

PAN AFRICAN CLUB DISCUSSION REPORT ON AFRICAN RELIGIONS

Proceedings of a Discussion Held on 2nd March 2018

Topic: "Why were African Religions Defeated and Destroyed"

Venue: Seascallop Restaurant in Kitante – Kampala

Organized by Pan African Club

Content Outline:

- Presentation by **Prof Murindwa Rutanga**, Makerere University;
- Submission by **Dr Alex Nkabahona**, Senior Lecturer, Makerere University, Department of Religion and Peace Studies;
- Remarks by **Dr. Kasuti David**, Senior Lecturer and Administrator, Kyambogo University;
- **Participants' Views;**
- Responses by **Prof Murindwa Rutanga**

PRESENTATION BY PROF MURINDWA RUTANGA, MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

The Professor began by thanking the Pan African Club for remaining standing as a solid body for a long time amidst many challenges.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Regarding the religious superstructure, Prof Murindwa said that many people have found money in religions especially the new ones and that especially the new religions have captured the young people. He said that people turn to religion for the unrealizable hope. He disclosed that everywhere, people are praying and gave example of Rwanda where the government is said to have closed 700 churches,

and wondered; how many churches do we have!

He explained that religion alludes to poverty and despair hence people turn to taking what is possible, and that, that is hope in the invisible form. That then, the people will move as a force and think that they are moving!

That in Zimbabwe, it is even worse, the people wear white and pray the whole day, everywhere! This he attributed to lack of hope, gainful employment and opportunities.

He stated that in Uganda, some people out of being desperate are recalling the pre-colonial religions, some of millions of years ago! He gave example of an African religion known as 'Enkunamo' whereby, unlike for men; if a woman who has given birth undresses to expose her behind, it is linked to religion, the Enkunamo religion. A recent related example, was the undressing of women in Northern Uganda before Government Ministers in defence of their land, and that one of the two Ministers has since passed away! That some people may decide to link the death to the undressing depending on their beliefs. The other example was the undressing of Dr. Stella Nyanzi before she undressed mentally to the First Family. She did so in protest of Prof Mamdani's administration, and that it is said that Mamdani could not be affected because he is older than her, otherwise, other believers think, something was going to happen to him. However in the same week (of Nyanzi's undressing), Makerere University staff, Mohammed Kulumba died. He said he is not saying that the undressing was the cause per se but some people who believe can interpret it or misinterpret it.

The other example of African religious practices during the pre-colonial times was in dispute resolution when faced with war. He gave example that the 'Matoput' in Northern Uganda has a religious aspect. In Rwanda after the 1994 genocide, the state thought there were certain things it could not handle hence the use of the Gacaca Courts, which according to Professor have a religious angle.

That the difference between the pre-colonial and the current religions is that in the former, most of these can do without any God Father. In the Catholics for example, you have the Pope who is alone, then we have the Archbishops who challenge political power and the like.

He said that religions can take over power. He explained that Theocracy means the rule of religion hence controlling politics and mainstream of the population. That today, the modern religions are hegemonic, independent, they buy land, make money through real business such as the Mapera House, the Centenary Bank, which is the Pope's Bank and is a successful bank, the Equity Bank for the

Protestants, church house, etc. This means, they are responding to the demands of capitalism and that these representatives of God are not going for crumbs but real money.

That, the post-colonial religions have spread their influence over the population but not using force. They have overtime established their hegemony where the people voluntarily submit themselves. He said that in weak economies, ideology is anchored in the material base. The reality is that whatever you do, at the end of the day you must eat, you need shelter, when you fall sick, you seek for treatment; that capitalism rules that you either pay or die, no free lunch.

THE FUNCTIONALITIES OF RELIGION

The professor stated that religions have different functionalities depending on where they are formed.

- 1. The Religion of money;** that for example, people like the Sudhirs worship the God of money. That such people, their thinking about religion is about money. If a particular God cannot provide the money, they will go to another one. Money is the constant. When they are making house constructions, they shed blood. He advised that when you hear such, you don't have to take it per se but don't ignore it. You would rather take note and warn others.
- 2. The Free-minded;** that those who are free-minded, we are few.
- 3. Those living simple life on Earth;** such as those we see in city born again churches with small jericans of water, that these are not thinking about money; their expectations on Earth are simple like recovering when they are sick, feeling well etc.
- 4. The fans;** that this word is the short form of fanatics. They include those talking in tongues. That at Makerere main building, he found such who were among students and one of them was caught off-guard as he was heard repeatedly saying "balyabalyabalyabalya....." that he is talking in tongues while their fellow students were in the library reading! He explained that where you tune your brain, that is how you dream and that in this case, when things get wrong, one might end up getting mad. He revealed that some students have left University and gone away claiming that God has called them!

