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The Rise, Use and Abuse of Language

Abstract

This article explores how necessity for communication by individuals resulted in the invention of language. Over time, the power of language permeated and controlled all forms of interaction. Language multiplied and proliferated all modes of interaction and it soon became integral to people's advancement in all forms and directions. It went from survival to new domains of construction and destruction, power construction and rivalry, aesthetics, falsifications and treacheries. The article explores how the Europeans and Muslims flooded the Buganda Kingdom and embarked on political and ideological work rather than on religious work. It shows how the British missionaries finally outmanoeuvred the others, used its linguistic machinations in England and Buganda against KabakaMwanga II, lured their newly converted sections of the indigenes into disobedience and collaboration with them against the Buganda Kingdom. The power of language made their converts to betray their country by fighting for the enemy. The article exposes how neo-colonial Uganda has been consuming colonially-constructed falsified epistemes, religised and ethnicised divisionisms and racialised self-hate – all of which have remained vices to its nationalist project. Its nuanced appeal is the urgency and imperativeness of rereading and reinterpreting Uganda's history including the reunion of anti-imperialist forces under Kings Mwanga and Kabarega, their capture and exile.

Keywords: Language, Communication, Politics, Power, Casuistry, Treachery and Anti-imperialism

The initial invention of language was for communication purposes. This was originally a result of using different parts of the body to produce signs and sounds for communicating certain messages. Over time, sounds produced by the vocal cords became the most developed expressions of the human body about the peoples' wants, feelings, fears, attitudes, teachings, responses and illustrations, thought processes and their products in form of ideas, knowledge, etc. Language became a very essential and critical medium of expression as people began to abandon their solitary lives in search of living and working together. The birth of language, its multiplication and spread also traces from the specialised biological reproduction of human beings. This was through mothers labouring to communicate to their newly born ones. Thus, with husband and wife, mother and child, language became an important medium for directing the young ones of how to feed, how to express unsatisfied wants and feelings like hunger, thirst, happiness, fear, anger, displeasure, sickness, etc. Being functionalists, language became a strong tool for peoples' thinking ontologically and metaphysically, for

expressing their thoughts, thought processes and outlooks, etc. Notable among these was the ascription of whatever they could not fathom and explain to external or supernatural powers which they conceptually exteriorised and domiciled outside their habitats. It became a very important tool for people's advancement in all fields, disciplines and directions, etc.

Thus, while engagement in production through combining the thumb and the brain liberated humankind from dependence on nature like the rest of the animals, this process was facilitated by the invention of language and the subsequent development of consciousness. As human beings stabilised in living together, cooperating in harnessing nature to meet their requirements and coordinating efforts to ensure their defence versus nature, wild animals and other people, they gradually developed associations like bands, groups, clans, tribes, communities, nationalities and finally into societies. Through their continued production processes, they were able to produce surplus product and it was on this that classes emerged. Some members became better placed in society and they used their *loci* in these social groupings to control power and the production process so as to share part of the produced wealth without their participating in its production process. This was the genesis of classes, societies and power. This power was in the hands of the non-labouring class and this class harnessed it to control the labouring class and force it to increase production of surplus product. The ruling class utilised the political power to control the production process which enabled it to accumulate and concentrate wealth. This power gradually consolidated into state structures, with form, independent organisation, sovereignty and its own logic.

This process could not survive amidst notions and languages of socialite, mutuality and equality. Those occupying privileged positions found it inevitable and urgent to invent differences and emphasise them. They began to create deceptions, myths, phantomic tales, etc. Whatever people had invented was turned to their service. This class developed into the ruling class. With time, a political class emerged. The only way to accomplish this was to hijack language – the peoples' crucial invention and use it against them. In here were socio-cultural, religious, linguistic and aesthetic constructions which those in power tried to change and make them serve their interests. Once hijacked, the classes occupying the citadels of power then relentlessly tried to harness them to serve their own interests. Thanks to the Egyptologists for their tireless momentous archaeological and papyrological tasks. The transliterations and translations by the papyrologists of the oldest known literary texts tracing from 2780 BC to 330 BC, provide immeasurable historical and epistemological contributions (Obenga, 2004; Bernal, 1991, 1987; Diop, 1987, 1981; Williams, 1987; Ki-Zerbo, 1981; Khamit-Kush, 1983; and Budge, 1967).

Thus, the privileged class does not only occupy citadels of economic and political power to amass wealth. Rather, it uses the abundant time as its disposal to engage in thinking about how to control the people and make them produce more for its benefit. This includes developing a convincing language and ideologies for hegemonising its rule and control. Through this process, it is able to develop new forms of languages, speech and theories, visions, outlooks, and ideologies and philosophies for accomplishing its oppressive and exploitative project. It appropriates social constructions like religion, education, proverbs and philosophy and controls the modes of thinking, action, education and governmentality of these people (Croix 1981).

