

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF STATECRAFT IN
SHAKESPEARE AND RUGANDA'S PLAYS *JULIUS CAESAR* AND *THE FLOODS***

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2007/ HD05/MALT**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF LITERATURE,
KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**

SEPTEMBER 2012

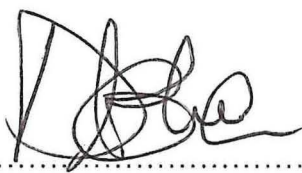
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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work submitted for the award of the degree of Master of Literature of Kyambogo University. It has not been submitted to any University or any other institution of higher learning for any academic award.

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DEDICATION

To my late parents, Aloysious Lugoloobi and Mary N. Lugoloobi, who always encouraged their children to aim higher in education. May they rest in peace. To my dear children; Richard, Ivan, Timothy and Bridget, who have given me moral and material support in these trying times. To all my loving sisters: Prof. Nassanga Gorretti, Sylvia Bbossa, Jane Harriet Lugoloobi, and brothers; Richard Kakembo and Charles Batte.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to appreciate the support and guidance of my supervisor, Sr. Dr. Frances Nakiwala. I also extend my gratitude to all Lecturers who taught and have seen me through this course at Masters level: Sr.Dr. Frances Nakiwala, Dr. Christopher Kirunda, Dr. Mukakanya Patrick, Mr. Benon Tugume, Mr. Kamugisha Eria Ntogoga, Dr. Okaka Dokotum and Mr. Austin Bukenya.

I also extend my gratitude to my colleagues, Mr. Twinomugisha Hassan and Ms. Odochi Grace, who have continued to give me encouragement while on this course.

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ABSTRACT

This study compared the representation of statecraft in Shakespeare's play, *Julius Caesar*, and Ruganda's play, *The Floods*. The study focused on the dramatists' perception of what is involved in the political processes. Generally, the study was library-based, and employed a qualitative approach in its examination, analysis and interpretation of the political issues in the plays. The theme of statecraft¹ in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* was examined under two major sub-themes: politics and violence. Politics was further analyzed under the categories of political personnel and political experiences, namely: friendship and betrayal, futility of independence, and manipulation of the common people. The theme of violence was analyzed under the categories: repression, wars and coups, sexual violence, and the consequences of political violence.

It was observed in the background to the study that the two playwrights greatly draw on the social and political milieu of their respective societies. Shakespeare wrote his play, *Julius Caesar*, in the 15th-16th century, to portray the political climate in England which was characterised by struggles. Similarly, Ruganda was informed by the social and political forces of the Amin regime of 1971-1979, to write his play, *The Floods*.

The study employed both T.S. Eliot (1888-1965) idea of the 'timelessness of art'² expressed in his essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' and Reader-Response theory³ in its comparative analysis of a new writer, Ruganda, to an old writer, Shakespeare.

From the Reader-Response point of view, the research argued that Ruganda 'misread'⁴ Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. In other words, he saw the Ugandan political atmosphere with the lenses of the Roman world depicted in *Julius Caesar*, itself a camouflaged reflection of the Elizabethan England.

The study identified common grounds in the representation of the political atmosphere, modes employed in attaining and sustaining power, and the dramaturgy of presenting political violence in the plays, *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*.

The study established that *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* have commonalities in the representation of political figures, practices and experiences. The study also logically argued that the two texts share content and methods of representing the theme of political violence. It was therefore concluded that Ruganda 'misread' Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* when he wrote his play, *The Floods*. But the study also discovered unique areas in the dramaturgy employed in presenting the themes of the plays.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction.

A close reading of John Ruganda's *Black Mamba* led me to discover an incident of Professor Coax's topsy-turvy lifestyle of hunting for prostitutes at night, and being an honourable Professor during day (p.15). This occurrence referenced a similar statement made by the mad King Lear in an imaginary court scene: "we'll go to supper i' the' morning." To which the Fool responds that: "And I'll go to bed at noon" (3.6.82-83). Indeed, there are overtones of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in Ruganda's *The Floods*, particularly in the representation of Machiavellian statecraft. It was these references that signalled to me that Ruganda, as a Makererian of the 1960's when Shakespeare ranked among the prominent writers on the literature syllabus, must have read Shakespeare. Since both dramatists talk about statecraft, I chose to compare two prominent political plays to show areas of intersection with regard to the dramatists' materialization of political themes in their respective political plays. The analysis sought to show both subtle and overt echoes of Shakespeare in Ruganda's political works under study, to showcase the extent to which Shakespeare an old dramatist influenced Ruganda's political perceptions in his artistic writings, and to show the unique ways in which Ruganda as a young dramatist expressed his views about the politics of his own society.

Consequently, this study focused on William Shakespeare and John Ruganda's dramatic presentation of Machiavellianism political theory (statecraft) in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* respectively. According to Rosemary Coxon B.A. and Michael Baker M.A, Machiavellianism refers to, 'political practices that involve a combination of craft and ruthlessness, attributed to Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527); an Italian statesman and a writer on political subjects. Machiavelli's political handbook for rulers, *The Prince* (1531) was studied attentively throughout Renaissance Europe, though often publicly deplored' (p.184). The power struggles and ruthlessness of the political figures Shakespeare presents in *Julius Caesar*, are evidence that the dramatist adopted Machiavellianism in his play. According to T.S. Eliot: 'A new writer will be like his ancestors.' This is to say that, he will misread his own history into that of his predecessors. Thus, it is a commonplace thing in literature to hear

echoes of an old writer in the works of a new one. Eliot further observes that the new writer will however struggle to be different from his ancestors. So, Ruganda as a Makererian of the 1960s did not only misread Shakespeare into his political experience of Uganda, but also struggled to break away from his literary ancestor. This accounts for the differences between his dramatic presentation and that of Shakespeare. Hence, the study also set out not only to identify commonalities in the two playwrights, but also to celebrate the uniqueness of Ruganda and Shakespeare, particularly those areas where Ruganda excels.

The Reader-Response theory provides an interesting explanation of the phenomenon of reverberations of an old writer into that of the new one as follows: The writer superimposes his historical materials onto the works of his predecessors and consequently, the new work resembles the old because it is slotted into old frames. There are differences though, explained by Harold Bloom as, 'the writer's struggle to liberate himself from the clutches of his ancestors.' (p.24). T.S.Eliot explains the same occurrence in two ways: one, is the impact of a literary tradition weighing down upon the new writer (p.431). Whenever a new writer writes, he has the tradition of his predecessors in him. The other is uniqueness or 'individual talent' of the writer. According to Eliot, a new writer cannot be independent of the traditions.

However, the material he has inherited is partly translated by the writer's uniqueness and a new text that bears the stamp of the old and the new is produced. It is in light of these observations that I undertook a comparative study of Shakespeare and John Ruganda. The comparative analysis of the old work of literature, *Julius Caesar*, with the new, *The Floods*, led to identification of not only common strands in the aspects of the works of art, but also unearthed the unique areas of the two writers, thereby asserting the Reader-Response principle of the influence of the predecessor and the anxiety to break away from the tradition: 'anxiety of influence' Bloom (p.24), which explains the individuality and resourcefulness of each writer. In his essay: 'Tradition and Individual Talent', T.S. Eliot argues that, 'no poet, no artist has his complete meaning alone' (p.432). Rather, when a new writer produces his work, he draws on a whole tradition of his literary ancestors weighing upon him. However, Eliot argues that there are aspects of that writer that will be unique to him.

1.1 Background to the Study.

Shakespeare and Ruganda belong to different historical periods, thus different dramatic contexts: 16th -17th century England and 20th century Uganda, respectively. The 16th-17th century was a period termed as the English Renaissance. The English people had stopped fighting the wars of the Roses⁵ and were concentrating on developing themselves in various aspects of knowledge. Many English scholars imported various forms of knowledge from Italy, a state that had had its Renaissance two centuries earlier. The sonnet by Francisco Petrarch, and discourses on statecraft by Niccolo Machiavelli constituted among others, some of the major forms of knowledge that the English people imported from Italy.

However, behind the peaceful and intellectual facade of the English Renaissance period was political anxiety. The first cause of unrest was the controversial political Teaching of Niccolo Machiavelli, that power was secular; attained by virtue and constitution of the state, hence contradicting with the dominant political ideology⁶, that the monarch was God's Lieutenant and therefore he should be obeyed even if he/she was ineffective. There was tension therefore, between the adherents to the status quo and the aberrant who espoused the political science of Machiavelli. So, a lot of anxiety was caused by Queen Elizabeth's covert persecution of the leftists.

The second cause of unrest was the anxiety about posterity of the Tudor dynasty. Queen Elizabeth I, the only existing Tudor, had refused to marry, yet she was getting old. The English people wanted the successor to the throne to descend from the Tudor line, for it was believed that, since Tudors had restored peace to England, it was only them that could maintain the peace of England. Shakespeare captured all these political tensions in his works.

Similarly, the late 1970's, a post-independence period, was characterized by political turmoil, during which Ruganda produced his political play, *The Floods*. It was hardly a decade after Ugandan independence, the latter event had happened prematurely. Firstly, Ugandans had requested for independence before training enough personnel to assume political positions. All key political positions had been filled by white men. The best jobs the Ugandans could do were to teach in Primary and Junior schools. The curriculum did not prepare people for politics nor economic

development. The masses did not have civic education; they were unaware of human rights and of the importance and role of government and managing public property. Therefore, there were scarcely any skilled political leaders, no set ideology, with many who assumed positions of leadership groping in the dark. This situation resulted in politicians experimenting with many forms of statecraft. The political leaders were land lords, as it were.

Economically, the 1970-1980s, was a period of depression caused by a number of factors. First, the economy was already weak as it depended entirely on agricultural products whose prices, on the world market, were unstable. Second, was the trading embargo on export of coffee, the chief agricultural product, imposed as a result of Idi Amin's dictatorial government. Third, was the shutting down of industries following the expulsion of Asians. Consequently, there was a terrible scarcity of essential commodities. This meant that, only those in leadership positions could get enough. It was not surprising, therefore, to hear that it was a period during which leadership was equated to 'eating', and not leadership for nation building.

Both plays under study do express the painful consequences of the prevalent political crises that the playwrights seem to write for generations of people who had experienced political problems, and could decipher issues of statecraft in the plays.

Besides the difference in the political-social milieu of the two dramatists, the writers differ significantly in terms of volume of artistic production. Shakespeare is celebrated as one of the most prolific writer⁷ in the English Language, and nominated as a man of the millennium on the European continent. He wrote 4 narrative poems and 154 sonnets. Justifiably, Shakespeare is described as the father of Drama. He wrote 37 plays, and a variety of subgenres. Furthermore, according to the Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare, about 90% of the English words are attributed to his coinage, accordingly therefore called the, 'Lord of the English Language.' Shakespeare's virtuoso further lies in his unique ways of using moving plots, representing timeless themes such as, political violence, statecraft, and very powerful political characters. Shakespeare is also celebrated for his oratory, comic exuberance, use of elevated turns of expressions, and aphorism. To compare a work of Shakespeare with that of another writer, is really to attempt to determine the worth of that writer,

for Shakespeare merits as ‘a man for all seasons’ due to his dramatic style and the invaluable messages in his plays.

Shakespeare is further described as the most subtle political poet and playwright of the greatest insight⁸. As stated above, Shakespeare wrote during the time of both Queen Elizabeth and King James I. These were difficult times of political turmoil, with the monarchs persecuting all those who queried political issues, regarding the posterity of the English throne. Shakespeare managed to write on critical political issues of the Elizabethan regime without being detected. He penetrated the frontage of peace and good reign and revealed that behind this façade was a monarch who was a dictator, a killer and a Machiavellian. Shakespeare distanced the monarchy of England to Rome, to be able to covertly comment on the political issues of the regime of Elizabeth.

Furthermore, Shakespeare turned the love poems of the Petrarch and Ovid into political writings to enable him to voice the political concerns of the English society. In a way, he made use of the works of his predecessors to present the political situations of his time. He can be said to use old frames to cast a new statue, as it were, for shaping the political thought of the 16-17th century people.

Nonetheless, Ruganda is one of the prominent dramatists Africa has today. The community of artists at the University of Limpopo, South Africa, honoured Ruganda as, ‘a literary giant.’⁹ Adrian Roscoe describes Ruganda as, a ‘serious dramatist...’ (p.264). He wrote 7 plays which basically handle social and political problems in modern Africa. Considering the terrible scarcity of literary production of the 1960-1990s, which is basically attributed to political insurgency in Uganda, Ruganda ranks as one of the greatest dramatist in modern Africa. Taban Lo Liyong¹⁰ describes Ruganda as; ‘an international and revered playwright, poet, actor, and a theatre director whose work is a stone that will live forever.’ (p.8)

As observed earlier, Ruganda’s works, like those of Shakespeare, depict a man who was concerned about the political and cultural upheavals of his time. Through his drama, Ruganda used the literary expressions of his predecessor Shakespeare to shape people’s perception of the nature of politics. The records on history of Uganda during the time of Idi Amin were documented by historians, and

they show the bare facts and sometimes the bias of the writers. But Ruganda's plays, like those of Shakespeare, are very unique in documenting a balanced view of the actual vicious spirit of the politicians of Idi Amin's regime. Ruganda manages to concretize the untamed greed for power that characterized the regime of Idi Amin. He manages to show that behind the buffoonery appearance of the Boss in *The Floods*, was Idi Amin, who, although he appeared innocent and in-effective, practiced anarchical violence that mimed the people, stifled others psychologically and economically.

Despite the differences of historical backgrounds, time of writing, and amount of work produced, a careful reading of the plays cited shows that Shakespeare and Ruganda share thematic concerns and aspects of dramaturgy. The common grounds in both Shakespeare and John Ruganda include the representation of the themes of statecraft and political violence. Similarly, the dramatists share the styles of representation of political violence. The playwrights further display a complex interplay of relations among members of their respective political worlds, conflicts between the leaders and the led, which conflicts lead to bloodshed and endless violence. The two prominent aspects that will be examined in the analysis of statecraft, are, politics and violence.

Regarding the style, both dramatists have exquisite ways of presenting political issues and what politicians do to attain or sustain power. Techniques such as: defamiliarization, memory, cross-purpose, a play-within-a-play, story-telling, reports, and characterization, were examined in relation to how political themes in the plays had been depicted.

As stated before, this comparative study of a 20th century dramatist, John Ruganda, with an old timer, world-wide 'giant'¹¹ dramatist, William Shakespeare, was informed by T. S. Eliot's view of, 'the timelessness of art,' and the Reader-Response theory that propounds among other things, 'the influence of misreading.' In his Essay, *Tradition and Individual Talent*, Eliot propounds the timelessness of art: 'art is new, and not new.' A writer partly draws on the traditions available. Thus, I assert that, Ruganda drew his themes and part of his style from Shakespeare, as part of the tradition he inherited. Shakespeare himself drew on various literary traditions, such as, Ovidian, Petrarch, and Senecan. The Reader-Response theory spells that: 'every reading is a misreading,' and, 'a writer is

always struggling against misreading his predecessors, but cannot liberate himself from them.’ I argue that Ruganda, like any Makererian of his time, misread Shakespeare.

T.S. Eliot further argues that, not only does a writer partly draw on the traditions available, but also uses his own inventiveness to write. That is why there are similarities and differences in themes and style between Shakespeare and Ruganda. The proponents of Reader- Response attribute the similarities to the impact of tradition and the differences between a writer and his predecessors as “self-liberation” from the tradition, a misreading.

By the time the researcher undertook this study, no comparative research had been done so far on the two dramatists considered in this study. Hence, by bringing to light the similarities and differences between the two dramatists, the researcher set out to achieve the following: one, to establish the occurrence of the similarities by providing evidence of similarities, two, to identify the differences between the two dramatists, and to account for both similarities and the uniqueness. Thus, the study would ultimately conform to T.S. Eliot’s view; that art is new and not new at the same time. The comparative research would ultimately create ground for more appreciation of both artists.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

As T.S. Eliot observes, the virtues of any new writer are highlighted by standing a new writer with their ancestors. Although the aesthetic success of Ruganda, a twentieth century dramatist is on record, it could be accentuated through a comparative analysis with Shakespeare, a dramatist celebrated as ageless. Remarkably, no research has been done in a comparative way on the themes of statecraft in Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* and Ruganda’s *The Floods*. In this study, I conducted a comparative study of Ruganda and Shakespeare on the presentation of the theme of statecraft with a view of establishing the influence of an earlier writer, Shakespeare, on the later writer, Ruganda.