Other categories include politicians and civil servants. These pray especially for promotions and that when one prays for them, they leave them with huge money. Then he goes and works hard and when he wins, he says religion has done it! He finds that, this category of people has actually more confidence in the traditional shrines. The others include school candidates, they pray to pass exams. He also stated that the pre-colonial religions were

rooted to the material realities of society.

INVENTION OF RELIGIONS

That, religions emerge where the people do not understand the problems they face and thus subscribe to the supernatural. He mentioned an interesting reading book by **Wallis Budge** titled **"The Egyptian Book of the Dead"** published in 1895. That this book is produced in America and read by Americans hence; since it is found online, the only way is to google and printout copies for reading. That the Book translates the works of the Egyptian Kings and shows that **Heaven was invented by the rulers in Egypt**. They wrote texts assuming that the Pharaoh has died and crossed to the other world, and then those he found there are debating what he did when he was a King. Then the King would say I did very well, don't punish me. They wrote that, the other gods, those should be the texts they should read. This was therefore politics.

That there is no separation between religion and politics, and that the Pharaoh of Egypt were able to invent a world after life.

THE MISSION OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN AFRICA

That in a mission titled "Project Africa", in 1887, King Leopold II told the missionaries not to teach Africans religion, that because the Africans already knew religion. He tasked them to teach Africans how to read and memorize but not to think.

He stated that following the Egyptian Book of the Dead, **Lord Macaulay** in his address to the British Parliament on 2 February 1835 said; **"I have travelled the length and breadth of Africa and I have not found one person who is a beggar, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such caliber that I do not think that we would ever conquer this country unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Africans think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self esteem, their native culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation"**

The Professor said that the observations of Lord Macaulay were true, that indeed Africans were not poor and that even the richest man of all human history (in the world) by the name Mansa Musa was an African. That therefore, Lord Macaulay was truly surprised having seen what he had never seen.

About our education which was also targeted for destruction and colonization of Africa, the Professor wondered that today everybody complains about our education system; that a Professor complains, students complain, the president complains but nothing is done yet we all continue to complain! That even the Business people complain that the education is not imparting skills, and then you ask, skills to do what?; to fix capitalism system, which we don't own! We have engineers to repair cars which cars we don't own (we don't produce). The Professor posed a question of how do we move from here?

That our culture, education, religion and pride were destroyed, adding that **foreign religions came with a mission and they have never let go**. He stated that we still have foundational bodies such as schools based on religions and we have pride in them!

That when we were legislating an anti-homosexuality law, and President Trump talked against it, "everybody" was saying Trump has said! That when you go outside, you find male Bishops marrying fellow men, but the criticisms which came from Ugandan religious leaders were to the effect that homosexuality is against religious values, and that non talked about culture yet religion must be anchored in culture!

That the actions of destroying what we had to put in place what the foreigners had brought was met with struggles of resistance; the foreigners found that the people were not prepared to surrender. That the clash of the two sides resulted into new social formations. The Professor explained that when two cultures meet, non defeats the other but the two change. He gave example that when two people marry and one eats maize while the other eats snakes, what is likely is that both will eat both.

WHY WERE AFRICAN RELIGIONS DEFEATED?

Prof Murindwa Rutanga said that **foreign religions were supported by their home states for they were doing their ideological work**. They therefore had an upper-hand against the African religions. That today, when you recite African religions such as Nyabingi, Rubale, Emandwa, people will look at you not only shock but also fear.

That the 1912 Witchcraft Ordinance, was a law meant to suppress African religions. That even terms such as Pegan and Kaffir were aimed at demonizing the Pre-colonial African religions. He stated that this is the same pattern all the time by Western powers to demonize those they don't want as was the case against Assad in Syria, Gaddafi in Libya, Saddam in Iraq by the USA and that now they

are in, establishing their hegemony over the people, and that institutions such as the police, army, religion will continue to fight whatever the Americans have demonized!

