches.

When Ochola returned to Tororo, he lived in the town's mansion and seldom went into the village. As he had four wives, he remained busy visiting each one. On the other hand, ACK frequently invited Amin to Tororo, throwing inner-circle, flashy parties in his honour. Of course, the difference in their ministerial positions must be noted; ACK was a defence minister in Amin's regime, while Ochola was a local administration minister in Obote's government.

One might even paraphrase this contrast is between the cursed elite and the blessed elite. In addition, the serious Protestant-Catholic conflict in the region may well have contributed to their clashing personal characteristics and choices.

Ochola's chien is theoretically still valid

As a dead body was never recovered after Ochola went missing, there is no doubt among people that the *tipo* that killed ACK was Ochola's. During Obote's second regime, he visited Ochola's home to attend the burial ritual which was performed without a body. In place of the body, a banana stem, roughly the height of a human, was placed into the coffin. Ochola's sister said this was done out of fear to the dead. Yet, as no corpse was ever found, people considered his funeral incorrect, ineffective, and therefore invalid. Legend thus has it that the *tipo* still remained active, acting as a *chien*.

When closely examining Adhola's concept of *tipo*, the purification ceremony does not end with burying the victim. It requires further reconciliation between two disputing groups with a 'bone bite' ceremony to confirm reconciliation or cancellation of *kwor* relations. So regardless of the funeral or *yikirok* ritual performed, people could not accept that this *tipo* would not bring *chien*.

Still, many have identified the high possibility of Ochola's *tipo* activated as a *chien*. They imagine ACK's family to still be cursed. According to Adhola morality, an uncle's dues must be paid. ACK's ignorance to the disappearance and (possibly death) of Ochola was regarded as a guilty action. Instead of taking care of his uncle's family, he was more focussed on the foundation ceremony of the Semu K. Ohumbi Memorial Chapel, as evinced by a diary entry dated 31st December in the same year. Ironically, the more enthusiastically he pursued activities such as constructions of chapels, the more people saw this as a need for counter-magic or protection against the attack of a *tipo*.

Textual records of speeches made by ACK, which happen to all be

printed using the government printer, repeatedly and proudly mention the achievement of Semu K. Ofumbi as an evangelist who devoted his life to the propagation of the Christianity. On the other side of the barbed wire, however, gospels and evangelism were generally accepted as counter-magic spells against a *tipo*.

Rumours following ACK's death

While many people shared their memories about ACK's death in 1977, I obtained a recording of an interview with an important person, the Reverend of the Anglican church. The transcript was as follows:

'I remember that day well. I, Zacharia Owori, along with with a deacon and another, dedicated a burial prayer. At that time, under Amin's regime, meetings of more than 20 people were forbidden. Thus people were scared to attend the ceremony, fearing the army's presence around. So I asked the commander for permission to get together, and we got in the car and went around to spread the word that it was all right to attend the funeral'.

People inside the barbed wire fence were sorrowful of ACK's death, but those on the outside welcomed the news. Several theories were already afloat: Okumu's *tipo*, Semu K. Ofumbi's *chien*, curses of neighbours, curses of the Loli clan, and Ochola's *tipo*. There was abundant diversity in the explanations for the causes of ACK's death.

Another popular and malicious song about a bereaved neighbour echoes this sentiment. The song vividly portrays the affliction of people those who lived outside the barbed wire and at the same time, the grief of the inner bereaved. For example, 'Lugbara has killed her husband, even though the youngest baby is still in her womb'. This song is based on a fact. The

youngest baby was still in the womb of the wife when ACK had killed. This information cannot be put into the song without insider information on the circumstances of the incident.

A photo album in one of the ACK's home contains a picture where Amin, holding binoculars, has been torn out of frame. I am not sure if it was torn by a wife or a child. Another song criticising ACK says 'You are stupid that all the money is yours, but you are the first to be buried'.

In this paper, I have used the barbed wire as a symbolic border between those inside and outside. However, the social space being discussed is not exclusive, but rather, interconnected.

The Bereaved Family

So what happened to the bereaved family? The son fled to the United States and graduated from aviation school. He worked for briefly as a pilot and married an Afro-American woman. They had two children but were divorced, after which, he returned to Uganda as ACK's formal successor in 1996.