1.3 Definition of Key Terms

Statecraft: In this Research, Statecraft is used to refer to the Machiavellian way of acquiring, ruling, maintaining, and sustaining power by politicians.

Politics: It is the total sum of activities through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. Andrew HeyWood (p.4)

Violence: Is an action that involves use of force that injures someone, either physically, or psychologically.

Ideology: A more or less coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for some kind of organised political action. The term 'ideology' was coined in 1976 by the French Philosopher, Destult de Tracy (1754-1836). Andrew Heywood (p. 451)

Dictator : Refers to a leader who has absolute power over the people, especially, when such power has been gained by force, or fraud, has an amazing appetite to eliminate opposition, is brutal, and manipulates people for selfish ends.

Monarchy: Is a system of the rule dominated by one person. (It literally means 'rule by one person.')

In general usage, it is the institution through which the post of head of state is filled through inheritance or dynastic succession. Andrew Heywood (p. 366)

Absolutism: Is the theory or practice of absolute government, most commonly associated with an absolute monarchy. Andrew Heywood (p.28)

Renaissance: Literally, the word means, 'rebirth.' It is a period of time in Europe between the 14th and 17th centuries when art, literature and ideas of ancient Greece were discovered again, examined, and developed. [The renaissance man, at his most fully developed, is thought of as many-sided, with a highly cultivated mind and love of art, a delight in luxury and sensual pleasure, and often a ruthless ambition and cruelty. RoseMary Coxon and Michael Baker M.A. (p.190)

English Renaissance: refers to the rebirth of knowledge in England. The English renaissance began during the reign of Tudor Henry VII who became King in 1485. This is the King who ended the Wars of the Roses. With the end of the civil wars there was a return to academic growth and development, hence, rebirth of knowledge in England.

Edwin Wilson & Alvin GoldFarb:Living Theatre. (p.171-2)

Triumvirate: a rule of three men in the Republic of Rome. Before 49 B.C. Rome was a republic ruled by three triumvirs and the Senate. The first triumvirate comprised of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus.

Plebeians : Ordinary citizens of Rome: city workers, craftsmen and farmers. The majority of these were slaves brought to Rome after the wars with other states.

Tribunes: Special officials elected by Plebeians. The function of Tribunes was first to represent Plebeians in senate, and to protect them from injustice by the government. The Plebeians also had power to block the acts or measures of Senators. (Ricker and Saywell: (p.284).

Misreading : refers to superimposing of one's experiences on the text of another writer : the term is based on the proposition that a reader brings something to the text, and a writer writes what he/ she has read in other texts. Harlod Bloom (p.24)

1.4 Scope

This study focused on the themes of politics and violence in both the Roman 49A.D and the English contexts 1590s-1603 in *Julius Caesar* and the period of Idi Amin era, 1971-1979 in *The Floods*. It discussed the similarities and differences between Shakespeare and Ruganda's presentation of the theme of statecraft. A critical appraisal of the dramatists' style of presenting the themes under study in each play was undertaken to establish the aesthetic success of the writers under comparison.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1. To identify and establish similarities in Shakespeare and Ruganda's representation of the theme of statecraft.
2. To establish unique ways used by each dramatist in the representation of the themes of statecraft.
3. To identify the dramaturgy employed to depict political violence in *Julius Caesar*, and *The Floods*.
4. To establish the significance of the new writer, Ruganda, by standing him against an accomplished writer for comparison.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The outcome of the study could be used by the scholars of Shakespeare and Ruganda to appreciate both dramatists and to make a critical appraisal of each dramatist's styles of representation of the theme of statecraft in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*.

1.7 Justification of Study

It is imperative to compare Shakespeare, an English 16-17th century playwright, and John Ruganda, a 20th- 21st century Ugandan playwright, for two reasons. First, the two playwrights are each vanguards of their respective literary worlds. Second, as T.S. Eliot advances that; 'no poet, no artist has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists' (p.431). One cannot value a poet in isolation. A poet must be set for contrast and comparison among the dead. Thus, the methodology of contrasting a new writer, Ruganda with an old writer, Shakespeare serves to highlight the similarities, uniqueness, strengths and weaknesses of each writer being contrasted, thereby enhancing one's appreciation of the respective literary works under comparison.

1.8 Research Questions

1. What are the similarities and differences in Shakespeare and Ruganda's depiction of politics and politicians?
2. What are the similarities and differences in Shakespeare and Ruganda's depiction of political practices?
3. What are the similarities and differences in Shakespeare and Ruganda's dramaturgies used in representation of political violence?
4. How does the Reader-Response theory and T.S. Eliot's views account for the similarities and differences in Shakespeare and Ruganda's representation of politics, political practices, and dramaturgies employed?

1.9. Literature Review

The critical review on both writers contained in this section covers works that range from: 1948, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2005, 2008, to 2009. In all this literature, there was no comparative study of Shakespeare and Ruganda as political playwrights using *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* as a basis. Nevertheless, this review will focus on those writers who have analyzed the theme of statecraft in Shakespeare's and Ruganda's dramatic productions.

One common ground between Shakespeare and Ruganda is the employment of unique dramaturgies to present politics and violence. With regard to Ruganda, Robert Kanya observes that, Ruganda employs various forms of dramaturgy in his plays to portray the political situation in post-independence Uganda (p.4). Kanya advances that Ruganda and Soyinka use symbolism for the purpose of portraying the social and political problems of Africa, such as, corruption and dictatorship. The word, 'dramaturgy'¹² is defined by Odera Ota as; 'the entire range of artistic strategies that the playwright relies on, and especially so, in the communication of and dealing with, so-called 'dissident' or subversive material' (p.34). In respect of Ruganda's dramatic productions: *Black Mamba* (1973), *Echoes of Silence* (1986), *Covenant With Death* (1973), *The Burdens* (1973), *The Floods* (1980) and *Music Without Tears* (1982), Kanya identifies the cosmic, cultural, and social-political symbols that Ruganda uses for the purpose of communicating to his audience.

One of the cosmic symbols is 'the floods.' According to Kanya, Ruganda uses the symbol to institute fear, torture, sorrow and death amongst the populace on the island on lake Victoria. In his exploration of cultural symbols, Kanya identifies the myth of Nalubaale, a spirit of the lake, which, having been defiled, reacted violently by flooding. Kanya further provides a symbolic interpretation of the Nalubaale myth: Nalubaale stands for Uganda, and Nyando are the evil people, the tyrannical dictators who have caused the Ugandan society to degenerate to anarchical levels. The social-political symbols are Nankya and Bwogo, whose relationship makes us recognize how dictators such as Boss, employ brutal repression to assert power.

Kamya further explains that Ruganda uses the dramaturgy of symbolism to conceal reference to dictatorial leaders, such as Bokassa and Idi Amin. In his analysis, Kamya cites Breteinger (1994), who states that:

The repressive political regimes in Uganda have given rise mainly to two types of theatre: elusive theatre which communicates at a deeper level through signs and symbols shared with its targeted audience, while at the same time masking meaning from the 'ears' and 'eyes' of the state...' (p.123)

Hence, the use of symbolism is to camouflage and act as a survival tactic for the dramatist. However, symbolism has limitation of concealing meaning, hence, may block enjoyment of drama through failure to interpret the signs and symbols. The second type of theatre is entirely for commercial-entertainment purposes. Kamya's research is commendable in the portrayal of Ruganda, as a dramatist who employs symbolism as a survival tactic, while ably exposing the political and social turmoil, not only in Uganda, but also in Africa. The gap this study filled is the exposure of the dramaturgies of cross-purpose and defamiliarization that Ruganda remarkably uses to expose how dictatorial regimes employ repression to assert power. This study further established that the theme of repression is a universal aspect, through the comparison of Shakespeare's play, *Julius Caesar* and Ruganda's play, *The Floods*.

Similarly, Sambai Carolyn advances that Ruganda's use of the dramaturgy of violence and memory is for the purpose of speaking for the voiceless in society who live under cycles of violence that is meted on them by repressive regimes (p.4). The violence in Uganda is ably dramatized by Ruganda in *The Floods* when we witness the tyranny used by Boss's government to retain power. In Boss's regime, violence is 'a language' which politicians use to assert power. Sambai alludes *The Floods* to Idi Amin's regime of 1971-1979, when she states that: 'Ruganda's plays are largely inspired by a keen observation of the activities in his country soon after independence.' (p.2). She cites *The Burdens*, where violence is exhibited by Tinka and Wamala in their constant domestic quarrels and fights, as 'a metaphor of violence in the state.' Wamala, a fallen Minister, suffers from a psychological disorder, due to the pain and stress that is a result of excruciating poverty. Furthermore, Sambai explains use of memory in *The Floods*, as a dramaturgy that Ruganda uses as a narrative for characters to speak out about the kinds of violence that they experienced (p.49).

Sambai's findings are commendable in portraying Ruganda as a dramatist who employs a violent narrative and memory in his play, *The Floods*, to depict the violence in the state. However, this study went ahead to undertake a broader perspective of violence, by depicting how violence is employed by dictatorial leaders to assert power, a universal aspect, through a comparative study of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, and Ruganda's play, *The Floods*.

In addition to the above, there are findings about Ruganda supplied by, *The New World Encyclopedia*¹³ on, 'Political Themes of John Ruganda' :

Ruganda dramatizes the African man's plight and struggle for survival in a hostile social, economic, and political environment in which he is reduced to the position of passive observer by a small class of cut throat business men and political opportunists.

The New World Encyclopedia

The findings reveal that Ruganda is a political analyst who ably speaks for the common people when he dramatizes their plight. As a gifted writer, Ruganda has capacity to see what the others cannot see. Therefore, his dramatic productions have been able to compel people to see and understand Uganda's historical past. Noteworthy, is the common people's situation that renders them incapable of speaking out, for, they are not only ignorant about their civic rights, they also lack ideological consciousness, hence are prone to manipulation and suppression. These findings are commendable in exposing Ruganda as a playwright who effectively dramatizes the plight of the common man. This study also considered the manipulation of the common people as a significant means that dictatorial leaders use to attain and retain power, a theme not only true to Uganda, but a universal reality, through the comparison of Shakespeare's play, *Julius Caesar* and Ruganda's play, *The Floods*.

Ruganda's dramatic productions also portray the crisis in Africa caused by; poor political leadership, abuse of office, ruthlessness, tyranny, excessive greed for wealth, and insensitiveness to the electorate. This situation is made explicit by Imbuga Francis in his analysis of Ruganda's dramatic productions: *The Burdens* (1972), *Black Mamba* (1973), *Covenant With Death* (1973), and *The Floods*. He states:

For all their diversity, Ruganda's plays have tended to gather around central themes which are of immediate relevance not only to Uganda or the African region from which he comes, but also to the rest of African nations which have undergone similar historical experiences. (p.277)

Analysis of Ruganda's plays, unveils a challenge in African politics, with many leaders ruthless and insensitive to the common man's plight. Either overtly or subtly, Ruganda's plays spell out the political problems that Africa has encountered in post-independence times: corruption, ruthlessness, abuse of power, injustice, sexual violence, coups, futility of independence, amidst mass poverty and deprivation. The majority of leaders are devoid of moral values, practice nepotism, and corruption has become a chronic 'cancer,' to an extent of being recognized as, 'official.' One has to give a bribe to attain a job, because he or she will also be bribed by others who seek to get a job. Consequently, independence has more or less been a betrayal to Africans, turning out a myth than a reality, with only the colour of the political leaders changed. African states strongly reminisce colonialism. Imbuga's study is vital in exposing Ruganda as a playwright, whose works ably portray Africa's crisis, a consequence of poor political leadership. This study addressed a broader perspective of poor political leadership, as a major cause of the futility of independence and revolutions, through a comparative study of *Julius Caesar*, and *The Floods* respectively.

In addition to the grand depiction of the African political crisis, Ruganda's drama is credited for the representation of sexual violence against women, as a political ideology. Mugaba Vincent makes a point when he states that: 'Ruganda's works are much more than works of literature; they tell much about not only women, but Uganda as a society' (p.7). Mugaba argues that the sexual violence inflicted on women goes beyond female exploitation, to a form of repression employed by politicians to assert power. Through the respective accounts of Nankya about her past life in *The Floods*, Ruganda exposes violence against a helpless people, and a psychological trauma that epitomizes the degeneration of the Ugandan nation. Symbolically, the mental degeneration of Kyeyune represents the degeneration of the Ugandan society. Mugaba's research is credited for exposing sexual violence against women as a form of repression employed by dictators to assert power. What this criticism misses, which this study addressed, is the analysis of violence against women, as a form of political ideology used in militarised states to assert power, through the comparative study of the theme of political violence in *Julius Caesar*, and *The Floods*.

Ruganda's plays have also been commended by various scholars for their apt representation of repression, a tool dictatorial leaders use to assert power. In *The Floods*, Ruganda dramatizes Boss, a leader who uses the SRB boys, to torture and ruthlessly kill citizens in order to assert power. Boss epitomizes Amin, a leader whose ruthlessness has supplied volumes of political and literary commentaries. Chris J.C. Wasike observes that: 'Apart from Ruganda's plays, there exists a big amount of outstanding (both creative and non-creative) works that were inspired by the character of Amin and images of turbulence in Uganda in the 1970's' (p.1). For example, Moses Isegawa's *The Abyssinian Chronicles* (2002), and Mary Karooro Okurut, *The Invisible Weevil* (2000). What Wasike considers to be John Ruganda's most recognized, studied and politically engaging plays, are : *The Floods*, *The Burdens*, and *Black Mamba*, plays by far that represent the most sustained dramatic exposition of the political turmoil and decline that characterized the Ugandan nation in the 1970's and 1980's. There was a total breakdown of economic, social, health, financial, education, religious, and political institutions.

Furthermore, Wasike advances that: 'Ruganda represents female characters, whose voices, bodies and sexuality are metaphors that read the complexities, contradictions and constructions of the Ugandan nation, especially during Amin's dictatorship. The sexual abuse of women by soldiers in *The Floods*, is an allegory of violence in the state (p.1). Bwogo has raped Nankya and other women in his office (p.30). Nankya's mother has been raped by soldiers, (p.98) and Nankya is a product of the rape. In *The Burdens*, Tinka is portrayed as a suffering wife, to a man who is always drunk because he is disillusioned with excruciating poverty, a consequence of poor leadership. In *The Black Mamba*, Ruganda portrays the Namatas using their bodies for survival, a situation that brings out the desperate living conditions of the common people, who live with a minority, but predominantly wealth and insensitive political leaders.

Indeed, poor political leadership has been a cause of many Africa's woes: civil wars, coup after coup, nepotism, corruption, and repression as the order of the day. As Wasike explains, the exploitation depicted in Ruganda's female characters brings out the image of 'troubled motherhood,' that are depicted in the theories of 'Negritude' of Leopold Senghor¹⁴ and his contemporaries' (p.3).

Wasike also makes reference to Senghor's poem, *Black Woman*, where the poet argues that; 'The beauty of the woman is also the beauty of the land, and the image of Africa, as a gentle mother looking after her children, 'mother Africa,' has been marred by her political woes.' While it is true that Africa suffered from colonial exploitation, it is also true that post-independence political leadership is not any better, characterized by greed for power and wealth, with tyranny as profound as in colonial times. Kossew Sue¹⁵ characterizes African politics with, 'shame and redemption: ...crimes that are shameful and disgraceful quite apart from the horror...' (p.155-162). A shame, because it is the blacks killing fellow blacks, and a redemption, because the levels of degeneration have almost reached a point of no return. Wasike's findings are useful in establishing Ruganda as a playwright, whose works aptly represent the political turmoil of Uganda and the rest of Africa. The comparative study of Shakespeare and Ruganda's representation of statecraft filled the gap, by going further to depict poor political leadership, a cause of futility of independence and revolutions as a global theme.