That the Western media such as the BBC, Radio France International etc were calling Gaddafi a dictator, they moved in, got what they wanted which is oil and now Libya is struggling. The Guest Speaker said that similarly during colonial time, the motivations of the colonizers were raw materials, market for their industrial goods, resettlement of their unemployed population and seeking for investment opportunities. They took away land and established farms. All these were material in nature.

The Professor explained that the foreign invaders were not targeting African religion per se, adding that to the colonizers, African religion was no problem but it had to be fought because, it became a fortress in which the Africans found expression which was enabling them to challenge colonialism.

Prof Murindwa put it clearly that African religion offered a platform on which the African found energy and leadership to confront the in-coming enemy, which was determined to confront the African people. He added that African religion was a way of life integrated in the mode of the human existence e.g. a curse dispossessed you even materially in the African religious setting. Therefore, religion encompassed a whole existence of the African people.

That the other factor which put the Africans' side at a disadvantage was the lack of standing armies apart from a few kingdoms such as Bunyoro, Buganda, the Shona, Ndebele, Zulu etc. On the other hand, the enemy soldiers were well trained, paid, had insurance, could go on leave and when one died or retired would be replaced. Therefore, the Africans who had no such professional armies, weapons and industrial production, were at a lower level of warfare development. He gave example that Buganda kingdom had arms but even then, they were buying them from outside.

That, the war between Africans and foreigners was not a war among equals. The whites said; **whatever the Africans do, we have the maxim gun!** Therefore, the African people were at a disadvantage; there was no industrialization yet in Africa, no working class to organize in Trade Unions hence, the only left platform was religion. That the war followed the logic of war, of destruction and that capitalism envisages destroying those you don't want. That, destroying people meant destroying their formations including religion. That, the African religion hadn't evolved hegemonization, the shrines were just behind people's houses.

The other disadvantage on the Africans' side is that there were conflicts between African religions. For example, between the Nyabingi and Emandwa religions. The Nyabingi was started in Karagwe, the present day Tanzania by a young female. The title 'Nyabingi' means one who gives plenty. This religion was violent. Then we had the Emandwa religion in Kigezi which was non-violent and it was adopted by Kings in Bunyoro, Rwanda and heads of most households.

Most resistance movements against colonialism were led by women such as Muhumuza, Nyinabatwa from the Nyabingi religion, while a few were led by men such as Ntokiibiri. That when the colonialists saw that they could not defeat the Nyabingi struggles, they decided to tolerate the Emandwa religion to help them fight Nyabingi. This was on the advice by J.E Phillips and in this way, they managed to undermine the Nyabingi Movement.

That the other challenge came from internal disagreements within the African religions; some people were against religious mediums because they were exploiting them in the name of gifts such as goats, foodstuffs etc. That the religious leaders who were benefiting from these religions mobilized the people to fight foreign invasion but other people such as Mutambuka, a man who had 37 wives allied with the colonialists. Having such a big family, Mutambuka was influential and was taken as a chief. Those who saw had nothing to lose did not participate in the fight against colonialism. That the internal contradictions therefore did not favour us.

That the colonialists' state came and imposed Christianity. This was followed by the banning of the Nyabingi religion. Rather than join Christianity, the people chose the 3rd force, the Islamic religion, which was known as Mohammedism.

That, the French and the English had a relationship in establishing colonialism here on the basis that the White Fathers' Mission for the Catholics who were French and the Church Missionary Society for the Protestants who were British, were both getting facilitation money from the British imperialists. Hence in this connection, both were doing imperial work of the British, following the facilitation.

That, according to the Book written by Prof Lwanga Lunyigo, evidence of letters are provided [in the book] indicating that Rev. Mackay and Fr. Loudel were both spying on their followers and sending spying reports to the British.

That the Namugongo 3rd June affair [Christian Martyrs Day] is a "place of miracles" being a big day for everyone with exception of the unsuspecting pilgrims because on that day, people do business and make money.

The Professor stated that in his book, Prof Lwanga Lunyigo explains what happened; that the martyrdom of the Christians were unknown to Kabaka Mwanga and that to the contrary, the Kabaka wanted to become a Catholic and acquired the name Charles and that until his death, he was called so but, Father Loudel refused to baptize him! Instead, Loudel claimed to the British authorities that as the missionaries and the Christians generally, they were working under strenuous conditions, that the political atmosphere was bad! This was because, Loudel wanted to incite the British to come, overthrow the Kabaka and take over!