Thus, language transits from its initial purpose of communication for the wellbeing and defence of everyone to new functionalities of enabling control and dominance over other

people and expressing power relations. It takes on new linguistic expressions, stylistics, complexities and classicisms and attributes to serve the class interests of those controlling and shaping it. This transcends normal speech to religions, language of instruction in the public domain – in the educational system, courts, offices and official documentation, etc. The court and palace language leaves ordinary peoples agape, with stares. The same applies to the languages of instruction in the educational institutions (Chatterjee 1993).

The dominant class embarks on falsifying reality. It specialises in the production of obscure, non-existent though logical knowledge for the other classes to consume, then deploys it through its hired cadres with powerful communication skills. This is because the class that is engaged in the production of wealth has neither time, knowledge and skill, nor interest to engage in continuous thinking and research for the purpose of producing epistemes for its benefit. The progenies of this class lack the opportunity to go to good schools. They end up in the godforsaken schools, where the best cannot qualify for grading in the national exams. This type of education has been slumped on a cynical label of “universal education”. Where is this universe? I will demonstrate some of the above using cases in India, Bangladesh and Africa.

Searching for Linguistic Propinquity for Personal Survival

The first example is drawn from my personal experience among the Bengalis in Kolkata from 1995 to 1999. This was when I was pursuing my doctoral studies at Jadavpur University and the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta (CSSSC). What I may refer to as my anthropologico-socio-cultural school were the people living around Lake Terrace, Keyatora, Ras Bihari, Deshapriya Park, Gariahat, Haltu Kastopara, Kasba, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Gol Park, Ballygunge, Dhakhuria, Salimpur, Jadavpur and Esplanade. This was the school that became a socio-cultural and linguistic window for my stabilisation and eventual settlement in India.

Finding myself being the only African in a mega city put me in a desolate situation and it made me extremely vulnerable socially. Although I had flown in from Entebbe, my background was completely agrarian. I came to prove the argumentation that human beings cannot live a happy life without establishing meaningful communication and mutually satisfying relationships. Given my vulnerability, I obeyed that law of socialite and tried to open up channels of communication with whoever I encountered. While it initially looked like using an egg hammer to break down stonewalls, I was gradually able to cut across class, caste, colour and nationality borders. The first socio-cultural prohibition that I encountered and defied was the one of prohibiting people from talking to strangers, let alone shaking hands. I had learnt it the hard way when I extended a greeting to one graduate student whom I found in a professor’s office at CSSSC. To my utter shock, her reply to my greeting was that she did not know me. Not knowing the cultural roots of that response, I felt wounded by that verbal artillery and was forced to fire back with some verbal venom that people did not need to know one another before extending greetings. Thanks to Professor Tapatih, who came to apologise and explain the cultural location of what I had experienced. After encountering that humiliating experience, I became prepared to confront it instead of recoiling. It is abominable in my culture to bypass anybody without inquiring about his/her state of health.

The second shock was over the offensive nature of my skin colour (*Chamura*). The first time I came face to face with it was when I was searching for accommodation. I rang a number in the newspapers belonging to the owner of a house which was being advertised in

the papers, spoke to the owner and we agreed on the rent and other related matters. The problem came when I told her that I was from Africa. Her voice immediately changed and she told me there and then that the house was inappropriate for me. She hung up. The second case about colour involved a day-dreaming secondary school student in his youth whom I encountered in the surroundings of Gariahat Market. Trapped in some day dreaming, he was telling his fellow friends about an envisaged pleasant evening. This was followed by a dramatic reversal when our eyes met as if we were acting a play. He failed to control his anger. He cursed me in Bengali that my skin colour had ruined his envisaged wonderful day. However, a combination for all these was very crucial during my cultural socialisation in India.

On the other side of these isolated disappointments were youngsters in the same area who provided me with solace and meaning. They would mob me mistaking me for Chima Okerie, the then famous footballer for Mohan Bagan. What I have never understood is why these youth were eager to shake my hands. Some honoured me with the title of *kaku* (uncle). They would look for me during *Holi* and paint my feet. The other social shield was provided by the professors and staff of CSSSC and Jadavpur University. Among these were Professors Partha Chatterjee and Gautum K. Basu – both of who were my doctoral guides, and Professor Amiya K. Bagchi, my RTP guide. Others included Professors Ajtava Ray Chaudhuri, Shibashis Chatterjee and Gautum Badra. I found warmth and genuine friendship in them. This over time improved my social status and rating by those who earlier on had garrisoned me with a social wall.