Similar to Ruganda's concern about the political crisis in Africa, Shakespeare has been acknowledged by various scholars as a great political analyst, whose works go beyond his times, to illuminate contemporary political themes. John J. Palmer explores Shakespeare's dramatic productions, and he identifies two categories of politicians: those in leadership, and the common people, both, as he argues, are significant political figures who determine the trend of political events of a nation. In reference to the common people, Palmer states:

There is one political character who constantly recurs in Shakespeare's historical plays, and as constantly illustrates how the poet, exercising his imagination in the portrayal of political persons, contrives to epitomize, once and for all, what is permanent and essential in their reaction to public events, and thus, to present a mirror for all times and occasions. This political character is collective. It is the crowd which turns from Brutus to Antony... (p. x)

Shakespeare's representation of the common people as a collective presence at political gatherings, involved in collective actions, shows how ideologically and intellectually bankrupt they are. In Act 1, Scene 1, Marullus reveals that the common people had cheered at Pompey, as they similarly gather in the streets to cheer and celebrate Caesar's triumph over Pompey. At Caesar's funeral, in Act 3, the commoners readily swear allegiance to Brutus when he convinces them that he had killed

Caesar to 'liberate' Rome. When Antony manipulates them, they readily turn violent, oust the conspirators from Rome, kill indiscriminately, and burn the city. It is explicit that the politicians find it easy to use the common people as a ladder to attain political leadership, bearing in mind that, the reactions of the common people to political events is similar in many respects. Palmer's findings about the behaviour of the common people are commendable. This comparative study undertook a broader approach to demonstrate that politicians manipulate common people to attain political goals, as a universal theme.

Similar to Palmer, Rachel Diennen and Mark Evans Bryan¹⁶ observe that manipulation of the common people is an important theme of political dissent that Shakespeare employed, given its past and present relevance (p.1). Diennen and Bryan argue that, in many of his dramatic productions, Shakespeare shows concern in politics, where he depicts the common people acting as a one unified group, hence the common people stand as significant political characters. Though they appear as a rowdy crowd, poor, and dirty, this collective presence is a manifestation of support to those that seek power, itself a clear demonstration of ideological and intellectual indebtedness. This study sought to establish that Shakespeare's presentation of the common people as means used by politicians to attain and retain power, illuminates into the contemporary world, by undertaking a comparative study of statecraft and violence in Shakespeare's play, *Julius Caesar* and Ruganda's play, *The Floods*.

In addition to manipulation of the common people as a mode of attaining and sustaining power, Shakespeare explores political repression as a means that political dictators use to assert power. This view is supported by Frances Nakiwala in her exploration of Shakespeare's common people in relation to the experiences of Uganda's common people. She observes that; 'Shakespeare's portrayal of poor, dirty and ignorant common people, is intended to criticize the political sharks that exploit them' (p.102). The image of a shark brings out the danger politicians pose on to the common people, with those in power not only exploiting, but also oppressing the common man in all ways, as a deliberate strategy to keep him in an impoverished class.

Furthermore, Nakiwala draws a parallel between the common people in Uganda and the common people in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in a number of ways: first, is the irrational and stupid nature of the common people; second, is their ideological dependency which leads to their failure to understand the political processes of their respective countries (p.88-89). In *Julius Caesar*, the Plebians support whichever leader comes into power: from Pompey, to Caesar, to Brutus, then to Antony. Similarly, the common people in Uganda support whichever politician takes over power. Ugandans welcomed independence in 1962 with the same enthusiasm, as they welcomed the first regime of Milton Obote in 1966, or Amin, who attained power in 1971, and was passionately referred to as a 'saviour,' a 'messiah,' liberating people from Obote's rule, though his reign left a legacy of 9 years of brutal dictatorship and tyranny. It is clear that Shakespeare depicts the common people as intellectually, economically, and ideologically indebted, a factor that makes them vulnerable to manipulation by politicians. This study went further to recognize the common people's intellectual indebtedness and poverty, as deliberate strategies sustained by politicians to remain in power, a position that is universal, and also incontrovertible political history.

A number of literary critics acknowledge Shakespeare's timeless political themes, hence, the dramatist passes as an ageless political commentator. This is given evidence by Barry Rubin, in *The Rubin Report*,¹⁷ when he states :

You can learn more about politics from Shakespeare than you can from most political science textbooks. Even more impressive, he was ahead of his time in dealing with many issues that only became important two or even three hundred years later. *The Rubin Report*.

Rubin's analysis places Shakespeare as a great political analyst, whose political themes illuminate into the present, with specific contemporary relevancies:

...about racism (*Othello*), and anti-Semitism (*Merchant of Venice*), ...the devastating effects of indecision (*Hamlet*), what it takes to be a leader (Antony and Cleopatra), the disaster of mixing love with matters of state (*King Lear*)...the cost of crazed ambition is presented unforgettably (*Macbeth*), and clever manoeuvres get one into power, but the price is that it doesn't last long...'

The Rubin Report.

Rubin's report therefore intensely exposes Shakespeare's involvement of the political issues of the times, and provides Shakespeare's timeless political lessons. This study established that, in *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare anatomizes politics by sharing the nature of a politician: how politicians attain and sustain power, and how politics affects politicians.

This study sought to explore further into the theme of statecraft, and add more weight on the view that Shakespeare is a political analyst, whose themes transcend his times into the contemporary world. Proof of this can be shown by comparing him to Ruganda, a 21st century dramatist. Shakespeare's contemporaneity would serve to establish Ruganda as a relevant political analyst, and vice-verse.

A writer is 'a chronicler of his time, even if one projects oneself into times, future and present.' Kofi Anyidoho.¹⁸ This is true of Shakespeare, whose works reflect the political crisis of the Elizabethans, arising out of the issue of who should be heir to the English throne. In his submission, *Tragedy and Political Authority*, Micheal Hattaway,¹⁹ expounds on Shakespeare's relevance:

Shakespeare's tragedies are usually remembered for the central characters for whom they are named. However, the fact that all of their heroes are what in the period were termed 'Princes,' occupying the power centers of their realms, means that these narratives of usurpation and death are also anatomies of political crises. Michael Hattaway, quoted in Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (p.106).

Shakespeare's play, *Julius Caesar*, projects the political crises in England referred to above. Furthermore, information provided by *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*,²⁰ on : *Political themes in Julius Caesar*, reveals that: '*Julius Caesar* revolves around the question of whether the killing of a King is justifiable as a means of ending or preventing the tyranny of dictatorship and the loss of freedom.' The incident when Brutus strikes Caesar in the name of 'liberty', fearing that absolute power of Caesar will enslave the Romans, it reflects the crisis some members of Shakespeare's society grappled with, particularly those who believed in the divine right of the monarchy. According to Hattaway, there are two ideologies about power and authority that are reflected in Shakespeare's works: one which recognized the sovereign rule of Queen Elizabeth, and the ideology

propounded by Machiavelli teachings, that power was secular, attained by constitution of the state, and sustained by virtue, not divinely (p.106). The two ideologies gradually came to stand alongside, posing a political crisis: Hence, what we read as *Julius Caesar* is Shakespeare's ideological commentary on the conflicting views of power and authority in the Elizabethan England.

This study filled the gap by further establishing Shakespeare as a political writer of not only his society, but the entire humanity, through the comparative study with a contemporary writer, Ruganda. Thus, the researcher took this as proof of what T.S. Eliot terms as, 'the timelessness of literature.' On the basis of the above analysis, both Ruganda and Shakespeare use drama to project the social and political concerns of their respective worlds.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

This comparative study of the presentation of the themes of politics and violence in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and John Ruganda's *The Floods* was informed by a modern theory of Reader-Response and T.S. Eliot's view on the "timelessness of art," to explain the differences and similarities between presentation of the themes and styles of presentation. One tenet of the Reader-Response theory which was adopted in this argument was that: there are various readings and writings of the text. Every reading/ writing is a misreading, because the reader/writer reads/writes his own experiences, concerns and interests into the text he/she reads. Hence, the new frames are put into old frames. This is why one work looks like the other. However, a writer will not entirely look like his models for he/she will struggle against misreading his predecessors, although she/he cannot completely liberate himself from them. What looks different from his ancestors is a result of the anxiety to break away from the traditions. In light of Reader- Response Theory, one can argue that, what appears to be common in Shakespeare and Ruganda is the imprint of Shakespeare on Ruganda. The differences are Ruganda's misreading of Shakespeare in an effort to liberate himself from the tradition. Ruganda brought his country's experiences on Shakespeare's text and the result was producing a play which speaks to a respective community about the same themes but presented variously.

T.S. Eliot's view propounds: 'all art continues to live in a timeless present,' quoted in Charles Kaplan (p.429). Works of art continue to be a living reality for the people of the past and the present. We can therefore say that, Shakespeare's works of the 15th-16th century continue to live today as Ruganda's art of the 21st century. This is 'the timelessness of art', which is similarly articulated by Ben Jonson²¹ in a poem : '*William Shakespeare, Life and Works.*' Jonson states: 'Thou...art alive still, while thy Booke doth live./ And we have wits to read, and praise to give.' Shakespeare's themes, plots and characterisation have continued to be a living reality for humanity through a comparative study with a subsequent writer, Ruganda. Thus, the literary world finds Shakespeare's art, of the 17-18th century as relevant as John Ruganda's art, of the 21st century and vice-versa.

Furthermore, Eliot's notion stresses the 'simultaneous existence of art.' The old is found in the new, and the new is found in the old. An artist brings nothing entirely new in his artistic production. What he writes are repeated forms of the old. What Ruganda presents as political characterisation in *The Floods*, is a replica of what Shakespeare has documented about the political personnel in his plays. One can argue that a comparison of Shakespeare and Ruganda's works brings out an intimate relationship between the present and the past in the world of literature. Furthermore, the comparison shows a new writer, Ruganda, who falls in the 'pantheon' of literary writers where Shakespeare belongs.

Further discussion of the 'simultaneous existence of art' brings out T.S. Eliot's idea of a 'tradition' to which all artists must adhere. According to Eliot, 'all artists belong to a single literary tradition which embraces the entire Literature of Europe, from Homer, down to the present day,' and includes great writers, such as Ovid, Chaucer and Shakespeare among others. The 'literary tradition' is the outside authority to which all artists must conform. There are expected standards and conventions that an artist adheres to. That is why Shakespeare handles themes that transcend his society of appeal and transcend to the entire universe, and Ruganda does the same. To achieve universality, an artist must 'de-personalise his emotions.' He must not fuse his feelings or emotions in the art, and what he writes should be the ideal, that which is shared not by one society, but for humanity. Therefore, the comparison of Ruganda against 'a monumental' writer, Shakespeare, is ideal in establishing the real worth of the new artist.

1.11 Research Methodology

This was a qualitative library-based comparative analysis of Shakespeare and Ruganda's representation of the theme of statecraft in *Julius Caesar*, and *The Floods*, respectively. The research was informed by the reader response and T.S. Eliot's view of the timelessness of art. The methodology I used involved a documentary analysis of the following: the two primary texts, *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, introductory information on the two plays in various anthologies, works of critics, works of political analysts, past and works on contemporary discussions with Ugandan literary scholars familiar with Ruganda's works such as Austin Bukonya, Mary Karooro Okurut and Timothy Wangusa. I used a qualitative analysis in presenting findings from the above cited readings and discussions because the data was in form of opinions, beliefs, perceptions, and interpretations.

End Notes

1. Statecraft is a compound word made up of two words, state and craft. The word state is a noun. Andrew Heywood defines statecraft as: 'a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders, characterised by its monopoly of legitimate violence' (p.458). The word craft is a noun. In this Research, the word is used to mean; 'skill,' 'ability,' 'shrewdness,' or 'manual dexterity.' Hence the word statecraft involves governance of a country with craft: Machiavellian way.
2. T. S. Eliot (Thomas Stearns Eliot) 1888-1965. Is a poet, and a modern critic of the first rank. Amongst his major works, includes his essay, *Tradition and the Individual Talent* (1920). Eliot asserts the value of poetic creation as the process by which a whole culture locates itself in the present in relation to an acquired sense of the past. The past is an active force in the present, constituting 'the presentness of the past.' Robert Con Davis (p.26).
3. Reader-Response theory is criticism that focuses on a reader's response to a text. It concentrates on the experience of a reader on to a text, and the reading process. Robert Con Davis (p.345).
4. Misreading is one of the basic tenets of Reader-Response theory. It refers to superimposing of one's experience on the text of another writer. The term is based on the proposition that a reader brings something to the text and a writer writes what he/she has read in other texts. Harold Bloom (1977).
5. Wars of Roses: The prolonged struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster, whose badges were respectively a white and a red rose. The wars began in 1455 in Henry V's reign and ended with the defeat and death of Richard III at Bosworth in 1485, and the accession of Henry VII Tudor, who by marrying Elizabeth of York, united the two lines and put an end to wars. Harvey Paul (ix).
6. The dominant ideology: 'Divine Right' in the Elizabethan era. This doctrine spelt that earthly rulers are chosen by God, and thus wield unchallengeable authority; a defence for monarchical absolutism. Andrew Heywood (p. 448).
7. Graham Holderness (1987), quoted in John J. Joughin (p.2), describes Shakespeare as, 'the greatest writer in the language, the creature of the greatest ordering of English...'
8. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1883), quoted in John J. Joughin (p.3) lavishes his compliments on Shakespeare; 'a writer of modern life...inconceivably wise ; the other conceivably. A good reader can, in a sort nestle into Plato's brain, and think from thence; but not into Shakespeare's. We are still out of doors. For executive faculty, for creation. Shakespeare is unique...'

9. The first memorial lecture of John Ruganda was held at the University of Limpopo, South Africa, and the community of artists honoured him as, 'a literary Giant.'
Visit: <http://moruthanepeter.blogspot.com/2008/00/first-memorial-lecture-of-professor.htm>.
10. Taban Lo Liyong: *The life of Ruganda*. (2008:8). Liyong is a Professor from Sudan. Available at: <http://moruthanepeter.blogspot.com/2008/08/first-memorial-lecture-of-professor.htm> /
11. Shakespeare as a 'giant' dramatist. Four reasons are given why Shakespeare has stood the test of time world-wide; First, his works illuminate human experiences in simple, yet eloquent verses. Secondly, he has written great stories that have given him immeasurable fame: comedy, tragedy, history, melodrama, adventure, love stories, and fairy tales, each of them so well that they have become immortal. Thirdly, he has created compelling characters, particularly in tragedies that have even dwarfed Greek tragedians. Fourth, he has demonstrated the ability to turn a phrase, and many expressions in usage are a creation of the Bard; 'to claim to be more sinned against than sinning,' 'to be or not to be,' 'if your wish is father to the thought,' 'if you lie low till the crack of dawn because you suspect foul play,' 'the devil incarnate,' ... you are quoting Shakespeare. Available at: <http://www.Shakespeare-online.com/biography/whystudyShakespeare.html>.
12. Dramaturgy: 'the entire range of artistic strategies that the playwright relies on, especially in dealing with so-called 'dissent' or subversive material.' Odera, Outa.G. *The Dramaturgy of Power and Politics in Post-Colonial Kenya: A Comparative Re-reading of 'Forms,' in Texts by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and Francis Imbuga*. Nordic Journal of African Studies 10 (3): 344- 365. (2001). Visit: <http://www.njs.he/sinki.fi/pdf-files/vol1/num3/outta.pdf>.
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Visit: <http://www.bookrags.com/biography/john-ruganda-d/b/5.htm> / .
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Visit: <http://book.Google.co.ug/books?> ...
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20. *Political Themes in Julius Caesar*.
Visit: <http://answers.Yahoo.com/question/indexqid...>
21. Coles Notes . *Shakespeare : Othello*. quotes Ben Jonson on a familiar tribute to Shakespeare 3rd ed. Canada : Coles Book Stores Ltd, 2003 :1.

Chapter Two

POLITICS AND POLITICIANS IN *JULIUS CAESAR* AND *THE FLOODS*.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a comparison of Shakespeare and Ruganda's representation of the themes of politics and politicians in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*. Both Shakespeare and Ruganda make serious comments on the political situations in the worlds of their plays. Regarding Shakespeare, his plays provide us with a wide range of political personnel and experiences that were not only relevant to his country and times, but also to the present day Uganda and Africa at large. A number of critics have commended Shakespeare for his numerous and varied political analyses, which range from, the disaster of mixing family affairs with matters of the state in *King Lear*, the disaster of equating power with the person in *Richard 11* and *King Lear*, the cost of crazed ambition in *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Richard 111*, the usurpation of power and lack of political watchfulness in *Macbeth* and the *Tempest*. In fact, Shakespeare has also been acknowledged by many a literary critic, as a great ageless political commentator. According to Barry Rubin¹ in *The Rubin Report*, a person can:

learn more about politics from Shakespeare than one can learn from political science textbooks. Even more impressive, he was ahead of his time in dealing with many issues that only became important two or even three hundred years later. (2009)

Reading John Ruganda alongside Shakespeare's play reveals many similarities concerning politics. One can say that Ruganda who has been cited as a great analyst of politics, read Shakespeare and consciously or unconsciously carried on Shakespearean political experience in his writing of *The Floods*. Hence, Ruganda misread Shakespeare. In both *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, the dramatists anatomize politics and politicians. The plays address pertinent issues about politics, such as, instrumentality in state building, what kind of people climb the political ladder, how politicians manoeuvre their way into power positions, how they use violence in the transfer of power, how political morality differs from religious morality, what makes a good government, why governments fall, how power is sustained, what the best form of government is, what is the best way to attain and sustain power.