Prof Murindwa revealed the truth that it was a Pan Africanist called Mukasa who was also the Prime Minister of Buganda Kingdom, that was secretly ordering the killings of the fanatic Christians. That most likely, the British knew about this but they took up the propaganda in order to "increase the fire" and force Britain to come and take over. That the evidence of letters written by Father Loudel and Rev Mackay are provided in Prof Lunyigo's book.

Prof Murindwa doubted that Kabaka Mutesa wrote asking for the Missionaries to come to Buganda, because for him; they would come to do what? He added that, Kabaka Mutesa thought he could handle the challenges brought by Christianity until he died. Then his son, the next King, Kabaka Mwanga also thought he could handle until the war started.

That the war between Buganda and the colonialists was not fought by Buganda alone. Tanzania and Ankore brought in soldiers to fight on the side of Buganda until Kabalega of Bunyoro joined.

However, the invaders were a united force armed with guns, the Bible, the lies, and that there are written reports of the "men of God" doing spying work to serve the political and military interests of the colonizers. That King Leopold had tipped the missionaries to select and emphasize particular verses in the Bible such as happy are the poor because theirs is in heaven etc. Yet, the same bible says that whatever is prohibited on earth, will be prohibited in heaven! Prof Murindwa Rutanga finds that the colonial laws were not just anti-religion, they were also anti-people.

That the African resistances such as the Majimaji rebellion were wars which could not last long. They could fight and win battles but could not win the war. Even in the 1950s when the Mau Mau rebellion broke out, still there were limitations such as not being full time armies and had rudimental tools. That the laws and money undermined many African things.

The colonial system became very aggressive. They provided education and that with the emerging of new elites and the churches, the traditional religions rescinded, and today they operate at night. People still go to the African religions for blessings, security etc hence, they were not completely wiped out but their usefulness has waned.

EFFECTS OF THE DEFEAT OF AFRICAN RELIGIONS

That the new religions were formed by mixing elements from the African and foreign religions. This is reflected in the way of preaching, the instruments used etc. in addition, religions serve different interests to different people at different times. For the beggars, their prayers are different, for those who carry containers seeking water blessings are also different. Those who give huge money to religious leaders for their prayers are pursuing different interests. For the oppressed, religions become fortresses for hiding from challenges, and that religion sometimes becomes strength to the downtrodden. He said that the colonialists found African religions being fortresses for the people, which was a positive thing.

On the other hand, **religions have become opium of the mind**. Some people are busy making riches out of religion. He gave example of a pastor who will get a preacher from the USA to a crusade where he will collect 100m shs free of tax, aware that 50m of this will go to his pocket. The Professor wondered whether such a Pastor is at the same level with those he is preaching!

The other example is where it has gone to the extent that, some religious leaders preach sitting on people, and he reasoned that by the time you allow someone to sit on you in the name of preaching, there is something wrong with your head, sort of opium to make you accept anything!

Prof Murindwa Rutanga however noted that religion can be liberating depending on how it is constructed.

SUBMISSION BY DR ALEX NKABAHONA, SENIOR LECTURER, MAKERERE UNIVERSITY;

Kindly Note; Dr Alex Nkabahona did not attend in person, but on request from our Management, he sent in his views on the topic via email. The following is the exact content as he sent it. Enjoy the reading.

Points for Reflection

1. The Problematique in the Formulation of the Topic for Discussion: Why were African Religions Defeated and Destroyed?
 - Starts from a negative/pessimist/self-defeatist assumption that African Religions are dead and buried.
 - Could function as an attraction and gateway to an easy-to-fall-into-TRAP: The elitist-finger-wielding/pointing critics at external forces for anything wrong or bad on the African Continent: underdevelopment, poverty, poor education systems, bad governance, exploitation of Africa's resources...and now the defeat and destruction of African Religions: Dead and buried!
 - The question demands retrospective analysis and answers spanning over centuries and covering a complexity of diverse contexts to be taken into account: cultures, history....whose pinpoint accuracy, reliability and validity might be hard to ascertain.