It was the combination of these varied encounters that encouraged me to try and identify interstices for penetrating the Bengali society. This was necessary if I was to pursue my studies with some human touch. I accomplished this by making more friends, maintaining a friendly attitude to all, including those who appeared to be offended by my skin colour. This soon enabled me to make the most reliable friendship which I still cherish. It was through my subsequent interaction with them that I came to learn a little of the Bengali language and culture. Given my vulnerable locus in that society, it was in my own interest to try and identify areas of similarities for my own survival. This enabled me to identify linguistic, cultural and practical similarities between the Bengalis and “*Abantu*” -a large section of people in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa who share common words and culture. The concept *Abantu* means people and *obuntu* denotes humanity. Given that I was not able to learn much Bengali due to lack of time and financial resources for formal Bengali lessons, I did not go far in it beyond what I picked from my friends for greeting and negotiating prices in the market. Below are some of the linguistic and cultural similarities which I identified between Bengalis and *Abantu*. Though the spellings may be different in some cases, still, the sounds and meanings are the same:

Bengali	Bantu Languages	Meaning
<i>Bhalo? Bhalo Achi!</i>	<i>Buhooro? Buhoorogye!</i>	Greetings
Korokaj	Kora kazi	do work
Macch	Esamaki	Fish
Parampara (Tradition)	Mporampora	Gradual, slowly.
Cholchecholbe	Kyonkyakiryaba	Continue your actions, everything

		will be all right.
Motamoti	Motimoti	So so!
Magaj	Magezi/magyezi	Knowledge, brains, brilliancy.
Thik ache (It is all right)	Tikakye	It is not little.
Kanch kala	Enkaaki	Plantain
Mama	Mama	Maternal uncle in Lugishu
Gadi	Egali	Motor car.
Bas	Baasi	Enough, sufficient.
Kathi	Akati	A small stick
Guru	Eiguru	Heaven, of the highest.
Muri (Puffed rice)	Omuri	One who eats a lot
Murali	Murari	A name. It was name of Famous king, the father of King Kahaya
Kolkata	Karukaata	Name of a place, mainly muddy
Kali Ghat	Kaligata	Name of a place
Tata (Uncle)	Taata	Father
Uludhwani	Enduuru	Ululations

There are a lot of similarities in the cultures, feeding, treatment of guests, marriage ceremonies including jubilant ululations especially by women; receiving the newly born and sending off the dead. The latter involves strict observances like shaving off hair, self-denials of delicacies including eating meat, ghee and salt, and sleeping with women. This opens ground for comparative research among these peoples to linguistic researchers, philologists, anthropologists, culturalists, etc.

Language for Falsifying Historicisation of Uganda

The second example is from Uganda. A story is told about conversation between a well-fed larvae and a starving tsetse fly over the source of food. The tsetse fly wanted to know what the larvae did to suck human blood without being detected by their ever agile victims. The larvae informed the tsetse fly that they sucked people's blood while they were sleeping. The tsetse fly interpreted this to mean that they were the larvae which slept while sucking their victims' blood. It is said that that is why tsetse flies go to sleep whenever they began to suck blood from their victims. This analogy fits Uganda's case right from the time when it was created. To guarantee their longevity, the British set up different educational institutions, technologies and theories for propagating their superiority and justify their colonisation project. They concocted fictitious justifications like civilising the Africans, Christianising them, stopping slave trade and perennial wars, alleviating the savages from the state of nature, barbarism and preparing them for self-rule; treating perennial diseases, poverty, ignorance, economies of affection and all other forms of primordialism, stop barbaric practices like sacrificing twins, cannibalism, etc. Other casuistry claims included coming to train the Africans for self-rule, build for them schools, set up administration, law and order, build for them prisons, courts, etc. They claimed that they had accomplished these through the well-intentioned missionaries, etc. They wrote books, articles and filled their

diaries with these attractive concoctions and how they had set up grounds for the eventual modernity and industrialisation through establishing urban centres, etc. They established the *Uganda Journal* as their main platform. Missionaries turned anthropologists, reminiscent among whom was Roscoe with *The Souls of Central Africa* (1922).

Unfortunate as it was, their history became the official and only history which was taught and is still reigning in Uganda. Students are supposed to memorise the dates and chronologise their periodisation. However, dates do not constitute history but are mere historical markers for convenience during the historicisation process. However, they are the ones which are emphasised as historical facts. On the other hand, students in Uganda are supposed to learn the European who discovered the River Nile and when. However, no effort is put on why he came looking for the source of a mere river, the forces which he was representing and the reasons why he was able to reach it. Neither is there any effort to know why and how it was named. I learnt from the source of the Nile two months ago that after some Basoga guided Speke to the source of the Nile, he asked them the name of this river and they also replied in Lusoga “TidiNaila” This means “I also do not know”. Speke then recorded in his diary that this River was called the Nile. There is no effort to explain why these Basoga guides were not willing to inform him that it was River Kiira.