In this chapter, the analytic comparison focused on the dramatists' representation of the theme of politics and political personnel in the two plays. I examined a spectrum of political archetypes and the motives behind their actions. The analysis proceeded first, by giving an explanation of the concept of statecraft, the contexts of the concept of politics, the evolution of politics in society, the current global politics, and the context of social-political forces of the time that constituted the material of the plays.

2.2 Statecraft

Collins English Dictionary defines statecraft as, 'the art of conducting public affairs; statesmanship.' Charles Anderson² defines statecraft as, 'the aspects of the practice of politics that have the form of craft or art, they require skill, technique and judgement' (p.14). According to Anderson, politics can be practised well or poorly, that it can be done with painstaking care and creativity, or that it can be haphazard and nonchalant. Statecraft is therefore the practise and skill involved in governing a sovereign state, a country or nation. It is a human activity that involves how leaders govern a country.

The notion of craft, according to the *Collins PaperBack English Dictionary* refers to 'skill' or 'ability,' 'an occupation requiring skill or manual dexterity, shrewd, or cunning' (p.196). This definition is similar to Machiavellianism ideology of political leadership; that a successful leader has to use craft and ruthlessness. Andrew Heywood's assertion on political leadership echoes Machiavellianism: that, "no regime remains in power on the basis of political legitimacy or administrative efficiency alone. All systems of rule are underpinned to a greater or lesser extent, by the exercise of coercive power through the institutions of the military and the police" (p.401). It is such systems of craft and ruthlessness that Shakespeare and Ruganda dramatise in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*. The dramatists depict worlds where political power is attained illegitimately, and sustained by craft / manipulation of the people, and violence. One cannot therefore isolate politics from violence. Thus, this study set out to discuss statecraft under two major categories; politics and violence.

2.3 Anatomy of Politics

There are various perceptions of politics. The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines politics as, 'ideas and activities that are concerned with the gaining and using of power in a country' (p.1090). Various critics have described politics as: 'the art of governance,' 'the art of compromise,' 'manipulation,' 'the struggle for advantage,' 'a game of words,' a practice of deception and manipulation.' Kichamu Akivaga, in his exploration of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945), has described politics as: "power struggle and nothing else" (p.5). Henry Adams refers to politics, as: "a practice, whatever its professions, has always been the systematic organization of hatreds" (p.65). Andrew Heywood defines politics as, 'the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live (p.4). Power is abstract, one cannot hold or even touch it, yet it exists wherever there is politics. Power influences the behaviour of the subjects, such that, they behave in a manner that is not of their choice. Politics concerns the leaders and the led, it is for everybody, as John T. Rourke notes:

International politics can affect far more than your pocket book. It can determine the quality of the air you breathe, the water you drink, and many other aspects of the globe you inhabit. (p.7)

In general, the above cited scholars sound cynical about politics. Andrew Heywood in his book, *Politics*, explains why people have attached negative images to politics; because in the popular mind, politics is associated with activities of politicians. Heywood interpreted Aristotle's statement as meaning : ' It is only in the political community that human beings can live the good life.' Hence, as Heywood argues, politics is an ethical activity involving creation of a civil society (p.7). Politics is equated to leadership, and leadership is a virtue necessary for tranquility of society. Politics is about making common decisions that guide society and the mechanism that enforces such decisions is the government. The leaders in government exercise power and authority over others, ranging from influence to use of force, and the members of the society in which the rules are set must abide. Hence, politics is a necessary evil. In the plays under study, the dramatists overwhelmingly emphasize the view that politics is a dirty game played by the fittest.

2.4 Evolution of Politics in Society

In order to understand the comparative study of politics and politicians in the two plays, one must first examine the genesis and evolution of politics. An exploration of a philosophical theory gives us the historical basis of political leadership, and the origin of 'legitimacy' of politics in society. The Geneva born moral and political philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) in his work: *The Social Contract and Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, describes the genesis of politics as: 'the drama of the establishment of civil society' (p.x). He begins with the premise: 'Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains.' In the beginning, man was created classless, with no rules or restrictions. All were created equal, and none more important than the other. It is later, in the establishment of what Rousseau terms as, a 'legitimate political society,' that man established rules to be observed, with the intention of establishing 'civil equality.' There were those chosen to lead, and they had the obligation to submit to the 'will' of the majority; 'legally, since the individual had agreed to this rule; morally, since he was still obeying his 'true will', which was that, 'the general will shall rule.' This was also termed as, a 'social-contract,' which involved people coming together as a society, to make a covenant between free and independent men, in which they surrender to the 'sovereign' in return for their protection. The contract involved, 'rights and obligations' of both parties; the state was obligated to observe the rights of her citizens as well as protecting them. In return, the citizens were obliged to obey. Rousseau's observations about direct participation of citizens in politics, and leadership therefore bound by 'general will' is similar to the contemporary conception of democracy advanced by Abraham Lincoln: 'Government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' quoted by Wamanga Moses (p.34). Hence, in the initial establishment of a civil society, leadership was by the general consensus of the people.

However, as the struggle for power intensified, the politicians exercised influence, force and other means at hand to attain legitimacy and sustain power. Hence, the initial political ideals in the 'social-contract' were lost as they ceased to be honoured in Shakespeare's time, like today. The majority of politicians attain leadership not by the 'general will' of the people, but rather by coup and election malpractices. Those who are in positions of leadership do not act in the interests of 'the general will.' Instead, they act in their own selfish interests and resort to amassing of wealth.

Rousseau refers to property as the 'villain' that interfered with the establishment of 'civil society.' Subsequently, politics today is marred with violence, not because people struggle to get power per se, but rather power acts as a means to an end: wealth acquisition.

2.4 The Political- Social Milieu of Shakespeare and Ruganda

Understanding of the political-social milieu of both dramatists is necessary in order to appreciate the comparative analysis of Shakespeare and Ruganda's political plays cited in the study. Shakespeare and Ruganda have re-created miniatures of the political worlds of their respective societies. What was happening in these societies at the material moment of writing had an impact on the dramatic productions. According to Phares M. Mutibwa, 'drama is the physical expression of history, in the sense that, it brings into physical form and in a compressed spell of time what society has experienced in so many years,' cited in Alex Mukula (p.5). This observation underscores one attribute of drama: the capacity to enact what society has experienced in a long time within a relatively short space. Historical and Sociological criticism states that: a writer is a product of his history. Thus, in order to carry out a comprehensive and thorough analysis of Shakespeare and Ruganda's presentation of the theme of politics and politicians, one must first comprehend the background knowledge that influenced the writers in their art. This involves the knowledge of the social and political life of the day.

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, though set in Rome of 49 AD, dramatizes the political issues of the Elizabethan Government of 15-16th century. As stated in the introduction section, the plays reflect the political crisis in Elizabethan England, arising out of two factors. First, the Elizabethans were anxious about the posterity of the Tudor dynasty. Queen Elizabeth who was a descendant of the Tudor was ageing yet there was no heir to reign on the British throne. Secondly, the Elizabethan political ideology of, 'Divine Right of Kings' had been put in a reverse gear by Nicollo Machiavelli teachings concerning political morality.

To the Elizabethans, political morality was equivalent to religious morality. Power was attained by divine will and was therefore sustained through inspiring fear of God's representation. David

Bevington reveals that: 'Queen Elizabeth availed herself as 'God's appointed deputy on earth' (p.xxi). She was revered as divine, therefore sinful and criminal to oppose her authority. Yet, Machiavelli discoursed that power was obtained by individual virtue: a leader had to be smart, watchful and brutal, virtues that would enable him sustain power. Micheal Hattaway,³ on *Tragedy and Political Authority* cited in Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (p.107) reveals that : 'Machiavellian and materialist analyses of power dynamics gradually came to stand alongside those that pronounced it divine in origin.' The two conflicting ideologies posed a political crisis that is epitomized in the power struggles that Shakespeare dramatizes in *Julius Caesar*. The view that Shakespeare drew his material from the social and political situation of the time is made explicit by J.H. Walter. He states:

Shakespeare was profoundly concerned about the theme of political assassination and the miseries of rebellion and civil war which he had repeatedly explore in previous plays. The anxious political situation in 1599, the urgent need to establish the succession to the throne, the constant threat of rebellion and assassination of the aged Queen, the ominous, unpredictable posturing of the Earl of Essex would make the story of the murder of the greatest figure in Rome particularly topical and perhaps, a timely parable. (p.3-4)

Similarly, Ruganda's setting of *The Floods* is on an Island in Lake Victoria. But, the play is a reflection of Uganda's political experiences in post-independence times, with specific reference to the regime of Idi Amin (1971- 1979). Similar to Shakespeare, critics have acknowledged Ruganda as a political playwright, whose aptness in depiction of the political personnel and experiences in his play establish him as a *master hand*. Francis Imbuga observes that:

For all their diversity, Ruganda's plays have tended to gather around central themes which are of immediate relevance not only to Uganda or the African region from which he comes, but also to the rest of Africa nations which have undergone similar historical experiences. (p.277)

Ruganda's works handle themes that are of relevance to contemporary society. For instance, Adrian Roscoe describes *The Burdens* (1972), as a play that handles the symptoms and damage of a modern cancer he refers to as, 'empty-headed ambition' (p.265). In this play, Wamala, an ex-Minister, plots against a regime he is serving, is discovered and jailed. Later, he is thrown out of the post, and falls

into a life of a common poor man. As a common man, Wamala suffers from extreme poverty, as seen in his failure to provide shelter, food, education and adequate health to his family, a condition that also exposes the insensitiveness of those in positions of power. Instead of caring about the people they lead, they resort to fast acquisition of wealth. Indeed, Wamala's excruciating poverty epitomizes a nation that has degenerated to tragic levels.

Ruganda's other play, *Black Mamba* (1973), dramatizes prostitution as the central issue. The practice of prostitution equally signifies the desperate situation of the common man, represented by characters, Berewa, and his wife, Namuddu. That a University Professor uses his cook, Berewa to hire prostitutes, and the cook out of dire poverty offers his wife to the Professor as a prostitute, shows the desperate situation of the poor, and how they are exploited. Professor gives the women like Namuddu and Namata just a few shillings for his pleasure. Professor's indulging into prostitution also portrays social and intellectual hypocrisy of the elite. *Covenant With Death* (1973), another play of Ruganda, deals with social problems of marriage and child bearing, through the character, Mutama.

Ruganda's political play, *The Floods* (1980), dramatises brutal acts of killings, torture, and mysterious disappearances of people, acts which various critics agree to be a grand representation of Idi Amin's repressive regime. *The Floods* is also an examination of the current political leadership that has characterized post-independent Africa. Hence, *The Floods* stands out as a major contribution to the expression of 'Literature of dischantment.'⁴

2.5 *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, as Political Handbooks

2.5.1 Politics and Politicians

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda's plays offer a rational discourse on politics and politicians. The plays, are replete with political archetypes and political experiences. The dramatists use political types, examine what it takes to be a politician, what kind of person wins the political race, the consequences of political ambition, the impact of power on people, machinations that politicians

employ to sustain power. Arguably, the dramatists have both similarities and differences in their representation of politics and politicians.

In *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare represents flaws and strengths of political characters, instances of errors in policy, queries about politics, a wide spectrum of politicians, political forces to contend with, all of which are useful for learning what politics and politicians is all about. But, unlike Ruganda, Shakespeare appears to present a way forward by presenting a wide spectrum of politicians. A comparison of these politicians gives an insight into what ideal politicians and politics should be. Thus, Shakespeare passes not only as an ageless political commentator, but also as a timeless political analyst. John Palmer observes that:

A politician can find no better handbook to success than the political plays of Shakespeare. Here, he can study the flaws of characters and errors in policy or practice which may ruin his career. Here too, he can examine and assess the qualities and habits of mind to be emulated.(p.ix)

In *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare creates characters with model political qualities. However, these are few and they too are flawed in some respect. In Ruganda's play, *The Floods*, one encounters a political world in which anarchy reaches uncontrollable levels. Each and every politician in the world of the play is flawed beyond redemption. The play truly represents the political turmoil and confusion of the post-independence Uganda.

Thus, *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* differ in the presentation of political characters. As stated above, Shakespeare creates a political world with numerous characters, whereas Ruganda uses only four characters on the stage. Despite the differences in the number of characters in both plays, the politicians are similar in many political attributes. The most striking similarity between Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and Ruganda's *The Floods* is the depiction of political archetypes. The dramatists represent the following political types of personnel: the crazed ambitious (Julius Caesar/Boss) type, the ideal/pseudo (Brutus/Nankya) type, the murderous/pragmatic/ frivolous (Mark Antony/Bwogo) type, the blinded/ruthless (Mark Antony/ Bwogo, and ruthless (Cassius) type.

2.5.1.1 The Crazy Ambitious

In the Caesar/ Boss type, Shakespeare and Ruganda present politicians that are crazily ambitious. They are shoved into power by means of a coup, consequently they are terribly insecure. Because they lack legitimacy, they guard their power by killing and restraining whoever challenges them. They craft self-images to make the whole world bow to them. Caesar refers to himself as: 'constant as the northern star' (3.1.60), while Boss refers to himself as; 'the Benevolent Father of the Republic' (p.15). According to Cassius, Caesar poses as a fierce person whose name can conjure a spirit. He claims to be fearless and a superhuman being (3.1.62). Cassius further refers to Caesar as a 'Colossus'(1.2.136), owing to his mammoth ego for power.

Caesar's ambition for power is manifested in his ceaseless efforts to become a sole ruler of Rome. By the beginning of the play, Caesar is returning from the battle field where he has suppressed all forces of opposition. According to the story of the play, Cassius reports to Brutus that Caesar wants 'to hold the palm alone' (1.2.159-160). He wants to be crowned Emperor.

Caesar's overweening ambition for political power can further be deduced from the story as well as from the plot of the play. The first instance is his elimination of Pompey, which is echoed at the beginning of the play as the tribunes upbraid the Plebeians for welcoming Caesar home from a battle that has brought no tributary to Rome (1.1.33-6) because it was a civil war. Historically, it was a triumvir ruling the republic of Rome: Caesar, Pompey and Crassus. For wanting to rule Rome alone, he fought the other two. Before the formation of the republic government, the Roman government, like Shakespeare's England was an autocracy. Rome was ruled by the Tarquin Kings who were dictators. The Romans fought and got rid of the Kings to create a republic which was led by triumvirs, tribunes and the senate. However, at the beginning of the play, Caesar is returning from a war against his own people, and has wiped out the supporters of Pompey, his fellow triumvir.

Caesar's ambition is again shown in his making a dying will in which he bequeathed his walks and money to the common people (3.2.240-245). In this incident, Shakespeare is bringing to our

attention the corrupt nature of politicians. Caesar was buying the voters off. By seeing how much the commoners supported him, the senate was to bow to his wish of making him Emperor.

Other examples of buying the voters can be inferred from Act 1, Scene 2, where Caesar refuses the coronet three times, while each time his hand was reluctant to let go the fake crown. Here, Caesar wants to create a rapport with the people. He is setting a pretext for making the commoners believe that Caesar is a humble man who could not accept a crown. Hence, he will make a good ruler because he is not ambitious. In Act 3, Scene 2, Mark Antony, Caesar's stage manager refers to this incident as evidence to refute the accusation made by the conspirators that Caesar was killed because he was ambitious.