2. Taking a more Optimist Approach, my reflections rotate around the assumptions that:
 - African Traditional Religions were/still are a fertile ground for foreign religions (Christianity, Islam and others) to germinate, take root and grow.
 - Statics in terms of converts to Christianity and Islam in particular and more recently the mushrooming born again/Pentecostal congregations is a testimony to that irrefutable fact: the basic African religiosity was/still is the reason for the spontaneous embrace of foreign religions_ practices and spirituality.
 - Should this be considered "defeat and destruction" of African Religions?
 - The answer is a resounding No. Neither defeated nor destroyed.
 - At worst one may say: African Traditional Religions may have been despised (in the initial stages of contact with new/foreign religions (Christianity in particular) and hence obscured along the way, BUT never defeated or destroyed.

3. The mistake that might have been made and still committed by some Christian/Moslim preachers was: attempting to carry both the seed (the Word of God) and the soil (Western/Middle East Cultures) and impose both on to the African peoples.
4. Elements of Rich African Spirituality/Religiosity that did not require foreign transfers: The understanding of God and as Source of all Life that there is...(embedded in the African Anthropocentric World View: The One and Only One Supreme Being (God) at the top, Man at the center of a complex web of a hierarchical BUT interdependent beings).
5. The challenge for Africa and for the Pan African Club reflection and discussion: How to reclaim/retrieve Africa's rich spirituality/religiosity from OBSCURITY?
6. This could be done on two fronts:
 - a. Purge African religiosity of all negative practices (witchcraft among others).
 - b. Decolonize religion: on the one hand, Decolonizing Christianity and Islam but equally important, decolonizing African Spirituality/Religiosity
 - c. Only then can there be mutually beneficial cross-fertilization between foreign and African religions: It must be a give and take approach for mutual enrichment
7. Mr. Ngabirano, PLEASE NOTE THESE ARE WILD THOUGHTS PUT TOGETHER IN HASTE. They need some TAMING.

REMARKS BY DR. KASUTI DAVID, SENIOR LECTURER, KYAMBOGO

UNIVERSITY

Dr. David Kasuti thanked **Professor Murindwa Rutanga** for transforming his thinking. He said he had come with a Eurocentric construction but the Professor changed his view. He proceeded to say that a mixture of Jewish thinking and European practices, is what was brought here as Christianity. He gave example that the way weddings are conducted has nothing to do with Christianity but rather European wedding practices. He revealed that to the whites, marriage was a battle hence, the groom would have a Best-man who is very strong on one side and a sword on the other side.

He gave another statement of fact that honeymoon in the whites culture was meant to ensure that you pregnant your newly wedded wife, and that for them, unless you had sex with the woman, she was not your wife. This was known as consummation. On the other hand, for us, if a customary event was done to give you the woman, she became your wife there and then whether you have had sex or not.

Dr. Kasuti doubted whether Buganda kingdom was as strong as is told. To him, the strong kingdom then was Bunyoro. He said that in history, it is claimed that Buganda colonized Busoga yet it is not evident anywhere. Instead, kings in Busoga are Banyoro. He revealed that himself is a Musoga and is aware that to the Basoga, their Chief God is the Omukama (King) of Bunyoro. He added that Busoga was originally Bunyoro, and that when the Basoga die even today, they are buried facing Bunyoro, to imply that the dead is going back to Bunyoro.

He said that the Omukama Kabalega was named after Bulega, a place in the current DRC, adding that Bunyoro kingdom went as far as the DRC, Kenya and Tanzania. He said that however, the winner writes the history, and in this case, he decided to present Buganda as the most powerful kingdom at that time. He went into details that, at the time the colonialists came, the forces of Bunyoro were at Maganjo, just after Kawempe! That when you go to Bunyoro, the Banyoro claim Kintu as the first Munnyoro just as the Baganda do, that Kintu was the first Muganda. Dr Kasuti reasoned that both could be right on ground that Kintu was the first Munnyoro and the Baganda themselves came out of Bunyoro.

Dr Kasuti well stated that it is the King of Bunyoro who rules Busoga; when one is elected a King of Busoga, he must go to Bunyoro to announce that I have been elected, and then its the King of Bunyoro who decides the day of coronation on which he comes and gives the instruments of power.

PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS

Nataamba Masiko Maguundu confirmed that it is true Busoga is ruled by the King of Bunyoro as explained by Dr. Kasuti.

Maguundu said that a tree without roots cannot stand and the same applies to an African without culture.

He asserted that foreign religions are robbing Africa and implored members to make the mathematics; the weekly collections of churches and mosques on the continent and investigate in whose banks they put this money! He argued that these monies are kept in foreign banks and that with the American backed born-again revolution, these are the monies which are brought back to Africa as loans. This he finds it as a double challenge for the African.