ACK's wife had always felt at home in Uganda. When the current President, Yoweri Museveni, took office in 1986, she wrote to him requesting ownership of her property. After her son returned, her life seemed to become much easier. ACK's younger brother, a doctor, owns an ophthalmology clinic in Uganda's capital, Kampala. He seldom returns to ACK's mansion, preferring to spend his time at his farm in at Fort Portal in western Uganda, where he is likely to be buried.

On 22nd August 2013, one of Amin's sons (he had forty children from seven wives) visited Nyamalogo. During his visit to a chapel, as one of the

tiles covering the foundation stone chipped off. People interpreted this as a historic event of a 'bone bite' ritual between Amin and ACK.

ACK's family members who were involuntarily dragged into events of Ugandan modern history are trying to return to normal life. However, beyond the barbed wire, there is already a network of various causal relationships, and this new formation is viewed as a new chien. People do not have the nicest things to say about ACK's son who returned to Uganda in 1996 and is considered dangerous. They say that *tipo* is out to get him; Exile was an effective escape from *tipo*, so why come back? Of course he is no longer married; The divorce is the doing of *tipo*. The same goes for ACK's brother. The fact that he runs a farm in Fort Portal and seldom comes to Nyamalogo is interpreted as escapist. One people said, 'Considering the generation he is from, he runs away because he knows about the power of *tipo*. He keeps a distance from the place where Okumu (the cassava thief) was killed, and from ACK's homes in Namalogo. He lives in western Uganda to escape the *tipo*'. Such rumours are very powerful, and once they are spread, keep growing, with information being tacked on to such a degree that they no longer resemble the truth.

V. Studies of witchcraft in Africa

From the arguments made in the context of studies relating to witchcraft, magic, and sorcery in Africa, there is the resilience of witchcraft, firstly. Despite modernisation measures and effects of globalisation in Africa, witchcraft is still prevalent. In a sense, modernisation is the hotbed where magic is sharpened (Ciekawy and Geschiere 1998, Comaroff and Comaroff 1999, Douglas 1999, Geschiere 1997, 2003, Moore and Sanders 2001, Meyer

and Pels 2003, Kiernan 2006, Geschiere, Meyer and Pels 2008). For example, Bayart (1993, 2005) stated that politicians who are well-respected still continue to relate to beliefs and practices of witchcraft.

Fisiy & Geschiere (2001: 236) reported that in Cameroon, the modern homes of the elite were always lined with tombstones. This is because elites fearlessly built homes but were soon killed by jealous relatives who practised witchcraft. This finding reveals the differences between colonial and post-colonial elite mindsets and the strong belief that modernisation will always be a target of witchcraft or sorcery.

.....In fact, there was a common saying in those parts of Cameroon that the tombstone in front of every beautiful modern house were the last abode of elites who ventured to build in their home areas, but who were immediately killed by their jealous kin. (Fisiy and Geschiere 2001: 236)

Over the last three decades, researchers have documented studies on the modernity of witchcraft or witchcraft for resistance, suggesting the prevalent beliefs among people that evil spirits cannot be tamed by modernity, on the contrary, it sometimes tames 'modernity' by the logic of autochthony. They are symbolic resistant to modernisation (Bond and Ciekawy 2001, Ciekawy and Geschiere 1998, Comaroff and Comaroff 1999, Douglas 1999, Geschiere 1997, 2003, Moore and Sanders 2001, Meyer and Pels 2003, Kiernan 2006, Geschiere, Meyer and Pels 2008).

However, evaluating the examples presented in this paper evokes the question of whether the relationship between modernisation and witchcraft is proactive or conscious. It would be unreasonable to compare tradition and

modernity as exclusive entities, as would monolith thinking suggesting this as nothing beyond a mere class theory.

Furthermore, ACK did not (and probably we don't) completely embody modernity. Then there is the case of elites who do not give in to rumours. While they are rather unique, they do exist, such as former central government officials who had retired and were full-time farmers. Elites should be described more carefully. Every elite is not an equal mystical target or user of mystical objects.

VI. Conclusion

Let us consider all the various local explanations for ACK's death. The strongest sentiment seems to view Christianity as foreign witchcraft, and zealous evangelism, the barbed wire fence that people outside view as counter-magic to *típo*. The *típo* explanation originated with ACK's father, Sem K. Ofumbi, as did the process of accepting Christianity. The fact that he shrugged traditional rituals by failing to participate in a 'bone biting' ceremony was also seen as a behaviour of the witch. There were several who strongly believed he was cursed, and the addition of barbed wire around his property was seen as him cutting off direct negotiations with the outside world. This made outsiders speculate even harder, escalating the rumour-mongering and allowing the *típo* theory to resurface.