Furthermore, Shakespeare underscores Caesar's ambition. In Act 3, Scene 2, Caesar is hoodwinked by Decius, a messenger from the conspirators. Caesar is warned in vain against going to the Capitol on the "Ides of March." There are two strong premonitions: First, his wife dreams about a bleeding statue of Caesar (2.2.85-6). Second, the priests in a way of testing the prediction of the dream, they seek to offer a sacrifice of the bull. But when they slaughter the animal, they find it 'without a heart' (2.2.39-40). These strange events are proof to the superstitious Caesar, that something hideous is about to happen to him. Actually, following these premonitions, Caesar restrains himself from going to the Capitol that morning. However, Caesar goes against his convictions when he hears that senate had decided to make him Emperor. Indeed, the love for power makes him forget about his beliefs. He asserts his ambition by pronouncing himself as extraordinary when Artemidorus presents Caesar with the message to warn him about the imminent murder, and shouts that Caesar should read first because it concerns him (2.3.1-14). Caesar rejects the message in the name of preferring the matters of the state to his personal affairs. He poses as a good leader who, in Act 3, Scene 1, rejects the request to grant amnesty to Publius Cimber, the banished brother of Senator Metellus Cimber, arguing he must stick to principle. He claims to be, 'as constant as the northern star' (3.1.60). In this regard, Cassius confirms Caesar as a 'Collosus'⁵ that stands astride the whole world. Caesar also claims that he fears no human being, although he suggests that lean men like Cassius are a threat to him (1.2.192-5). Thus, he has crafted his image, instead of earning respect from the people by serving well.

In the Boss type of ruler, Ruganda presents a Caesar-like whose crazy love for power makes him stick to the chair even if he is illiterate, and incapable of leading the state. Like Caesar, Boss came to power by a military coup, using the gun therefore to become head of the state. Consequently, like Caesar, Boss is completely insecure. Boss attempts to cut a positive image among the people, and demands respect from his subordinates, as established in the title accorded to him: 'Benevolent Father of the Republic' (p.15). A father of a nation is supposed to take care, love and protect the nation. However, Boss acts to the contrary of a father figure, and has instead turned out an 'Ogre' (p.12) a 'Vampire,'(p.79) the 'Hitler of Africa' (p.89). In order to keep his power, Boss has committed all kinds of crimes ranging from torture of innocent civilians, killings, to mass murder. The title, 'Benevolent Father of the Republic' is self-given by Boss, and the subjects use it, not out of love, but out of fear for the leader. Boss-like leaders search for 'an immortality symbol' to inspire respect that must be given to them by their subjects. Basing on Ugandan history, Amin who is epitomised as Boss in *The Floods* accorded himself numerous titles: Conqueror of The British Empire, Army Chief of Staff, Field Marshall, Life President, and many others. The citizens had fear for Amin, but did not respect him. While respect embodies a relative degree of fear, the fear that is accorded to a dictatorial ruler does not connote respect.

Ambition makes the Boss type of leader insecure. Consequently, such a leader is politically surveillant, a virtue necessary in sustaining political power, although in Boss's case, it is for his stomach alone. Boss is on the look-out for guerrilla movements, and duly eliminates those he suspects. For instance, Ssalongo is eliminated because he is suspected to be in collaboration with guerrillas (p.44). Boss flees into hiding the moment he hears of an imminent coup (p.19). Boss's henchmen, such as the illiterate T.P. tycoon ordered the killing of the headmaster who had spoken an English word he did not understand due to illiteracy (p.58). Boss feels as insecure as Caesar, who on envisioning Cassius, comments that he should have around him men that are 'fat', as these are harmless (1.2.192-5). They do not struggle for positions of power because they are contented. The statement implies that Caesar, like Boss can opt to kill all who stand in his way to leadership.

Since the Boss/ Caesar type of leaders lack legitimate leadership, their lives are ruled by fear. Consequently, they eliminate their political opponents. In *The Floods*, the massacre of Islanders is done so as to eliminate the target, Nankya, whom Boss had identified as, a 'security threat.' In *Julius Caesar*, we witness the killing of Marullus and Flavius, tribunes who refuse to support Caesar.

Another instance of Boss's overwhelming ambition for power can be cited from recruitment of his own security agents, the SRB boys whom Boss set to torture and kill his political opponents, and those suspected to oppose his leadership. In the accounts of Kyeyune to Nankya, we hear of the massacre of the fifty families of Islanders (p.38-9), the ruthless attacks and torture of innocent and helpless civilians (p.44), the mysterious disappearances of people (p.6), all these, and other brutal acts were deliberately done, to institute fear in the populace. In turn, fear instituted obedience and submission to the authority of Boss's regime.

The Boss type of leaders are Machiavellian, and seem to operate on the principle: 'the end justifies the means.' They are strategic and practical. Ruganda represents them as a type that live by the principal of being insensitive to other people's plight. They are 'hard and remorseless (p.31). They confess that wealth acquisition is their ultimate goal of success' (p.31), and they believe in the ideology of 'survival of the fittest.' (p.28). Boss uses crude means to attain and sustain power, as witnessed in the case of the massacre of fifty families of Islanders in a bid to eliminate one person whom the government thought a security risk' (p.76). Boss's government seeks to eliminate the elite, such as Nankya, because the regime in power is non-tolerant to criticism.

Shakespeare depicts similar violence in *Julius Caesar* when Caesar liquidated the tribunes Marullus and Flavius, who were criticizing his victory over Pompey, since Caesar's civil war was bootless as he had not brought to Rome any gains. Shakespeare also offers a grand spectacle of how some human impulses can be shaped by individuals, and how the impulses can shape, as reflected in Caesar's other flaw, ambition. Indeed, Caesar perishes by his own overweening ambition.

Boss's Machiavellianism is witnessed in his being a politically surveillant leader, whose goal is not attainment of peace, stability and progress of his nation, but rather, to ensure he keeps in power. He

is on the look-out to curb down any uprisings. For this, he mounts unlimited roadblocks to ensure what he terms as security of a nation. Noteworthy, the practical nature of Boss is not for the benefit of the country, rather it is for attainment of his own personal selfish goal of keeping power. Indeed, Boss is a clear exemplification of a bad leader, who is insensitive to the plight of his subjects. Whereas Boss and the Bwogos are swimming in wealth, the common people, as epitomized by Nankya's family, that constitutes ten people, share a small little room, with hardly enough space, and little amounts of food for survival. The small dingy room overlooked their master's mansion (p.70-1). Indeed, Boss is a perfect representation of a bad ruler who brings about pathetic situations that political critic, Yoweri Museveni (1992), attributes to as, 'the price of bad leadership' (p.29).

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda share the style of undermining the Caesar/Boss type of politicians by exposing their imperfections which are both physical and intellectual. Although Caesar refers to himself as 'constant as the Northern star' (3.1.60), and cannot therefore change on matters of principle, claiming his blood not of 'ordinary men' (3.1.38-40), Shakespeare shows that the mighty Caesar is an ordinary human being, under the guise of over decoration. Caesar is "deaf in one ear," (1.2.211-12) has no heir, as his wife is barren (1.2.6-7), and is mortal. To prove to Brutus that Caesar is ordinary, Cassius recounts to Brutus that Caesar could not reach a finishing line in a swimming contest, and he cried like a young girl one day when he had fever (1.2.90-130).

Although Boss is over-decorated by being referred to as 'father of the Nation,' and is therefore adored by Bwogo, he is flawed with selfishness and lacks the political will to develop his country. Odera G. Outa⁶ in his assessment of Ruganda's drama states: 'Boss is the most powerful portrait of the menace and practice of dictatorship' (p.357). Ruganda's Boss is illiterate. He is also unable to put the state in order. Unlike Caesar, although he seeks to satisfy his thirst for power, he speaks about putting the state above his interests. On the other hand, Boss in *The Floods* is entirely devoted to himself. He is illiterate and this makes him hate every learned person. He over-dependes on Bwogo who is a murderer and cannot defend him at the end of the play when the island is invaded. It is clear, the Boss type of leader has taken on the motto: 'for God and my stomach,' rather than, 'for God and my country.' Amin's insensitiveness to the plight of the populace is further manifested in what Yoweri K. Museveni in *What is Africa's Problem ?* refers to as 'dehumanization of Ugandans,'

(p.29) so much that, according to Museveni, when his forces took over Kampala in 1986, the first thing people did was to thank him and his forces for no longer killing citizens.

2.5.1.2 The Idealist / Pseudo- Intellectual

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda present the second type: the idealist/pseudo-intellectual type of political leader, witnessed in the characterization of Brutus and Nankya. These kind of politicians know more about what should be done, and less about how it should be done. They are good people in that they have a family character and reputation. They are critical about the status quo. They are pushed into positions of power owing to their good reputation, but they are neither practical nor smart enough to cope with political storms.

A case in point is Brutus, who is shoved into the role of the liberator by the flattering Cassius. He has a good character, good will and comes from a good family (1.2.67-70). Cassius capitalizes on these attributes to encourage him to lead the conspiracy against Caesar. Indeed, Cassius throws numerous pieces of papers seeming to come from various Romans, asking Brutus to lead them (1.2.310-14). Brutus is convinced by this apparent trust, and accepts to lead the conspiracy. However, once Caesar is killed, Brutus finds himself in power, but does not know how to convince people. He appeals to his good character to prove that Caesar was ambitious, and Romans are free at last. He does not show the mob his plan for Rome, all he does is talking. He proclaims freedom, (3.2.12-37) but does not know how to maintain this freedom, and does not provide a strong plan for stopping people like Mark Antony from accessing power. He allows Antony to talk after he has talked and Antony manipulates a well- intended speech to his own advantage. Brutus is therefore a type of ruler who has a good character and good intentions for the people, but lacks political experience. The lack of political alertness renders the Brutus type political imbeciles.

Brutus's political imbecility is earlier seen in his failure to articulate the reasons for killing Caesar. Brutus confesses in a soliloquy, (2.1.10-34) that he knows no fault in Caesar, except that he may be ambitious, then, he should be prevented, by 'crushing the adder while still in the egg' (2.1.32-34). Brutus therefore lacks deep conviction for eliminating Caesar. This situation explains why he does

not have a plan of what to do once Caesar has fallen. The situation also explains why Brutus falls victim to the flattery of Cassius, who, because he lacks a reputation, wants to use Brutus to get into power.

There are other numerous instances of Brutus's political naivety. Though Brutus is a senator, he does not know that Caesar is manipulating his way to be appointed Emperor of Rome. Cassius tells Brutus; '...And since you know you cannot see yourself / So well as by reflection, I your glass, / Will modestly discover to yourself / That of yourself which you yet know not of' (1.2.67-70).

Brutus cannot read the political climate of the time. It is Cassius who reveals to Brutus that Caesar was planning to rule Rome alone (1.2). Brutus's political imbecility is further witnessed when he restrains the conspirators from killing Mark Antony, as the practical Cassius had plotted. He argues they should be 'sacrificers, but not butchers' (2.1.162-3), and also opposes the idea of having the course seem 'too bloody' if both Caesar and Mark Antony are killed. Brutus thinks that Mark Antony cannot do anything once Caesar is killed, and believes that Mark Antony is harmless, thus he allows him to speak. As a result of letting Mark Antony at large, and allowing him speak after Brutus, the crowd turn against Brutus, destroy the city, and oust the conspirators.

The Brutus type of political characters are echoed in Ruganda's play : a case in point is Nankya, who is critical of the corruption of the regime that Bwogo serves. In a quarrel between Nankya and Bwogo, Nankya exposes all the dirt that Boss does (p.28-9). Among other things, Nankya reveals that the Boss is exploitative. However, she had got married to Bwogo, Boss's henchman. In a way, she had joined the party of 'eaters'. She talks so much against Boss's regime, but only arouses the anger of Bwogo who serves the master loyally. Nankya behaves like Brutus who at the beginning of the play fears the people will make Caesar King. However, he does not do anything apart from boycotting the reception of Caesar at the celebrations of the Lupercal.

2.5.1.3 The Murderous, Pragmatic, and Frivolous

Shakespeare and Ruganda represent a third type of politician: the type that appear playful, practical, but bloody. This type of politician is dramatised in Mark Antony in *Julius Caesar*, and Bwogo in

The Floods. Mark Antony is a henchman of Julius Caesar, as Bwogo works for Boss. The two henchmen are Machiavellian. They put on a friendly façade but underneath this guise, is ferocity of the highest degree. Mark Antony turns the mob against the conspirators, and causes the burning of the city. In an aside, he gloats over the mass destruction of Rome: ‘Now let it work, Mischief, thou art afoot, / Take thou what course thou wilt’ (3.2.257-8). In another incident, he is seen writing down the names of his nephew among those to be killed (4.1.1-10). He wants to eliminate Lepidus from sharing the political cake. Yet, the latter had been part of the struggle to oust Brutus’s brief regime. Though he appears gamesome and frivolous, Mark Antony is seen implementing Machiavelli’s pragmatism of ‘the end justifies the means.’ Brutus tells in a parley that, ‘Antony can rob the bees of their honey, and remove the sting of bees by mere words’ (5.1.36-8). Yet, underneath the frivolity, Mark Antony hides callousness which makes him enjoy anarchy he has set in motion as the city is gutted by fire set by the mob. On the surface, Mark Antony is known as sportive (1.1. 7-8) . However, he is a hideous murderer.

Like Antony, Bwogo has a split personality. In the second wave, when he comes to persuade Nankya to leave the Island, he appears so friendly. He enacts the good old romance they had, and proposes marriage to Nankya: ‘Marriage. What have you got to say about it ? Bind you till death doth you apart...’ (p.25-6). He seems to be sympathetic to Nankya’s mother. Indeed, he goes an extra mile to show love, when, in actual fact, he has planned to kill Nankya. Hence, Ruganda shows the split nature of politicians. They can kill with love or in the midst of laughter. In *Julius Caesar*, the conspirators kill Caesar as they hail him : ‘Great Caesar’ (3.1.74-8). Both dramatists thus seem to emphasize a similar moral that, one should not trust politicians.

Mark Antony is Shakespeare’s projection of Queen Elizabeth who precariously kept the political crisis of her time in balance thereby deceiving her people that there was peace. Underneath this façade, Elizabeth was persecuting people. Similarly, Ruganda depicts Amin’s seemingly friendly demeanor which deceived people into believing Amin was harmless.

Mark Antony can precisely assess a situation and come up with a strategy based on reality. Delivering his oration at Caesar’s funeral, (3.2) Antony hoodwinks the mob by constantly referring

to Brutus, as 'honourable,' thus talking to their expectations. He then manipulates the emotions of the mob by shedding tears. He goes practical when he draws the mob to witness the graphic wounds the assassins inflicted on Caesar's body, re-living the murder, explaining who made which wound, as if he had been present at the scene of the murder: 'Look, in this place ran Cassius's dagger through, / See what a rent the envious Casca made/ Through this, the well-beloved Brutus stabbed...' (3.2.171-6).

Furthermore, we witness Antony type of politician as shrewd, witnessed in the manipulation of the emotions of the common people by using the will to completely buy of the hearts of the mob. He made the mob believe that Caesar cared for their welfare, by revealing to them the money and walks Caesar had bequeathed to them in the will. Antony knows that he has accomplished his goal, when the mob turns against the conspirators for revenge of Caesar's death : 'Revenge ! About ! Seek! Burn ! Fire ! Kill! Slay ! / Let not a traitor live ! (3.2.201-2). Antony sets his goals and strives to accomplish them using any means. He wants leadership, and so uses the mob to oust the conspirators, regardless of the destruction they do.

2.5.1.4 The Blinded and Ruthless

This type is represented in Mark Antony and Bwogo. Antony blindly follows Caesar's instructions without question. When Caesar says, 'Do this' it is performed' (1.2.10). It is clear that Antony is Caesar's henchman enjoying his position. Caesar says he wants fat men like Antony in preference to 'sleek-headed ones like Cassius, for they pose a threat to him. Antony's ruthlessness is witnessed in Act 3 when he causes the burning of the city, and plucks down names of people to be killed, including his own relatives under the guise of revenge for Caesar's death. Like Antony, Bwogo is a loyal instrument of power, but 'blindly follows orders to the letter' (p.57), a flaw that makes this type of politician 'Hardened mongrels,' with 'Consciences as blank as they are black with evil' (p.57). Bwogo is blindly loyal to Boss, and kills people because Boss wants to continue in power. The brutal killings correspondingly institute fear in the populace, hence, the people become submissive and obedient to authority. Kyeyune reveals that Bwogo moves with death: 'the terrible hand of death'(p.11). In such a way, Bwogo is 'the chief perpetrator of all evil in this land,' (p.46)

set to shoot, and kill (p.48). That Bwogo also planned to kill his fiancée, Nankya, for the purpose of keeping Boss in power is a clear sign of the corruptive effect of power.

In Cassius, Shakespeare aptly represents a politician who is ruthless and pragmatic. He wants to wipe away all his enemies. Cassius advises that both Caesar and Antony should be killed because Mark Antony loved Caesar, and he would thereby use Caesar's death to cause the conspirator's fall (2.1.156-161). This is precisely what happens. Cassius is a corrupt politician, who, recognizing he does not have a name, because of his bad reputation, seeks to use Brutus's honourable name in the conspirator plot, to earn the support of the common people (1.2.59-62).