Maguundu said that he has so far spent one and half years researching about African traditional culture and spirituality.

Kabalega Isheruhemba Ogwenzhura Ogutarara said that he was abit disappointed with Prof. Murindwa's presentation that because he failed to distinguish between religion and spirituality. Kabalega argued that in Africa, we have always been spiritual and not religious.

He explained that we were simply hijacked and this has caused us from degenerating from being broke to being poor. He argued that as Africans, we are one and the same and that when you understand our spirituality, you will discover that we have the same guiding fathers.

He asserted that it should not be only the Basoga to go back to Bunyoro but even the Baganda should do. He concluded that we have a duty to bring back what was ours.

Onyiko Steven said that witchcraft wasn't part of the African culture but rather what we had were departments and that healing, magicians, were just some of the departments. That it is the Eurocentric view which called some of these as witchcraft. Referring to James Mbiti, he emphasized that witchcraft wasn't tolerated in African traditions and gave example of Teso where he comes from that if one was suspected to be doing witchcraft, he was chased from the Community.

Kasozi Mulindwa stated that we are spiritual beings having a human experience. He argued that what Prof Rutanga has said is our human experience that but he avoided our spiritual nature.

Kasozi said that it is even worse seeing ourselves in the prism of the experience of the whites. He observed that the way spirituality was being described was in the image of the West and not the understanding of what we knew spirituality to be.

Mugume Amon asked for the action-point in regard to how this information can be passed to the other young people.

Issiko Ramadhan thanked Prof Rutanga for a remarkable presentation. He asked that who is an African? He also suggested that the discussion should shift to how the today's religions can be used to handle the challenges we face today such as poverty.

Rubanda Mayonza Mwene Busingye said that religion is a bad thing and that we never used to have religions in Africa. He likened religion to being tired up somewhere to be taken somewhere! He recalled that communicating with your God in the African setting never used to be a communal thing but rather was personal affair and a small group of related people say a family would do it together.

Rubanda believes that foreigners undermined our beliefs yet these were the ones keeping us strong, and then we went into foreign faulty systems in a sense that they were not our systems and could not work for us.

Adrine Twongyeirwe said that the white missionaries had their mission in Africa, and knew that unless they destroyed our formations they could not succeed, hence the introduction of Christianity.

Kyarisiima Israel said that some members of the Pan African Club are not yet liberated because they still worship Jesus. He said that Adam and Eve is a history of just about 2,000 years yet the oldest man is said to have lived over 3 million years ago. He expressed that as far as he is concerned; Christianity is for the hopeless people. He gave example that in poor slums like Bwaise, you find many churches compared to places of those who are doing well such as Kololo. He implored members to try Mama Fina, a traditional healer.

RESPONSES BY PROF MURINDWA RUTANGA

The Professor thanked participants for what he termed as enlightening and educative questions and comments. He implored members to view these very seriously not only for the present but past and future because what we need is the way out of the colonial box we are in. He advised that we need to learn how others did it such as India, Singapore, China, South Korea, North Korea, Japan and

others. He pointed out that even after the 1945 Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing, Japan still got a way out, and that all these countries were once colonised but they are where they are today. He suggested that we need to trace their way from where they were left up to where they are now and continue discoursing.

He pointed out that Bunyoro and Buganda are linked by one leadership, when Kabalega joined Mwanga in battle against colonialism, the Banyoro said that the two brothers have joined again. He said that we are all Banyoro, after all, Banyoro means respected people. He therefore advised that we should not say the Basoga are linked to Banyoro and leave others.

About the Kingdoms strength, he revealed that Captain Lugard and Sir Samuel Baker talked about a strong army with a lot of weapons [and that, that might have been Bunyoro]

On comparison of the size of Buganda vs Bunyoro, Professor said that borders collapse on the basis of strength, it is true Bunyoro soldiers were at Maganja by the time the colonialists came that but that does not mean that Buganda did not have concentration elsewhere.

He concurred that a tree without roots is not a tree and that a people without a culture are not a people, adding that this is what Africa has been rendered to. He also said that religion is part of culture.

About spirituality and religion, the Professor said that he doesn't want to be a practitioner, and couldn't therefore go deep into those details.