Uganda’s pedagogical, intellectual and epistemic crisis is rooted in the fact that pre-university entry scholarship requires the candidates to learn knowledge about Europe and America, their languages to perfection grammatically, writing, speech and thinking and literatures. These include their histories, geographies, economics, cultures, music, dance and drama, aesthetics, mannerisms etc. naming of peoples, places and infrastructure, etc. Even Makerere University celebrates the pillars of coloniality through proudly naming the students’ halls of residence after the colonial Governor Mitchell, Livingstone the spy and Mary Stuart. This education system has transformed its products into mimickers of Europeans and Americans in absurd ways without paying heed to Fanon’s warning in *Black Skins, White Masks*.

It is a continued reproduction of the colonial historicisation and theorisation on Africa that is reinforced by the post-world War II American economics of modernity, which placed Africa in traditional stage that was bedevilled with insurmountable problems. It aimed at developing Africa to high mass consumption, which was appropriated from Marx’s communism. Its epistemological cradle was the biblical paradise, which was rooted in the Western Christian intellectual tradition. Thus, the economics and other social sciences being taught in independent Uganda are a reproduction of the deterministic modernisation discourse (Rostow, 1960). Their political and ideological object was to entrap the decolonising peoples and make them follow the Western capitalist path. Uganda never heeded the critique of this discourse by the underdevelopment discourse (Amin, 1975, 1974; and Rodney, 1976).

Independence did not produce inquisitive scholarship which was ready to interrogate the knowledge and intellectualisation in the country, its methodologies, politics and ideology. Uganda did not experience forward-looking debates about alternative developmental paths, their advantages and problems, which path the country ought to take, etc. This is confirmed by the fact that other than the scrapping the racist Anthropology from the university syllabi, Makerere University did not radically change the syllabi to meet the requirements of independence.

Thus, the independence which Uganda got strengthened the colonially constructed Eurocentric educational system. This education continued to condemn, suffocate and fight off African constructions, knowledges, educational systems, religions, cultures, beliefs and practices. It praises the European missionaries for their godly work and education that liberated the Africans from darkness in the African jungles and for establishing law and order. This education had continued to emphasise that Satan, death and the devil are black while God and angels are white, hazardous areas on Ugandan roads bear signposts reading “black spot”, and vehicles carrying the dead rich bear black colour and mourners wear black. As if not to be undone, the Ugandan intelligentsia and NGOs in their struggle against corruption have declared Mondays to be celebrated as Monday Black. This is reminiscent of the judges who in their struggle against the state over its re-arresting the leader of the opposition took initiative to name Tuesday black. We still use black market, black magic, black everything bad. All these denote the level of consciousness of Ugandans.

The products of this education are taught vehemently condemn Kabaka Mwanga II (King of Buganda) for killing a White Bishop and innocent young Ugandan Christians. Popes fly in from Rome to celebrate these martyrs. The current one is expected to jet in this November, 2015. Uganda has become a converging place for all those enlisted in Western Christianity – call them the unsuspecting *faithfuls*. They come annually on pilgrimage at the beginning of June, walk hundreds or even over a thousand kilometres from their homes to Namugongo, to commemorate and worship the rebellious boys slain by Mwanga. These were later turned martyrs by the forces they were helping to colonise Uganda. The country has a special holiday celebrate them on June 3rd. Uganda is a country where boys who were killed by the state for insolence are celebrated as saints, with unending prayers to them to solve the problems which people are facing.

Uganda’s educational system was designed in such a way to shape its products to condemn Buganda for selling out the rest of Uganda by collaborating with the British colonialists, to fight and conquer the rest of Uganda and bring it under British rule. It teaches that Kabaka Mutesa I invited the British imperialists to come to Uganda to teach Christianity, that the “Pagan Kabaka Mwanga II” massacred innocent Christians for rejecting his inhuman homosexuality practices, etc. The unsuspecting Ugandans do not ask why Uganda is able to pass an anti-homosexuality law if it had been dominant in Buganda and why it is the West which has been up in arms against that law. It emphasises self-hate, which has saturated the whole country. It has made Ugandans to revere anything foreign, condemn everything local to the extent that even before Jackson revolutionised his skin, some Ugandan women had already torn off their facial beautiful skins with imported bleachers.