Furthermore, Cassius is a very serious man. He has no kind word for his enemies, and sets out to destroy Caesar. He does not believe that Caesar should be the one holding the mantle of power, because he claims to be more stoic than Caesar (1.2). He is practical, as seen when he writes letters in several handwritings and drops them in Brutus's room, to make Brutus agree to join the conspirators (1.2.310-314). It is explicit that Shakespeare uses the Antony/ Bwogo/ Cassius type of character to portray Machiavellian ideologies.

2.5.1.5 Rhetoric and Power

In Act 3, Scene 3, Shakespeare dramatises the relationship between 'rhetoric and power.' Antony accomplished his goal by manipulating the mob using his oratory power, and made the mob turn violent against the conspirators, paving way for him to power. Antony is happy at his success : 'Now let it work, Mischief, thou art afoot/ Take thou course thou wilt' (3.258-9). That the word has power, is given evidence in the information on: *Julius Caesar*⁷, that : 'the ability to make things happen by words alone is the most powerful type of authority.' Earlier in the play, power by word is recognized in Antony's statement about Caesar: 'When Caesar says, 'Do this', it is performed' (1.2.10). Caesar's word is unchallenged, and he refers to himself as, 'constant as the northern star.'(3.1.60). According to Rich T.G.Cabinet⁸ (1616), rhetoric is 'the discipline of speech and gesture,' propounded by famous orators, such as Gorgias and Socrates. It employed every literary and aural device to win an argument. Cabinet further explains that, every Elizabethan schoolboy had

a smattering of it, because it was part of classical training, and rules governing the cogent exposition, such as, use of metaphor, antithesis, parenthesis, synecdoche, and others were firmly grasped. In speech, rules such as, modulation of voice, and use of gesture were all observed. In writing and speaking, rhetoric was what Elizabethans meant by style and mastery of its intricate formalities was the touchstone of an artist's worth. It is explicit that, Shakespeare demonstrates the relationship between rhetoric and power through Antony's speech. Hence, Shakespeare passes as an ageless contemporary political commentator, given the fact that Ruganda, a dramatist of the 20th century, shows how the Headman uses oratory to manipulate the mob board a 'saving boat.' From the time of Martin Luther King, to date, rhetorical powers are useful in civic engagement. The revolutions that happen world-wide are triggered by oratory powers.

2.6 Conclusion

On the basis of the above discussion, it is explicit that, although Shakespeare and Ruganda differ in some ways, they share many views concerning politics and politicians. Shakespeare and Ruganda anatomize politics and politicians in their plays. They are political analysts who look at the political situations, and politicians inside out. The dramatists penetrate into the mind of the politicians and reveal the motives of these politicians. Both dramatists seem to show ambition as the major reason why politicians behave the way they do. The dramatists capitalize on Machiavellian view of political legitimacy, and show how leaders manipulate situations to get power and sustain it by repression. Lastly, both dramatists share the view that politicians are normal human beings who turn themselves into gods. They have imperfections and depend on other people, henchmen, who shove them into power. This is why I assert that Ruganda 'misread' Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in *The Floods*. Hence, T.S Eliot's view of the influence of the literary ancestors on the new writer still stands. The dramatists, however, differ in the number of characters they use in their respective plays. Shakespeare creates a political world with many more characters, from whom we learn a lot more about political practices, and errors in policy. Hence, the difference in the presentation of political characters by Ruganda and Shakespeare is accounted for by Ruganda's struggle to 'liberate himself' from the earlier writer, Shakespeare.

End Notes

1. Rubin, Barry. *The Rubin Report : William Shakespeare; Political Analyst* .2009. Available at: <http://rubinreports.bloodspot.Com/2009/05/William-Shakespeare-political-analyst.htm>.
2. Anderson, W. Charles. *Statecraft*. 1977. Anderson is Hawkins Professor, Political Science at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and author of several books, including, *Statecraft*. at: [http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/sample pages / middle – power –statecraft- ch.1.pdf](http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/sample%20pages/middle-power-statecraft-ch.1.pdf).
3. Micheal Hattaway, on: *Tragedy and Political Authority*. quoted in, Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield. (p. 107)
4. ‘Literature of dischantment’, is a term coined by J.Chevrier, to describe, ‘a form of Literature that describes the aftermath of independence, the beneficiaries of which expected miracles, also aptly used to describe the illusion/ disillusion processes’. Cited by Lilian Kestlool in Eldred Durosomi Jones and Marjorie Jones (p. 4).
5. Colossus. The Colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven wonders of the world, was a Gigantic statue of Apollo. It was believed, erroneously, that its legs bestrode the entrance of the harbour. J.H.Walter.(p.44)
6. Odera G. Outa, *The Dramaturgy of Power in Post-Colonial Kenya : A Comparative Re-reading of ‘ Forms’ in Texts by Ngugi Wa Thiong’o and Francis Imbuga*. Nordic Journal of African Studies. 10 (3): 344-365. (2001).
7. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. *Julius Caesar*. Available at :[http://en.Wkpedia.org/wiki/Julius –Caesar](http://en.Wkpedia.org/wiki/Julius-Caesar).
8. Rich T.G. Cabinet (1616), quoted in M.M. Reese. 1998: 164 .

Chapter Three

POLITICAL PRACTICES IN *JULIUS CAESAR* AND *THE FLOODS*

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comparison of the representation of political practices in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*. Both Shakespeare and Ruganda demonstrate various similar political practices that are true to the society they present. These range from: friendship and betrayal, manipulation of the common people, and poor political leadership that leads to futility of independence, coups and revolutions.

3.2 Friendship and Betrayal

One of the political experiences common to both plays is, friendship and betrayal. In *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare portrays numerous instances of betrayal in politics. The play, *Julius Caesar*, demonstrates that there is no true friendship in politics, and there are no permanent enemies either. In the analysis of this experience, I find the prophetic biblical verse: ‘Your enemies are right in your own household!’ (Micah 7.6) true at all times.

Brutus is a good friend of Caesar. In a soliloquy, before the conspirators meet to discuss elimination of the ambitious Caesar, Brutus confesses that he sees no fault in Caesar. He states that Caesar is his close friend and confidant (2.1.10-21). So, Brutus’s killing of Caesar, marks one of the greatest betrayals, similar to the biblical betrayal of Jesus, by Judas Iscariot. Like Jesus who was betrayed by a friend and a disciple, Brutus betrays his best friend, Caesar. Caesar is witnessed offering resistance to his assassins, but the moment he realized Brutus striking, all his energies to resist the assassin’s stabs deserted him. He was stunned as he uttered : ‘Et tu Brute? Then fall Caesar!’ (3.I.79). Caesar all along thought he had a true friend to lean his shoulder on, only to face the reality when it was too late. Brutus was, ‘the serpent’ underneath the ‘innocent flower.’ It is a scenario that highlights Shakespeare’s anatomy of politics depicted as a dirty game. Shakespeare cautions politicians not to trust appearances. There are no friends in politics: one’s best friend is one’s potential enemy. It is

this betrayal that the mob later recognizes in the conspirators at Caesar's funeral, (3.2) and turn against them for revenge of Caesar's assassination.

Ruganda equally represents the theme of political betrayal. Nankya, who by virtue of her marriage to Bwogo has been a beneficiary of the regime of Boss, states that the only means of removing leaders like Boss from power is by 'assassination or a bloody coup' (p.29), a statement that becomes a reality in the third wave, when we witness the fall of Boss's regime through a coup. The soldiers in the government of Boss have come to arrest Bwogo: 'Hands up! I said (p.106). Hence, like Shakespeare, Ruganda highlights the theme of friendship and betrayal, in *The Floods*. Boss is ousted from power by means of a coup, stage-managed by soldiers whom we believe Boss himself had recruited in the army, since those who manage to usurp power are usually close associates of the leader in power, well acquainted with the most intricate details of how the security system operates. Hence, they find it easy to manipulate the system, and use it to their advantage.

Shakespeare attributes political betrayal to lack of political watchfulness, and earmarks the significance of security operatives in coups. In *Julius Caesar*, Artemidorous warns Caesar to be mindful of his security : 'Security gives way to conspiracy' (2.3.7). Caesar disregards the warning on grounds of putting the national before personal wishes. This is lack of political alertness, which leads Caesar to a fatal end. Caesar is assassinated by senators. But, even as they gather to surround him, he is hardly suspicious of the imminent assassination. Shakespeare partly draws the notion of betrayal from Machiavelli's recommendation of killing, or of pushing the ladder after one has realized it to the top of the political ladder. For if a politician keeps a friend forever, he will turn against him. In politics, one's best friend is a potential enemy. In addition, Shakespeare drew on his observation of the frequent betrayals in Elizabeth's regime where Queen Elizabeth had to contend with many betrayals. For example, Robert Devereux, once a favourite of the Queen, led a raid against the Queen in London in the 'Essex rebellion'¹ (1601). Before his arrest and subsequent execution, Devereux was first the Earl of Essex, then the Queen had heaped favours on the 'ambitious' young man, and appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599.

Like Shakespeare, Ruganda draws the notion of betrayal from his own history. As stated earlier, Boss represents Amin in *The Floods*, a leader who had similarly betrayed and usurped power from Milton Obote by a coup in January 1971. Earlier in the 1960's, Obote had appointed Amin as army General in his government (1962-1971), a position he strategically used to usurp power. But, Obote having been appointed Prime Minister, had similarly betrayed and usurped power from Kabaka. The phenomenon of betrayal is therefore not foreign in both Shakespeare and Ruganda's world. Betrayals are partially triggered by ambition for power, and partially by what George Ayittey² in, 'Open Letter to African Presidents and Premiers' attributes to 'falling a victim to the monster one creates.' Ayittey was in reference to the late Juvenal Habyarimana who fell a victim to a plane crash that was plotted by his own allies. Habyarimana's case is similar to Obote's who was betrayed by Amin, a soldier he had recruited and appointed Army Chief of Staff of the Ugandan army, once leading a military raid on the palace at Mengo, and the subsequent fleeing of Kabaka to London. It is believed Amin was similarly betrayed by soldiers, some of them he had recruited into the army. Significantly, 'cycles of history are more powerful than individual personalities or ideologies.' No matter what history, politics de-humanizes man. The prophetic verse 'those who rise by the sword, will fall by the sword,' (Matthew 26.52) stands true in the political world of drama that both Shakespeare and Ruganda represent in *Julius Caesar*, and *The Floods*. Hence, both dramatists make the political experience clear: leaders are betrayed by close and loyal associates they use to assert power.

Amongst the virtues of a good artist, T.S.Eliot advances, is writing not for one generation or society, but for the entire humanity. This is true of both Shakespeare and Ruganda whose concern of the theme of betrayal in politics transcend their societies and times. Political betrayal is a both universal and timeless theme, as also seen from prominent cases happening elsewhere : from *American history*³; Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), first American President, was assassinated by an actor, sympathizer, and confederate, John Wikes Booth. John F. Kennedy, American President, on 22nd November, 1963, was shot by Harvey Oswald, but the conspirator's plan is believed to have been hatched by the federal government. A similar case of betrayal happened in Iraq when Saddam Hussein was betrayed by his own uncle who revealed his hiding place to American soldiers who were searching for him, But, Saddam Hussein had also betrayed his own uncle whose government he

overthrew. It is apparent that many betrayers seem to be loyal to their masters, kind of, 'wolf in sheep's skin.' A quality that makes them successful in their mission. It is of significance to note that betrayal is a universal phenomenon.

Caesar in *Julius Caesar* was assassinated by the conspirators headed by Brutus, and Boss in *The Floods* was removed from power by a coup spear headed by soldiers, who referred to themselves as 'liberators,' though we can deduce that there should have been an alliance with soldiers that were close to Boss. The recurrence of betrayal establishes a historical cultural trend that T.S.Eliot refers to as, 'the simultaneous existence of history,' quoted by Charles Kaplan (p.429). Yoder R.A⁴ supplies a similar explanation for the recurrence of political events. He states:

...the cycles of history are more powerful than individual personalities, so that people no matter what their intentions, they fall into the roles that history will have them play. (p.315)

It is explicit that, even when particular archetypes operate in differing historical contexts, they will always behave as a type. Thus, Shakespeare and Ruganda share common views about politics, namely: friendship and betrayal as true in politics. *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* teach that there is no true friendship in politics. Political leaders are removed from power by an alliance of 'outsiders' with those close to the leader in power, or by the close and loyal allies acting from within.

3.3 Manipulation of the Common People

Ruganda and Shakespeare share yet another political practice, namely, regarding how politicians acquire and retain power through the practice of manipulation of the general populace. The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, defines manipulation as; 'to make someone think and behave exactly as you want them to, by skilfully deceiving them or influencing them.' (p. 867). To manipulate, is, 'to handle or use skilfully,' 'to control something or someone cleverly or deviously.' To manipulate is to make people think and behave as one wants them to, by skilfully deceiving and influencing them, so as to create a situation that favours the interest of the manipulator. Manipulation involves use of skills and tricks, such as: deliberately keeping common

people poor and ignorant, use of political gimmicks, use of false hopes, making empty promises, as strategies employed by politicians to lure people into giving them support.

As observed earlier by Kichamu Akivaga, politicians manipulate common people to attain power (p.29). Yet, the common people do not seem to learn from previous experiences because they are poor and ignorant, hence vulnerable to deceit. They give support to any leader who comes into power. Julius Nyerere⁵, in a Foreword to Yoweri K. Museveni, *What is Africa's Problem ?* notes that: 'When people are getting even poorer, they will accept any ruler, or support any demagogue for relief from their destitution' (p.9). The desperate and pathetic living conditions of the common people make them listen and support leaders who seek to climb the ladder to political heights. They therefore make a massive representation at political gatherings, an indicator of the support they accord to those that seek power.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *The Social Contract and Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* notes that, at the initial conception of politics, there were no classes in society (p.x). The high, middle and low social-economic classes came into being when the 'villain' [property], interfered in the establishment of the contract that gave responsibility to leaders in society. Then, leaders began to abuse their offices, and to plunder a country's wealth. Subsequently, there emerged two dominant classes of people, the wealth and the poor. Okot P' Bitek in *Indigenous Social ills in Africa* notes:

... even a blind person will see that two distinct groups are emerging; first, the ruling group, the dominant minority, well-dressed, well-fed and town-dwelling; second, the ill-fed, ill-clad, village- dwelling majority. (p.7)

With the politician's interest lying in amassing of personal wealth, rather than developing the nation, a minority class that is pre-dominantly rich, and a majority class that are poor have emerged. The rich minority have kept the majority poor, as a deliberate strategy, because poverty makes people intellectually, economically and, politically impotent. Okiria Edward Samson asserts that : 'poverty is a creation of the politicians to make the masses vulnerable' (p.12). Okiria's observation is true, considering overt cases, such as represented by Peter Abrahams, in *Mine Boy*, where the apartheid regime in South Africa used poverty and ignorance of the blacks to suppress them.

By creating a class of the poor, those in power are able to manipulate them in their desperate situation with hopes and promises of a better future. The commoners then follow whoever comes into power. The ideological indebtedness also makes the commoners welcome any change in leadership. Akivaga Kichamu observes that :

In each great revolutionary struggle, the masses are led on by vague dreams of human brotherhood, and then, when the new ruling class is well established in power, they are thrust back into servitude. (p.29)

In both *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, we witness worlds that have large sections of poor people, who have neither money nor education. These people become pawns for the politicians, as seen when both Shakespeare and Ruganda present several political regimes attained through agency of the common people. In *Julius Caesar*, there are four regimes: Pompey/ Caesar, the Julius Caesar, the Brutus /Cassius and the Mark Antony/ Octavius /Lepidus. In all these revolutions, the common people are used by politicians to gain power.

At the beginning of the play (1.1), the common people close their shops to welcome Caesar. Yet, Caesar is returning from a civil war where he has killed fellow citizens in order to keep power alone. That kind of war does not bring revenue to the state. That is why Marrulus and Flavius, the representatives of the common people, chase the plebeians off the streets. The tribunes yet have another reason for sending the plebeians off the streets. They fear that the large group of the common people is a clear signal that the people want Caesar to be king. This popularity then would compel Senate to make a wrong decision of crowning Caesar, a leader whose main interest in fighting a war against Pompey is to attain power, rather than make Romans better. Brutus himself confesses his fear to Cassius when he hears the commoners applauding Caesar. He is heard saying, he fears the common people's support will force the senate to make Caesar an emperor (1.2.132-4).