He pointed out another rare information amongst us that the people in America are practicing the Nyabingi religion and that they are aware that Haile Selassie of Ethiopia [Africa] heads it.

He advised participants to read **the Book; Rasta and Resistance**, to understand further the importance of religion.

Prof Murindwa clarified that in his presentation, he hadn't said that African religions were less developed. He referred to the Egyptian Book and gave example of the Pyramids which he said that up to now, they demonstrate the highest level of construction. He also recommended to read the Book titled; **The Destruction of African Civilization**, and another by John Jackson known as; **An Introduction**

to African Civilization. He added that the famous Shakespeare was an African and that Africa is the origin of human beings. He cautioned however that though this we can celebrate it, we should not romanticize it to sit in it because all that has been taken away.

About who is an African, Professor said that Africa was not monolithic. He reasoned that an African is he / she who is loyal to Africa. He gave example that during the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, if you were not loyal to the struggle, your Africanness was not useful. He said that those who came as Boers are now Africans. He said that Tunisia wanted to join European Union but they were rejected. That even Morocco tries to say that they are not African but they can't go away. He even advised that trying to say who is an African and who is not can be diversionary.

He disclosed that Buganda tried to control the behaviour of different African religions for different purposes while in Kigezi they were fragmented. He said that kingdoms such as the Zulu were at a higher level and reasoned that with time, bigger and stronger kingdoms would have emerged and control the behaviour of religions more effectively. He analyzed that there is no way a leader emerges and allows different practices. He said that the governmentality practices would set in and control education, religion, reforming peoples' behaviours such as through prisons etc.

The Professor reasoned that some written texts were for manipulation in future use, and that true to this, Netanyahu is using some Biblical texts to justify his actions. He even thought that the claim that Moses saw the Pharaoh is a lie, adding that it is not that easy to see a pharaoh. He wondered whether its easy for example that you go to State House and see the President, just like that.

About witchcraft, Prof Rutanga said that in some African societies, witchcraft was done collectively. He gave example that Kahonda was famous for this.

He stated that periodization is very complicated especially before colonialism. That even when we say the stone age, iron age, bronze age, is not very clear, what becomes clear is when colonialism comes and within a short record time of 60 years, changes everything. The Africans struggled but this could only result into new formations.

[Interjection by Dr. Kasuti]; Dr Kasuti said that in Uganda, we practice the

English law, and that the mode of existence has to adhere to the law. That after independence, we got modernization theory from America, and that the World Bank became the supervisor of Africa's loans acquired from America.

In agreement with the above, Prof Murindwa said that only a few countries such as India have resisted certain things unlike others, and that more include the SAPs. We dance to the tunes of the events in western powers, a case in point being the September 11 when America was bombed and it declared; you are either with us or against us. Then we see America up to 2008 when its economy collapsed providing a breathing space in which China emerges as another power, with 1.4 billion people, ready to dominate the world. They understand the variables, mentally liberated, and that we should now wait for the consequences of the emergence of China in the long run.

The Professor explained that religion is first and foremost in the mental space, hence; without mental liberation then there is a big problem unless we get a liberation religion. He analysed that the religions we have today are imprisoning people in their problems. For example, when you have a problem, they will tell you; let us pray. There is no ideological consciousness and thus we have become prisoners of religion. He asserted that we need to create options by learning the alternative methods of the struggle.

About passing information to the young generation, he recommended reading and writing books. He encouraged participants that all have capacity to write at least a page or two and then get someone to edit it, and begin from there. Those writing can also get articles from the like minds. He guided that we should try to see where we want this continent to go.

[Another interjection by Dr. Kasuti] reminding Prof Murindwa to talk about education. But Kasuti himself went on to suggest that we need education which is customized to our needs. Prof Murindwa agreed with Dr. Kasuti on this idea.

The Professor said that we are faced with a situation which requires us to think and act broadly. He added that the enemy is very united, hence; Uganda alone will be overwhelmed. He said that we need East Africa but again to be able to face Asia, America and Europe, Africa should be one. Then this should be followed by critical thinking in a unified form. He disclosed that Swahili is the second largest spoken language in Africa after Arabic, hence we need to embrace it. He pointed

out some of our challenges as Africa, emphasizing that we are the second largest continent in the world but we are the only continent, which is not in space. Prof Murindwa Rutanga re-emphasized that this continent must form to become one very quickly, to be able to deal with these mega issues.

Compiled by:

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