The current political class in Uganda, having been disenchanted by this type of historicity of numbers and events without any dynamism and scienticism seems to have succumbed to the *Fukuyaman* final closure of history. This class is threatening to abolish history, humanities and social sciences in public universities. We cannot rule out another dimension that it is being informed by the 1986 World Bank Report on *Higher Education for Sub-Saharan Africa*. Theirs is not a principled nationalistic struggle against their falsities, paralogies and divisive character that failed to educate correct knowledge, inspire them and unite them into a nationalist project but because their graduates were not securing employment. The political class rooted for sciences and emphasised that it cannot withstand courses whose graduates have no employment ability. However, tying education to

employment is a recipe for national disaster. It is a sure way of courting danger as the country may later on close all the universities when faced with unemployment crisis. There is no society in human history which has ever developed because of functional and utilitarian education. That is because such education can never extend the frontiers of knowledge. This is notwithstanding the fact that this political class has its background in the humanities and social sciences. Yet, it has resolved to obliterate its intellectual, pedagogical and epistemic background in favour of natural sciences and technology. Could it be because of this class' fear of competition or it is being guided by a human fallacy which tends to see everything within its time and space, in total oblivion of the innumerable futuristic potentials and possibilities? Little does this class acknowledge that history and archaeology are very important sciences; that every science has its own history and that science is always guided by history!

A meaningful approach would be to overhaul the whole colonial educational system and design nationalistic one. Abandoning humanities and social sciences in favour of natural sciences seems to be turning the logic of epistemes on its head. Isn't it one of throwing out the bath water and the only baby? The expectation would be for the overhaulers to emphasise a historical and materialist dialectical approach that equips its graduates to explore and explain the historicity of the subalterns rather than the current one of the governors if we may adopt the *chatterjeen* phrase. Natural Sciences have never been in conflict with Humanities and Social Sciences. Rather, they one another by explaining issues and phenomena to the other, by also warning the other of the likely dangers and other consequences, etc. In the current situation, those who memorise are best rewarded with the highest grades in the national and university exams.

It was during the sharp struggle between the history of the rulers as a discipline in universities and the political class as the definers of power, policy makers and implementers that two books emerged in the country dealing with about the history of the ruled in the Great Lakes Region (GLR). These were by two Makerere University professors, Lwanga-Lunyiigo(2011) and Murindwa-Rutanga (2011). Though both authors were from different disciplines – one from History and another from Political Science, their research concerns had commonalities and so were their research outputs. Both were analysing politics, religion and power in the Great Lakes Region during coloniality. They are historicising the subalterns' resistance to colonial imperialism.

In the second half of the 19th Century, European colonialists converged onto GLR, sliced it and divided it amongst themselves and they began to exploitit. These included Germany, Britain and Belgium. The two works expose whatever history that had been created and taught in Uganda as false, as being casuistically invented by the British colonialists with the sole purpose of hoodwinking the Africans by creating non-existent divisions and lies. The imperialist aim was to prevent any possible nationalist thought and practice. They purposely and successfully falsified history, created and broadcast baseless ethnicised enmity between Buganda and Uganda. They perfected the linguistic art of falsification. Given the intertwinement of the authorship of this article and the second book, the following discussion will be situated on Lwanga-Lunyiigo's work.

Language as Tool for Casuistries and Falsifications

The third example is from the GLR in the second half of the nineteenth century. Lwanga-Lunyiigo's work which was published by the little known Wavah Books

Ltd. in Kampala focuses at the forces and processes that led to the destruction of the Buganda Kingdom, explores the reasons why, the colonisation process and the forms of resistance which the subalterns waged. These included power struggles and conspiracies by the “Readers” converts to the three foreign religions which were operating in Buganda. It explores the politics that gave rise to the Youth Brigade, its contradictions with the old guards, the different intrigues and plots by the royals and commoners (Readers); the shifts of political power from the royals to the Readers as a new socio-political force; the grounds around which the new social forces were being organised and their political objectives.

It bases on different documentary sources to expose the dominant lies which have been purveyed in Uganda since the British colonial invasion and gradually hegemonised themselves as the only truth. In reality, the work is about colonial imperialism, its resistance and political manoeuvrability in Eastern Africa. One of the first main lies which the British colonialists concocted and which gained currency outside of Buganda was that Kabaka Mutesa I of Buganda had invited the British colonial imperialism to his country. It uses documentary evidence to refute the spurious allegations that the Kabakas of Buganda were pro-British imperialism and that the Buganda sold both Buganda and the larger Uganda to British. It explores the different anti-imperialist struggles of these Kabakas and their administration, their forms, and process and the reasons why they were defeated.

What come out clearly are the numerous lies which the European missionaries were spinning out and peddling in the young Buganda who came to them in order to learn how to read and write the alphabet. They accomplished their imperialist ploy by setting those young Baganda pages to disobey their Kabaka and even challenge him in public. The men of God organised around foreign religions – Arabs, French and British – to destabilise Buganda Kingdom and gradually take over power. They had active support of the European religious leaders and administrators. This came to pass in 1900 with Apollo Kaggwa and other two Regents taking over power in Buganda as Regents to support a baby king and signing out Buganda through the Agreement in exchange for personal wealth in form of land, mobile property and salaried administrative power.