Most people rarely directly met ACK, and thus, lacked the opportunity to rectify any false information, basing their presumptions on brief sightings of Ofumbi, which was somehow enough to label him a witch.

The models and numbers of his vehicles were widely famous. 'He was riding a black BSA bike at first, but later switched to a Peugeot 403 when

he got a job with Gulu. Then he switched to a luxury car with Mercedes-Benz 190, Benz 250, Benz 280 SE'. While these people are not car maniacs, they remember this information well enough, indicating a security threat and jealousy. What they saw was a man who owned cars and built a church inside a barbed wire fence with nobody who knew him personally.

Witchcraft, sorcery, and magic have been interpreted as autochthonous analytical concepts such as explanatory system, which shows the logic of how to interpret misfortune when confronted with events, providing with the culturally formed 'plot' of narratives to construct the reality or experiences of everyday life in the field of anthropology of religion.

The premise of this paper is that the 'plot' of the 'story' depicts ACK as one of the many victims of tyrant President Amin. While most Ugandans are fully convinced, people from ACK's village strongly disagree with and reject the general plot. According to most Jopadhola people, the main cause of ACK's death was foregrounded with the theory that a *tipo* has haunted the family since his father's generation, and the curse of the spirit of the dead was related to ACK's own achievements, which were eventually linked to the acceptance of Christianity. Moreover, confirming the missing dead body of ACK's close relative, Ochola contributed to enrich the theory *tipo* depicting the theoretical background of *tipo* which is still valid.

The next step is to predict when this 'foregrounding' or 'backgrounding' of the 'plot' occurs in the narrative, and how a certain causality becomes persuasive.

To sum up, it would be helpful to further understand the process of foregrounding and backgrounding especially in the context of multiple causal relationships, where some may be viewed in the foreground, and others, in

the 'background'. To clarify this mechanism, further research and discussion in this issue are required.

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Notes

1 Idi Amin Dada Oumee (c.1925–16 August 2003). There are various opinions concerning his year of birth. He is said to be from Koboko, West Nile District. Born to a Kakwa father and Lugbara mother, he grew up as a community called 'Nubi' that crossed 'ethnic groups' and was connected by Islam. He was enlisted in King's African Rifles (KAR) and is said to have participated in the Burmese front and suppression of the Mau Mau rebels. During the Protectorate era, one of the only two Ugandan officers promoted to commissioned officer status by the British Empire. The self-bestowed title that he also forced others to call him was 'His Excellency, President for Life, Field Marshal Al-Hajji Doctor Idi Amin Dada, VC, DSO, MC, Conqueror of the British Empire in Africa in General and Uganda in Particular'. However, there is no record that Amin was ever conferred these awards. He was President from 1 January 1971 after seizing power from President Obote in a coup d'état, until 11 April 1979 when dismissed by the rebel army with the cooperation of the Tanzanian army. Subsequently, he went into exile in Saudi Arabia. He kept his promise and maintained his silence. In early July 2013, it was reported that he

was on his deathbed. He weighed more than 220 kg and kidney transplantation was performed twice but with no success. Amin died at 7:00 am (East Africa time) on 16 August 2003. He was the only former head of Uganda not to receive a state funeral. See also 'Obituary: Idi Amin'. *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/aug/18/guardianobituaries>, 'Idi Amin's mastery of media revealed in newly published photos' *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/07/idi-amins-mastery-of-media-revealed-in-newly-published-photos>, 'Thousands of recently discovered photographs document life in Uganda during Idi Amin's reign'. <https://theconversation.com/thousands-of-recently-discovered-photographs-document-life-in-uganda-during-idi-amins-reign-119131> (retrieved 31 October 2019).