The manipulation of the common people is further seen after the murder of Caesar. Brutus uses the excuse of liberating the common people to calm the masses that are furious about the death of Caesar : 'Had you rather Caesar were living, and die all slaves, than that Caesar were dead, to live all

free men ?' (3.2.21-3). The commoners instantly give support to Brutus : ' Live Brutus, live, live !
(3.2.44)

Mark Antony similarly manipulated the commoners and used them to climb the ladder to leadership;
First, he manipulated them by using Brutus's speech to seek their favour :

... The noble Brutus
Has told you Caesar was ambitious ...
He was my friend, faithful and just to me; ...
He hath brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill.
Did this in Caesar seem ambitious ?... (3.2.71-104)

Secondly, Antony utilizes the excruciating poverty of the commoners, to make them think that their lives would change for the better with the money and Caesar's will as read in the will. Then, he stirred the mob into fury that Caesar had been killed. Furthermore, Antony used the common people's intellectual indebtedness and worked on their emotions, knowing well that common people act faster by emotion rather than reason :

It is not meet you know how Caesar loved you.
You are not wood, you are not stones, but men;
And being men, hearing the will of Caesar,
It will inflame you, it will make you mad... (3.2.137-143).

The commoners do not even stop to think how much money they would each get out of the amount bequeathed to them by Caesar. They hear just the words "seventy-five drachmas" given to 'every several man' (3.2.240). Knowing well that the common people are intellectually inadequate, he goes further to appeal to their emotions rather than reason, by shedding tears, and showing the bleeding Caesar, graphically describing who stabbed which wound, as if he had been present at the assassination scene (3.2.207-227). He then revealed to the mob that bleeding Caesar had left to every Roman citizen, 'seventy-five drachmas.' The mob then turned violent, seeking to revenge Caesar's death, they burned the city, and ousted the conspirators from Rome. Antony is glad at the success of his political game : 'Now let it work. Mischief, thou art afoot / Take thou what course

thou wilt (3.2.257-8). Together with Lepidus and Octavius, Antony used this situation to wage a war against the conspirators on the Phillipi plains, where his army became victorious, and a new government of a triumvirate of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus was formed. One can argue that, the new triumvirate is formed out of manipulating the commoners.

Manipulation of the common people is further seen when Brutus and Cassius extort money from large groups of the people to fund the battle (4.3.204- 209). In Act 4, during the preparation of the battle between the conspirators of Antony's government, the commoners are referred to as people required for fighters. They are like pawns.

The dramatists comment about the commoners who are used by politicians as a ladder to attain their goals. In *Julius Caesar*, Act 1, the commoners collectively gather, cheer and give support to politicians who seek to attain power, a collective presence that makes them behave as a single entity. A similar observation about the nature of the common people's behaviour is made in *Julius Caesar* by Nakiwala Frances when she states that:

In regime after regime, common people follow the same pattern: they assemble on the city streets to cheer the victorious Pompey, then Caesar, and then Antony. They are easily confused and misled by the demagoguery of the politicians.
(p.89)

The collective presence of the common people at political scenes is marshalled by their ideological inadequacy. In Act 1, Scene 1, when they appear on the streets in large numbers, and cull out a holiday, strew flowers in Caesar's way, they are showing support to Caesar's new regime. Unlike other battles of the past, Caesar's against Pompey had not brought any material benefits to Rome. Neither money for Roman coffers, nor captives to provide free labour to Romans (1.1.34-36). But, the common people could not reason that Caesar's war was ambitiously driven, and Caesar merely wanted to be at the realm of power. The common people had similarly cheered for Pompey in the same streets, as Marullus reminds them (1.1.39-50).

It is notable that the common man is easy to sway. At Caesar's crowning ceremony, the common people appear collectively, cheer and give support to Caesar. Casca notes:

I saw Mark Antony offer him a crown, yet 't was not a crown neither,
'it was one of these coronets; and as I told you, he put it by once; but for all that,
to my thinking, he would fain have had it. Then he offered it to him again; then
he put by again; but to my thinking, he was very loath to lay his fingers off it.
And then he offered it the third time; he put it the third time by and still as he
refused it, the rabblement hooted, and clapped... (1.11.235-246)

When Caesar realized that his political gimmick was a success, for he had fooled the mob as realized in their excitement, he continued to fool them by offering them his throat to cut. According to Casca, the common people cannot discern good from evil, they cannot reason, and even if Caesar had 'stabbed their mothers' (1.2.267-270) they would have cheered to demonstrate unwavering support that would compel the Senate to endorse Caesar as Emperor. However, Caesar's ultimate goal is not realized, because he was assassinated by the conspirators on his way to the Capitol.

The commoners in *Julius Caesar* are similar to those that Chinua Achebe portrays in, *A Man of The People*, '... large crowds scotching in the sun, dancing themselves lame, and waiting to blow off their gunpowder in honour of one who had started the country off down the slopes of inflation... the politician, Chief Nanga.' (p.2). Here, Achebe portrays a grand spectacle of how politicians use the common man to attain power, and sums up the whole scenario of the common people's presence at political gatherings, as being, 'not only silly, but ignorant...' (p.2), a view that is explicitly shared by Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar*, when he dramatizes a collective and supportive presence of the common people at all political gatherings: in the street to cheer at Caesar on his triumph over Pompey, (1.1) they had similarly cheered at Pompey pass in the streets of Rome (1.1.39-41), they gather and give support to Caesar at his crowning ceremony (1.2). In Act 3, they gather at Caesar's funeral, they instantly give support to Brutus, then change to Antony. It is clear the common people are pawns of politicians who use them to attain and sustain their power.

Shakespeare has been acknowledged by various critics for his vast abilities to probe into the mind of the common man. In *Julius Caesar*, Antony talks of Lepidus as one who 'grazes in commons,' therefore, not worthy of laying honours onto him, and if it is done, it would only be an act of easing themselves of slanderous accusations, since Lepidus too had been amongst those who ousted Brutus

and the conspirators from Rome. As a common man, he is therefore not deemed worthy of leadership, and considered, 'the ass that bears gold,' (4.1.21):

Antony : And though we lay these honours on this man,
To ease ourselves of divers sland'rous loads,
He shall but bear them as the ass bears gold,
To groan and sweat under the business,
Either led or driven, as we point the way:
And having brought our treasure where we will,
Then take we down his load, and turn him off,
Like to the empty ass, to shake his ears,
And graze in commons. (4.1.19-27)

In Antony's speech above, Shakespeare explicitly reveals the intellectual indebtedness of the common people, likening Lepidus, also regarded as a common man, to the ass that carries gold in ignorance of its nature, but for a short time. The ass which carries a treasure is as ignorant as the common people who are ignorant of both their power and their ability to determine their destiny. At all times, the common people are used by those who seek power, like the ass that carries a treasure which it is not even aware of. Once in power, 'having brought the treasure where we will,' the load is taken down, and the ass is got rid of, just like the common people are used as a ladder to attain power, and discarded of immediately.

Similarly, in *The Floods*, Ruganda illuminates the manipulation of the common people by politicians for purposes of sustaining power. The fifty families of Islanders were massacred after manipulating them to board a 'saving' boat. The Headman ironically talks of, 'liberating' the people, and the commoners succumb to his lures, (p.1-11) just like the commoners succumb to Mark Antony's demagoguery in *Julius Caesar* (3.2.68-259). But, the saving mission was a hoax. Through the Headman, Bwogo manipulated the Islanders into believing that boarding the 'saving boat' was to save the people from an imminent flood. But, the intention of the government was to kill all Islanders, a strategy meant to ensure that the intended target, Nankya, is killed. However, Nankya survives the massacre because she is wise. Kyeyune says: 'The floods are coming, I tell her... 'That's what the radio says; who can time the floods?' says the lady. I left her piercing words together in search of relevancies behind radio pronouncements. What learning has brought to our women, I can't understand' (p.4). Because Nankya is educated and survives the massacre, Ruganda

provides education as a remedy through which massive exploitation of the common people can be averted. The Islanders were vulnerable to manipulation because they were ignorant.

The dramatists' employ imagery to comment on the parasitical relationship between the common people and the politicians. The common people are used to climb the political ladders, but once power is attained they are discarded off. This situation is well explicated with the story discussed in the above paragraph, of the 'ass that bears gold', and is got rid of when the journey is over (4.1.19-21). This is a parasitical relationship which Ruganda projects through the various imagery. Boss is referred to as the 'ogre,' and Bwogo is 'the disciple of the ogre' (p.12). Ogres are creatures prevalent in oral narratives, human-like, and survive by plunging their nails firmly in human flesh to suck blood. Ruganda also refers to Boss as a 'vampire' (p.79). A vampire is, 'an evil spirit that is believed to drain people's blood by biting their necks.' Hence, Boss and his henchmen survive at the expense of the common people, as seen in the wealth they have accumulated: 'The Bwogo Estates everywhere in the country. The Mitchell Mansions. The Aphrodite Service Apartments. The Bay of Bachelors. The Camasutra Hostels and the Rainbow Tourist Hotels' (p.76). The politicians award themselves fat tenders, as portrayed through Bwogo, who is the Chairman of the Building Board. It is clear post-independence Africa has a common man who lives in excruciating poverty, amidst a pre-dominantly minority rich class that massively loots the state. This class own amazing wealth: fleets of vehicles, Plazas in cities, have shares in big companies, have personalized natural resources such as oil deposits, have given fat tenders to their kinsmen and hold all key positions in finance. This class of the wealthy have had foreign banks ban more deposits of their money into the banks, and subsequently, they keep and move with bags of money, leading to hyper- inflation in the nation.

Basing on the above discussion, it is clear that, both Shakespeare and Ruganda share the political experience of the use of the common people by politicians as ladders to attain and retain power. Both dramatists reveal that, the common man is a class deliberately created by politicians to ensure that they remain in power.

3.4 Futility of Independence and Coups.

Both dramatists share the political theme of the futility of coups and independence. In *Julius Caesar*, the mission of the conspirators is to save Rome from dictatorship. Brutus finds many written messages telling him he should save Rome from Caesar (2.1.45-58). In a soliloquy, Brutus convinces himself that it must be by Caesar's death that Rome can be liberated (2.1.10-34). After the death of Caesar, Cinna shouts this liberation song: "freedom, enfranchisement" (3.1.78-9). Brutus assures the common people that he liked Caesar so that people may live as honourable citizens: free (3.2.21-23). He also convinces the Plebeians that, it is better that Caesar dies, so they can gain independence (3.2.27).

However, it is ironical that the people are neither honourable, nor free before and after the death of Caesar. Before the death of Caesar, we see them in dirty clothes. In Act 1, scene 3, Casca reports that the common people swung their sweaty caps and when they shouted, they emitted bad breath. According to Nakiwala Frances, the sweaty caps and bad smell are indicators of their economic impoverishment. Hence, they are not honourable and free citizens (p.85). Furthermore, the commoners are intellectually handicapped, as seen in their failure to tell the difference between reality and Antony foolery, when the latter was presenting the coronet to Caesar (1.2). In Act 3, Scene 2, when Mark Antony refers to Caesar's refusal of the coronet as a sign that he was a humble man, not ambitious as Brutus accused him, the commoners believe this claim and turn against Brutus. Antony uses all kinds of strategies to gain political power by appealing to their emotions, fears, vanities and expectations. The commoners are easily swayed by Antony's demagogy. That they succumb to Antony's wiles, is a sign that they are not free as Brutus claims. To be free, one must be in position to make independent decisions.

In *Julius Caesar*, the mutiny that results into numerous killings, torture, and fleeing of the conspirators, is a result of the mob being easily swayed. They burn the city and destroy property which results in excruciating poverty. So, even after the death of the so called 'dictator', Caesar, the commoners are not any better. One can argue that Brutus's efforts to liberate the people were fruitless. Hence, Shakespeare depicts independence as futile.

Ruganda shares the theme of futility of independence and coups with Shakespeare, when in *The Floods* he dramatizes islanders, as poor, and as ignorant as they were before Boss took over power. In Uganda's history, Amin, whom Ruganda presents as Boss in *The Floods*, usurped power from Obote in 1971, citing poor leadership as a reason for the coup. However, Boss is a clear exemplification of a bad leader, whose actions prove he gained power for his own benefits. Boss is unmindful of the plight of his subjects: The Island is in a sorry state. Many people do odd jobs such as, fishing and farming. Poverty is rampant such as exemplified by Nankya's family, with ten people sharing a small little room, with hardly enough food for survival (p.70). Boss's insensitiveness is further epitomized in the wealth his henchmen possess, amidst others who are deprived. Bwogo's mansion overlooks Nankya's family little room (p.71). The classes of the poor and the rich are so apart, as symbolised in the concrete wall that separates the small room from the Bwogo's family mansion (p.71). Boss does not care about the country's development, and is only interested in how to sustain power by eliminating opposition, such as the elite, as dramatised in the plan to kill Nankya.

In the three waves in *The Floods*, Ruganda dramatizes the failure of those in power to protect their subjects as another indicator of the futility of independence. Boss is on a drive to institute fear in the populace by ruthless killings, torture and causing mysterious disappearances of people. In turn, the populace lives in a fear that holds them voiceless. According to Yoweri K. Museveni, such a situation occurs as 'the price of bad leadership' (p.29). Indeed, it is this type of leader that Ruganda dramatises as Boss: selfish, and lacks the political will to develop his country. Boss leaders have also been responsible for dehumanizing the citizens, such that, whenever a new regime takes over power, the first thing people do, is to welcome the potential dictator, to thank him and his forces, regardless that, he has had to kill their fellow citizens to acquire power. Regardless the motives, a coup is undesirable because it is bloody. Hence, I agree with Odera G. Outa⁶ when he states that: 'Boss is the most powerful portrait of the menace and practice of dictatorship' (p.359).

The futility of independence is further revealed by Ruganda, when he symbolically uses the ramshackled bungalow in the second wave, (p.15) as indicator of a state that was once great, but has now deteriorated. Inside the bungalow, are battered chairs symbolic of a good past that is gone. The

change came as a result of wanting the better, but all is lost. The portrayal of Boss as a leader who lacks the political will to develop his nation, epitomizes the worthlessness of independence. Boss is a type of leader who does not know what to do for the country. The Island is in a state of decay, a sorry state. The old bungalow where Nankya and Bwogo are seen in the play is deteriorated. The poverty of the people is epitomized through Nankya and her mother's family (p.70). Boss kills indiscriminately, those he thinks are in opposition, and those he merely suspects. People are tortured to death in safe houses, and some are thrown in lakes alive. Boss subverts positive criticism and opposition. Yet, opposition is healthy for any nation since it acts as a 'watchdog' of the regime in power.

Ruganda also dramatizes lack of democracy as prevalent today in post-independence regimes, as in colonial times, an indicator of futility of independence. In Boss's regime, the Nankyas are considered a 'threat' to the regime, hence, they are persecuted, tortured or killed because those in power can't stand criticism from those who know much of the governments' misdeeds. Yet, opposition is healthy for a country's development, since it provides checks to the existing flaws of the government in power. Consequently, Boss type of leaders have registered economic, social and political failures.

Ruganda's dramatization of Kyeyune's degenerated mental state is symbolic of a nation that has not registered moral improvement, but rather degenerated to tragic levels, an indicator of the futility of independence. Kyeyune is suffering from hallucinations because of the horrors he has been a witness to, such as seeing the mutilated body of a military man (p.10). Because of lust for power, the morals of the people have sunk so low to tragic levels. The leaders act ruthlessly : ' they are mad. Shooting and killing anything on sight' (p.48). Everything that had been built gradually over years seems to have drastically fallen apart. Boss and his henchmen conform to what Jean Francis Bayart⁷ (1989) describes as : ' politics of the belly,' which is, 'a multifaceted metaphor for a form of governance that arose across Africa following independence' (p.1). In such a state, governments use their influence to enrich themselves, their families and their kinsmen. In addition, the freedom of the press is suppressed, human rights are violated, there are poor international relations, moral degeneration, biting poverty and massive destruction of human life, all ill practices that Ruganda aptly dramatizes

in *The Floods*. I agree with Francis Imbuga in *Betrayal In The City*, when his character, Mosese says : ‘It was better while we waited. Now, we have nothing to look forward to. We have killed our past, and are busy killing the future’ (p.31-2). Indeed, one can argue that, post-independence times reminiscence colonialism.