He points out an important fact that by showing that though Christianity has been in Uganda for over one hundred and thirty one years at the time of his writing his book, many of its followers were having one leg in Christianity and another in indigenous religions. He infers from this religious duality that the killed “Readers” could never have understood Western religions so thoroughly to reach an informed position of opting to die for them within that very short period of about eight years of learning how to read and write the alphabet. He explains how the missionaries abetted the killings by urging their converts to go and challenge Kabaka Mwanga and his administration by proclaiming their Western religious faith. These missionaries knew that their readers would do it since they knew the social rule that the newly converted were normally the most zealous. They were also knowledgeable about the mercilessness of the Buganda state. They were these which explained why these missionaries refused to go with their Readers but instead continued to push them to the pyre to burn to death for the faith which they did not know well. Of course, their advice was also guided by racism. They saw the Africans as savages living in barbarism. Lwanga-Lunyiigo’s work is indirectly accusing the missionaries of conspiracy to murder. In fact, Lawyers could take up this case and accuse these European missionaries of complicity to murder. He explains that the British were pushing their converts to this gruesome death in order to create a justification for these missionaries of convincing the British society that their work in

Buganda was under great threat by Kabaka Mwanga II and that they needs urgent protection by the British State. He explains how Bishop Tucker ably exploited these deaths to accomplish this political project.

He explains how their death represented the lowest point in Christian leadership of the time, and he accuses the missionaries of failing to avert the thirty deaths which were filed up at Munyonyo (2011: 63). This is further given credence by the fact that many converts first consulted their missionary teachers whether they ought to go into hiding but the missionaries encouraged them to profess their faith by facing the fire the way in-laws in India would force drug the widows and then drive them into the fire under the disguise that she had chosen to perform *sati*. While Governor General Bentinck had to intervene and legislate for the abolition of *sati*, no one intervened to save the lives of these Readers (Chatterjee, 1993: 118-119). The work goes on to show how those Readers who knew the gospel better went into hiding and were never caught.

The work exposes the British methodological ploy of presenting selectively certain facts while editing out those that did not serve their interests. It shows that while killing people en masse by the Kabakas was normal, it was only Mwanga II who did not kill anybody to come to the throne. They were also knowledgeable of how even the deaths of Hannington and the “Readers” had been carried out by Katikkiro Mukasa behind Mwanga’s back. It exemplifies these by showing some of these killings and which the missionaries knew. Mutesa I had killed 2000 subjects for pleasure, later killed 70 insolent Muslim converts. In another incident, he had speared one of his young wives to death for no reason. He had ordered his executioners to carry out many killings of his subjects through random sweeps. It cites other Kabakas who ordered mass killings of their subjects. Kalema had carried out horrendous killings before the eyes of the European missionaries including assassinations of thirty princes and princesses and many Christian “Readers”. Yet, the missionaries kept quiet about them and they instead attacked Mwanga II, the Kabaka who favoured them and their Readers. He had appointed the Readers to the top administrative positions and continued to protect them from the traditional administrators and he continued to identify with the Catholic denomination even when they refused to grant his persistent request for baptism in the Catholic religion under the name Leo.

While these missionaries knew that Mwanga II did not personally kill anybody, the missionaries and the rest of the colonial train selectively targeted him as their object of attack (2011:14-18; 98-99). Even his nemesis, Rev. Mackay of the Church Missionary Society exonerated him of killing Bishop Hannington by submitting that Mwanga had not killed Bishop Hannington because of enmity that he harboured against Christianity but because of Hannington’s stubborn insistence to enter Buganda through the East. He concluded that it was Hannington’s foolhardiness which had killed him but not because of his faith in Christ (P. 51). There was a known prophecy that the destructive force of the Buganda Kingdom would come from the East (Aseka-Masinde, 2005). Two executions of CMS missionaries had been carried out South of Lake Nalubale (L. Victoria) under the orders of the King Kere, Lukonge; and other two executions of captains by King Mirambo.

The work analyses the imperialist struggle to through Mwanga II out of his kingdom, capture power and take over Buganda by using the British forces, the Readers and the Buganda army and navy. This created new power rivalry between the European missionaries and Arab Muslims. The unprincipled alliance resulted in the subsequent killing of Muslims and the tragic overthrow and assassination of a Kabaka. His replacement by Kabaka Kalema resulted in many deaths among the Baganda “Readers” and 30 royals. This reign of terror created grounds for conjectural reconciliatory politics between the Christians and Kabaka

Mwanga II. The work explains his military struggles for his final return to power, and the military assistance which he received from Nkore, Kiziba and Kkooki. It analyses the fighting skills of these forces and the betrayals by IBEAC to provide military assistance to Mwanga II. It explains how Mwanga's powers had been eclipsed by the Protestant Readers who were controlling the administration and the fruitless attempts by the Muslims' to recapture power. He explains why the conjectural alliance between Mwanga, Catholics and Protestants and the final split of Catholics and Protestants after the battle of Mengo on 24/01/1892 with IBEAC supporting CMS missionaries and their Readers (2011: 125).