- 2 Arphaxad Charles Kole Oboth-Ofumbi was a Japadhola, born on 12 July 1932 in Agururu Village, Tororo District, and was baptised on the same day in Mulanda. 'Oboth' means 'a child born in a recently ploughed field' (the same name as 'Obote' among the Langi. Some people view this as a symbol of being linked by fate). He attended Kisoko Primary School (1942–1947), Mbarara High School (1948–1950) and Kings College Budo (1951–1953). He gave up going to university due to father's death and found employment at Bukedi Co-operative Union as a cooperative assistant (1954–1958) and Bukedi District Commissioner's Office (1958–1960). Turning to a local administrative position, he became Assistant District Commissioner (ADC) of Acholi District (1963), ADC of Lango District (1963) and District Commissioner (DC) of Acholi District (1963). After independence, he was appointed as Assistant Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office (1963) and in 1965, the Chief Clerk of the Prime Minister's Office. By 1971, he was Permanent Secretary for Ministry for Defence. With the establishment of the Amin's regime after the coup, he served as Minister of State for Defence (1971) and following a cabinet reshuffle, Defence Minister (1971–1973). Except for the term (1973) when he served as Portfolio Minister of the Departed Asians' Properties Custodian Board (DAPCB), he was always assigned to a main post in the Cabinet as Amin's right-hand man: Finance Minister (1974–1976) and Interior Minister (1974–1977). He was appointed as acting president for nine days during foreign trips of the President (1972).
- 3 James Silas Malilo Ondo Ochoa (1924–c1972), born in 1924 in Budama. After attending St. Peter's College, graduated from St. Mary's, Kisubi (1944–1945). Served as Ugandan Eastern Province Treasurer (1946–1947), Labor Inspector (1948–1953), and South Bukedi Co-operative Union Chairman (1954–1959). During this time,

studied abroad at Loughborough College (1955–1956). Became a councilman of the Council of Bukedi District (1949–1951)/Legislative Council (1961). At the time of independence in 1962, became a member of the Diet for the Democratic Party from the South East Bukedi constituency and served as vice-minister of the Ministry of Natural Resources. As the vice-secretary in the party in parliament, served as Vice-Minister of Natural Resources (1963), and after switching to Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) led by Obote in 1965, served as Vice-Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism and Minister of Public Works (1966) under President Obote. With the reshuffling of the cabinet in 1967, became the Minister of Local Administration and established national hospitals in Bugiri, Apac, etc., and clinics in the three locations of Mulanda, Kisoko, and Nagongera in Padhola. Subsequently left office due to the coup d’état by President Amin in 1971. Missing since September 1972. A list of 85 disappearances announced by President Amin in 1973 states, ‘Missing. Not in the country and no one knows where the person has gone’ (Seftel 1994).

4 Apollo Milton Obote, 1925–2005. Born in Lango. After attending Lira Secondary School (1940–41), Guru High School (1942–44), Busoga College Mwiri (1945–47), Makerere University College (1948–50), graduated with honours with a doctorate in law from Long Island University (1963), worked in Kenya as a labourer, secretary, and salesman (1950–55), co-founded the Kenya African Union, Uganda People’s Congress (1952–1960), formed the UPC Party and served as party leader (1960), served as opposition party leader (1961–62), Prime Minister of Uganda (1962), President and Head of the Army (1966–1971), and President after exile in Tanzania following the coup d’état (1980). After exile again, he died in exile in Zambia (2005).

5 For details concerning this point, refer to Jørgensen (1981) in addition to Kyemba (1977).

6 Concerning the incident, see Kyemba (1977), Lawoko(2000), Umeya (2016, 2018a: 519–639, 2018b:274–284, 2019a: 153–154). See also Decker (2010).

7 Janani Jakalya Luwum (1922–1977), an Acholi born in Mucwini, former Acholi District. After graduating from Gulu High School and Teacher Training College in 1948, became a teacher. He studied at Buwalasi Theological College in 1949 and became a deacon in 1955. He became Secretary General of the Church of Uganda Church in 1966 and Bishop of the Diocese of Northern Uganda in 1969. He was the second Ugandan to become Archbishop (Third Archbishop, in office: 1974–1977). As one of the ten great martyrs of the 20th century, his statue is placed in Westminster

- Abbey.
- 8 'Oryema, Ofumbi, Luwum dead', *Voice of Uganda*, 17 February 1977, Wooding and Barnett (1980: 102).
- 9 'Post mortem on three bodies', *Voice of Uganda*, 19 February 1977.
- 10 Seftel (1994).
- 11 'When News Readers Feared to Announce Archbishop Luwum's Death', https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1320932/news-readers-feared-announce-archbishop-luwums-death (retrieved 31 October 2019).
- 12 Concerning the concept of *tipo*, in addition to the brief introductory explanation in Umeya (2018b:274–284, 2019a: 155–157), Umeya (2018a:243–275) provide detailed descriptions on them in general. See also Umeya (2018a: 277–333) for the concept of *lam*.

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