It shows how Mwanga's naivety blocked him from realising his real enemies which at the same time were the enemies of Buganda. He instead began to hobnob with them, put trust in them and appointed them to the highest administration posts in the Kingdom. He failed to heed advice, to cross check information with his trusted political advisors and ponder over it, to detect lies. He instead entrusted the Royal treasury and the country's armoury to his enemies. He was fighting with the unknown imperialist dragon, its technologies of power, rhetoric and deception. They turned round and appropriated the royal wealth, used the guns to overthrow Mwanga and hand over Buganda to their new British masters. Mwanga resorted to politics of manoeuvrability instead of trying to unite all the Baganda – traditionalists, readers – Catholics, Muslims and Protestants against imperialism. It shows betrayals of Baganda and how Kabaka Mwanga lost trust and leadership of Buganda's generals, their commanding skills and fighting capacities to the imperialists. "A leader who could identify neither enemies nor friends was bound to fall" (2011:89). His fate which was intertwined with the one of Buganda stemmed from his mistake of letting the Arabs, French, English and their followers to control and dominate Buganda's administration after the Namugongo infernos.

It exposes Mwanga's naivety through his continued tolerance the saboteurs, and missionaries to the extent of failing to act on intelligence information of their anti-Buganda activities. He continued to protect the Readers and even appointing many of their Readers to the top administration without reconsidering whether they would not betray him and Buganda to the Europeans. Other examples include his outright rejection of critical and timely advice by his seasoned administrators and Arabs about the dangers of the growing influence of British imperialism in the country and his lack of visionary powers of a leader. His indecision blurred his thinking capacity, power of judgment and consciousness. A combination of all these had a crippling effect on him when numerous unexplainable misfortunes hit the palace and they gave rise to political superstitious interpretation linked by the spirits of Hannington and the Readers. These included numerous fires that razed down palaces, plague in the capital, lightning which struck the Katikkiro's house where Mwanga was taking refuge, Mwanga's merchant boat capsizing with all merchandise, and a raging disastrous war which was raging between Buganda and Bunyoro. He never investigated the saboteurs and with severe punishments. He allowed people to fuel political suspicions of sabotage and spread superstitious fears of spirits haunting him to spread and malign his rule. First of all, all the Kabakas killed for fun or for treatment of a royal disease. And why was he hiding at Katikkiro's house? Hadn't he been reduced to disgracefulness? All these had a destabilising and undermining effect on his already quaky rule.

The work exposes the religious antagonisms between the three new denominations and how they attempted to patch them up in a bid to destroy Kabakaship and take over Buganda. The Readers took control of Buganda and they began to direct Kabaka Mwanga II. He formed a Youth Brigade and they wreaked havoc in Buganda Kingdom by mounting

indiscriminate marauding of hapless, helpless and defenceless agrarian populations; desecrating the traditional sacred places and traditional state religions, mounted wanton state terror through imposition of forced unpaid labour for public projects. These included construction of an artificial Lake and digging a channel connecting to Munyonyo on Lake Nalubale (Victoria). The Youth Brigade extended forced labour was extended to the royals, administrators and army commander of Buganda. An example was in September 1887 when Mwanga II led 2000 youth to raid Kyaggwe villages. They looted 800 cows and 4000 goats. This was so ill-fated that the victimage of that particular looting spree included Mwanga's grandparents. All these despicable activities that involved killings and battering depicted him as not being in charge of the country. The Readers and the CMS missionaries were the ones in charge. That was why Apollo Kaggwacould enrich himself with 300 cows and 400 goats from that particular booty as his personal property. He could appropriate all this because he was in charge of the country's treasury. His strategic location enabled him to access and appropriate state resources and he later used some of these and the guns in armoury of the Buganda Kingdom to fight Mwanga II and overthrow him from power. He, with two other Readers then handed over Buganda to the British imperialists through signing the Buganda Agreement in 1900. Their rewards included square miles of land, political power and movable property from the captured mobile property. His work, together with Murindwa Rutanga's (op. cit.) exposes the intertwinement and dynamics of politics, religion and power in the Great Lakes Region. Lwanga-Lunyiigo exposes Mwanga's strategic and conceptual mistakes, political miscalculations, adamancy to heed advice, crosscheck facts and failure to act accordingly and promptly, all of which cost Mwanga II, Buganda and Uganda loss of the kingdom, its independence and sovereignty.

The Missionaries knew historical factual knowledge about Buganda. They knew that it was only Kabaka Mwanga II among all the Kabakas of Buganda who had come to power without killing anyone, who did not compel his subjects to total obedience, kill his subjects en masse, whether in secrecy or overtly either for pleasure, for purifying his country, treating of any royal sickness or for consecrating the royal graves; or even to sending them to mass unpredictable death through military expeditions, wars or plunder. They turned all these historical facts on their head and instead accused Mwanga of tyranny in order to promote British imperialist interests of bread and butter for the 40,000,000 English inhabitants and profits. Thus, their actions demonstrated the true meaning of God – “Go Out Deceive”.

It explains the military alliance between Mwanga and Kabalega and how they forged an alliance. This shows how enmity between Buganda and Bunyoro was paralogiously invented by the colonialists. Lwanga-Lunyiigo explains how the Banyoro elders had foretold about that reuniting of the two brothers on the passage of their Babiito ancestors to rule Kitara, but that they would lose the war, be captured on the same day without being killed (2011:240). Following an invisible script, Mwanga's defeat in Buganda forced him to cross with his army into Bunyoro. He joined forces with Kabalega and fought the allied forces of the British and Baganda, got defeated and both were captured at Kangai, Lango on 9/04/1899 by two *Baganda generals*, for a reward of 1000 rupees, 200 cattle and 150 goats each, from Kabalega's herds which the British had captured. It explains how the two kings were exiled to Seychelles Islands, and how this paved way for the three Reagent Readers to surrender Buganda to Britain the following year for material and administrative rewards. The 1900 Buganda Agreement marked the fulfilment of the olden prophecy that the forces to destroy the Buganda Kingdom would come from the East.

It exposes the missionaries' continued demonisation of Mwanga employing pejorative and repugnant language and clichés, spurious allegations of drug addiction, and

homosexuality and their socio-political, cultural and ideological import. It shows how Mwanga was a polygamist, in a country where by tradition all women belonged to the reigning Kabaka and where homosexuality was unknown. The Europeans who were spuriously fixing it on him were its beneficiaries as “*a natural thing*”.

All these are contrary to the picture the colonial and neo-colonial historians, historiographies and Uganda knowledge producers and disseminators have painted about Mwanga – as a psychopathic, blood-thirsty tyrant. These are acted in plays, watched on TVs and students have to memorise them in detail to be able to pass exams.

The work tries to salvage and galvanise Uganda’s nationalist project by bringing out credible documented evidence to show how the leadership of Buganda had common interests and did collaborate with the other kingdoms, and how all of the kings in the region were anti-imperialistic. Among the evidence is the letter which Kabaka Mutesa I, wrote to Emin Pasha warning him against attacking the Bunyoro Kingdom thus “... and if they fight with Kabalega you are fighting with me and you are a friend to nobody” (2011:34).¹ Emin Pasha had to immediately oblige as he was not ready to fight a full scale war against all the kingdoms. The work cites military assistance from other kingdoms to Buganda whenever Buganda was under attack. An example was military assistance from the kingdoms of Koki, Nkore, Buziba and Bunyoro to Kabaka Mwanga.

The work shows how the missionaries did more political work than their spiritual one. This included spying, meddling with Buganda administration, maligning political and administrative power of the Kabaka, politicising their converts, inculcating and encouraging religion which was laced with politics of hate against political power and against the other denominations. It also shows their role in creating chaos, encouraging their converts to oppose political power and risk death as a bargaining chip for the missionaries in England to colonise Buganda. Another example was their luring the Baganda troops into their service against their state and country, made them destroy the Kabakaship and surrender the country to Britain. These missionaries created inter-imperialist rivalry for Buganda and they became the central actors. These took the expression of the Arab Muslims versus Egypt, British versus French, and British versus Germany; French and Germany as versus Britain, these Europeans combined versus Arabs, Europeans versus Africans, and the Europeans and Readers versus Uganda.

Mutesa I and Mwanga II’s anti-imperialist stance was for all Europeans to come and trade with Buganda. This explains why Mutesa kept all of them in the palace and Mwanga signed an agreement with Germany in 1890. While Mwangaharboured perpetual hatred for Islam and wavered from Catholicism to Protestantism, he maintained some relations with the Arabs. In addition to militarism, he tried to avert the looming imperialist takeover his country by sending consulates to Britain, Germany and France. The missionaries used the skills and power of language to promote British imperialism by persuading their readers to shift loyalty from the Buganda state and country and support the one of their teachers – the one which they did not know. They did as required and militarily supported imperialism to the end. To them, the end would justify the means. This demonstrates how language was utilised to perform a treacherous functionality.

¹ This was quoted by Sir J.M. Gray in “The Diaries of Emin Pasha Extracts III”, Uganda Journal 26. 1:1, 1962: 73)

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