The impotence of the populace to defend itself from tyrannical acts executed on to them by Boss and his security agents in *The Floods*, illuminates that the people are still not free, just as they were before independence. In *The Floods*, we witness the ruthless acts inflicted on the citizens : the murder of the military man, the massacre of fifty families of Islanders, the murder of the Headmaster and Ssalongo, the arrest and disappearance of the father of the twins, the sexual abuse of Nankya’s mother and many other atrocities. In all these acts, people could neither question nor defend themselves. The fear which had enveloped them held them voiceless. Hence, people are not free, just like they were under the colonial masters who used force to rule. I borrow Eron Kiiza’s⁸ statement: ‘When you deny people freedom, you have literally killed them,’ to aptly summarise the futility of independence.

A reference to the history on which Ruganda drew his material can concretize the theme of futility of independence. When Amin came to power in 1971, Ugandans rejoiced and shouted slogans, like, ‘freedom’, ‘enfranchisement’ from the dictatorial regime of Obote. But Amin’s brutality against Ugandans went beyond that which had been witnessed in previous regimes. As Ruganda dramatizes in *The Floods*, water became a dumping cite for the victims of repression: civilians, religious leaders, business men, common people and elite. Kyeyune reports about the people he has just seen murdered : ‘...spouts of gun-fire...men, women, and children toppling over from the boat into the lake (p.38). Bwogo boasts about the massive massacre of civilians: ‘...lorryfuls of wailing civilians, driven to their deaths, over a cliff, at the point of bayonets (p.19). The soldiers in the army were similarly not spared , such as the military man that Kyeyune finds in his fishing net, ‘with three long nails in his head...’(p.10). Soldiers, many of the victims hailing from Lango and Acholi, were deceived with promises of promotions, then piled in lorries, driven to a lake, and poured there like sand. Bwogo, an instrument of repression is satisfied with his work when he says : ‘the lake can’t complain, though’ (p.19). Okot P’Bitek in *Africa’s Cultural Revolution*, finds independence bloody.

He notes that : ‘the river of blood that Africa has shed after Uhuru runs deeper and deeper, and longer than the mighty Nile ’ (p.39).

Ironically, water is a cleansing agent meant to purify, but the repressive regime used it to cover their crimes, a goal not fulfilled because the crimes Amin committed against helpless civilians are in bold. It was not only the crocodiles that feasted on human bodies, (p.19) but also fish. Kyeyune recounts having found a finger of a human being inside a fish (p.10). The incident symbolizes the desecration of the sanctity of food for Ugandans, hence a termination of life. Amin committed unforgettable crimes against Ugandans, such as the murder of Archbishop of Uganda, Janan Luwum, killed in cold blood, and later an accident is stage-managed to cover the murder. The expulsion of Asians from Uganda in 90 days, some of them being descendants of a 4th or 5th generation of Asians who came earlier, therefore rightful Ugandan citizens. Indeed, none did escape Amin’s cruel hand, and even those that had to flee to exile, the relatives left behind were persecuted or killed. The Luganda saying: ‘mpaawo atalikaaba’ literary translated: ‘none has not mourned,’ aptly describes the Ugandan state during Amin’s regime.

Ruganda, like many other African writers seems to underscore the fact that poor political leadership is a source of many problems that envelop Africa. Other examples of such writers include : Moses Isegawa in *The Abyssinian Chronicles* depicts the Ugandan state as, ‘an abyss’ (2000). Mary Karooro Okurut’s *The Invisible Weevil* spells the evils of successive post-independence regimes, and pronounces them as, ‘a mere change of guards’(2000). None seems to be better than the other. Alex Mukulu in *30 Years of Bananas* (1993), depicts the horror of the successive post-independence regimes (1993). Kiguli Susan in *The African Saga* (2003), illuminates politics in Africa, as a dirty game (2003). Okot P’Bitek in *Song of Lawino* (1966), spells out the effects of devastating effects of politics in Africa (1966). Francis Imbuga’s *Betrayal In The City*, pronounces the ills of dictatorial leadership (1999). Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, in *The Devil on The Cross*, spells out how political leaders assert power (1982). Many other writers and critics have similarly ploughed into the theme of abuse of independence. Subsequently, there has emerged a form of literature that Lillian Kestelool⁹ describes as: ‘Literature of dischantment’. Kestelool explains that the term ‘dischantment’ was

coined by J. Chevrier, and is used to describe, 'the aftermath of independence, the beneficiaries of which expected miracles, aptly describes the illusion / disillusion process' (p. 4).

Ruganda's dramatization of Boss, a political leader who has deviated from the anticipated norms, epitomizes the futility of independence. The colonial masters used force to rule in their territories. A similar thing is happening in post-independence times, with leaders employing repression to rule. Indeed, the condition of Africans has not improved, with many more political leaders increasingly taking on more dictatorial practices. In the wake of wide-spread brutal repression executed by African dictators on a helpless populace, Okot P'Bitek notes : 'The most striking and frightening characteristic of independent African governments is this: that without exception, all of them are dictatorships and practice ruthless discrimination such as makes South African apartheid look tame' (p.7). South Africa's racist regime was known to be one of the worst violators of human rights: 97% of land was state owned, blacks were prohibited from operating income generating activities, blacks had to move with passes given out by whites, those who worked in mines lived in camps, some roads were purely to be used by only whites, and many other injustices were committed against blacks in their land. Today, attention has diverted from racists whites to other nations of Africa, such as the Uganda, a country that Ruganda dramatizes in *The Floods*. The rule of tyranny is predominant and leaders kill their own people. Okiria Edward Samson aptly sums up the feelings of many indigenous nationals: 'the African struggle for independence was vain' (p.13-4)

Like many other African countries, Uganda is experiencing various forms of exploitation under military dictatorships. This form of leadership is responsible for numerous economic, social and political failings in Africa, with democratic etiquettes discarded by the politician's aggressive determination to cling to power at all costs. Kofi Annan,¹⁰ (2009), former U. N. Secretary General notes :

It is a profound shame that since independence, so many African leaders, once elected, come to believe that only they can be trusted to run their country. The result all too quickly becomes government for the benefit of the ruling elite rather than society as a whole. (p.15)

African leaders do not relinquish power peacefully, even when their terms of office are over. They change the constitution to fit in their interest. Those who feel that they are cheated team up, and leadership is changed by 'coup or assassination' *The Floods* (p.29). Kofi Annan further points at Africa's urgent need: a realization that democracy means that political leaders can be voted into as well as out of power. Because many leaders cling to power at all costs, they are removed from power by coups, making coups a common means of removing leaders from power in Africa. Today, Africa's failings cannot be blamed on colonialism but on political leaders themselves. To sum up, I borrow Phares M. Mutiibwa's observation to make an ample statement about the reality of African independence : It is, 'a story of many unfulfilled hopes' (p.1).

3.5 Conclusion

From the analysis in this chapter, it is clear that Shakespeare and Ruganda share a number of political experiences. Both present political archetypes that are similar in many ways. Both illuminate political experiences: friendship and betrayal, manipulation of the common people, futility of independence and coups. The similarity of the dramatists can be explained by two theories. First, is the reader-response tenet of, 'the influence of misreading.' One can adduce that : Ruganda having read Shakespeare at Makerere, carried on the Ugandan experience in the reading of Shakespeare, and *The Floods* is an imprint of Shakespeare realized in the Ugandan context. Second, is T.S. Eliot's essay, which spells the 'simultaneous existence of literature.' There is nothing entirely new that comes out in the world of Literature. Hence, Ruganda's *The Floods* envelops a past, found in the world that Shakespeare dramatizes in *Julius Caesar*, and vice versa.

End Notes

1. The Essex Rebellion (1601) was led by Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, who was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth 1. In January 1601, the rebel Earl led an abortive raid against the Queen. The rebellion aborted, and the Earl was executed.
<http://www.william-shakespeare.org.uk/william-shakespeare-politics.htm>.
2. George Ayittey : ‘*Open Letter to African Presidents and Premiers.*’
Ayittey is a distinguished Economist at American University, and President of The Free Africa Foundation. Find Information at:
<http://www.africa.africanexecutive.com/modules/adc3/wwdelivery/ck.p>
3. *Historical facts on American History.* Available at :
<http://Americanhistory.about.com/od/lincolndeath/a/Lincolnondeath.htm>.
4. Yoder R. A. (1973). *History and Histories in Julius Caesar.* 2007.
Shakespeare’s Quartely 24. P.309-327. Available at :
<http://www.Shakespeare-navigators.Com/jc-Navigators/Yoder.html>.
5. Julius Nyerere in : A foreword to, Yoweri K. Museveni. *What is Africa’s Problem ?* 1992
6. Ibid. End notes chpt 2. No. 6.
7. Jean Francis Bayart (1989). *The Politics of the Belly.* Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia. Available at :
http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/the_poliics_of_the_belly.
8. Eron Kiiza: ‘*Gaddafi Tragedy proves people can’t be happy without freedom.*’
Daily Monitor. Friday 28, October, 2011.
9. Lilyan Kesteloot. *Turning Point in the Francophone / African Novel : The Eighties to the Nineties.* Quoted in Eldred Durosimi and Marjorie Jones (1996 : 4-5)
10. Kofi Annan : ‘Africa needs young leaders.’
(Kofi Annan is Former General U.N.)
Daily Monitor, Monday 23, March, 2009. P. 15.

Chapter Four

SHAKESPEARE AND RUGANDA'S REPRESENTATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter includes the comparative analysis of Shakespeare and Ruganda's dramaturgies of representing political violence, the various types of violence, motives and consequences. In order to carry out a thorough analysis of the theme of political violence in both Shakespeare and Ruganda's identified works, it is imperative that we consider various schools of thought on the concept of violence.

4.2 Analysis of Violence

Sambai Carloyn designates violence as, 'a language of the state' (p.18). It is the only means that dictatorial leaders use to assert power. Kawalya Kasozi describes violence as, 'the use of force whether overt or covert in order to wrest from individuals or groups, something they do not want to do or give of their own free will '(p.1-2). The exertion of force purports that, violence is employed against the will of the people, but in the interest of the state in upholding its' power. Hannah Arendt observes that, 'powerful states use force and violence not only to control, but perform power' (p.35). Violence is used by the state to compel the populace submit to those in authority, hence, violence becomes a signifier of state power. All the above definitions of violence agree with the definition supplied by *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines: 'an injurious, hurtful conduct, as a lawful or unlawful exercise of physical force, and as intimidation by exhibition of physical force' (p.1596).

Ironically, violence has been perceived positively in the Greco, Roman and ancient African traditions. In ancient writings such as the Homeric epics: *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey*, Virgil's *The Aeneid* and, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, violence is seen as a measure of heroism. The epic heroes such as Achilles and Hector, are elevated for exerting violence. Similarly, Gilgamesh and Enkidu are heroes by their exploits in the terror-filled forests, and their encounter with the giant Hubamba earns

them praise. In many African legends, the heroes are people who have fought and triumphed in battles.

A synthesis of all the above cited definitions indicates that, violence is an act of inflicting both physical and psychological pain. In the context of this study, violence is used to refer to politically motivated acts that occur as, terrorism, rebellions, wars within states, interstate wars, revolutions, repression, ethnic wars, border disputes, oppression, tyranny and sexual abuse. Violence also refers to torture, the deliberate disappearance of people, banishing people to exile, persecution, and imprisonment. Most of these acts inflict physical pain on the victims, who also suffer psychologically. The motives of such acts are aligned to how political power is attained and sustained. Both *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* reveal that acts of killings, assassinations, usurping power, and betrayals, are as prevalent today as in the past. Foakes R. A¹ on *Shakespeare and Violence*, similarly notes that: 'the violence in the past, may be related to the present,' and makes reference to the idiom in *The Tempest* : 'What's past is prologue to the present regarding violence' (p.1). The culture of violence is analogous to man, a view that is supported by Richard Priebe when he states that: 'Violence has become an inseparable part of our shared humanity' (p.91).

4.3 Origin of Political Violence

There are many explanations of the origin of violence in the world. The first is the occurrence of sin. John Milton in '*Paradise Lost*' attributes violence to perversity of man arising from the original sin that the Bible also speaks about (Genesis 3). According to Foakes, disobedience, the greatest sin against God's will, led to the cursing of mankind as well as sealing of man's fate to a warring world (p.1). Violence has therefore become an inseparable part of a perverse humanity. The second theory can be traced in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's theory of the formulation of a legitimate civil society. According to Rousseau, love of wealth caused the diversion in the trend of the initial formulation of political leadership. The desire to accumulate riches forced man to resort to violence, to retain and gain more wealth. The research considered all these explanations of the origin of violence in the analysis of political violence.

4.4 Motives of political violence.

Critics have argued that, politicians use violence to make their subjects realize that there are those that wield power, control their lives and their destiny. Power cannot be seen, yet, it exists. It gives those in leadership authority over the subjects, and they can do whatever they want. Walter Raleigh², describes authority as: ‘a certain reverend impression in the mind of subjects and others touching the prince’s virtue and government. It resteth chiefly in admiration and fear... Authority is reinforced and enlarged by power...’ (p.107). Hence, power is the ability to control the subjects, their activities, and the destiny of those led. When those in leadership feel that state power should be reinforced, they use violence to effect submission, hence ultimate control of the subjects. Power reinforcement by the state occurs when a government feels insecure, it then employs repression to compensate for its failures. In the dictatorial states that Shakespeare and Ruganda dramatize in their respective plays, the political leaders exercise their authority by repression.

4.5 Dramaturgy of representing Political Violence

This discussion focused mainly on the dramaturgy of representing political violence, and the portrayal of the consequences of violence in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, respectively. The types of violence considered include: political repression, wars, coups and sexual violence. Psychological violence is examined as a consequence of political violence. The discussion further shows the appraisal of the dramatists’ art in presenting the theme of violence.

Concerning ‘repression’, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines the word as, ‘cruel and severe control of a large group of people’ (p.1207). Control of the majority is done by the leaders who carry out acts of repression, such as: killings, torture, persecution, mysterious elimination of people and banishment to exile. The political leaders are authoritarian, and employ repression against the civilian population, with the aim of achieving political goals. Tyranny institutes fear into the subjects, consequently, the lives of the subjects is ruled by fear, hence, they become submissive and obedient to those in authority. The image of, ‘sheep following cows’ is apt in description of the led, as they submit to the will of the leaders.

In both *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, the dramatists employ the dramaturgies: setting, title, defamiliarization, structure of the plays, soliloquy, dialogue, characterization, cross-purpose, story-telling / reporting, memory, symbolism and a play-within-a-play to depict various forms of violence, such as repression, wars, coups, sexual violence and consequences of violence. Both dramatists demonstrate how a repressive regime can use violence to assert its power and control its people through acts of torture, mysterious disappearances, the killing of both imaginary and supposed enemies.

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda's dramatic productions use symbolism and camouflage to explore worlds in which we witness violence as political leaders suppress opposition, and fear of retribution for independent thought and action is part of daily life. The governments in both worlds of the plays severely suppress opposition and political activity, impede independent organizations, censor and punish criticism of the state. There is also increased corruption and sentence of prominent reformers to a life in jail. The practices in both plays are much the same way. Through imagery, Ruganda portrays repressive leadership. Boss is referred to as: the 'Hitler of Africa' (p.89), 'the ogre' (p.12), and 'Vampire' (p.79), all the three images portend destruction. Similar to Boss, Shakespeare depicts Caesar as a "Colossus" (1.2.136), who stands astride Rome, and all Romans crawl under his legs. It is therefore significant to note that, Ruganda must have read Shakespeare to learn to turn the political scenario of his nation into an artistic production that mimics Shakespeare's political figures.

In addition, both dramatists choose setting to ably capture repression of the time. Regarding Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar* was written in 1599, to illuminate the political crisis in England over succession to the throne. It was a time when the monarchy held absolute authority over the Elizabethans, because it was threatened by its own weaknesses arising out of Queen Elizabeth's failure to provide a heir to the British throne, and was also threatened by the influence of Machiavellian teachings. It was also a time when all those who dared to oppose the authority of Queen Elizabeth were brutally executed at the London Tower. Hence, the wars and revolutions that Shakespeare dramatizes in *Julius Caesar*, are representative of the times of a political crisis in England when the monarchy executed brutal repression against its own people.

Similarly, Ruganda ably chooses time to capture the brutal repression of Amin's era, 1971-1979. *The Floods* was published in 1980, to illuminate the social-political issues of not only Uganda, but Africa in post-independence times. Idi Amin was ousted from power after 9 years of tyrannical rule, and the acts of repression that Ruganda dramatizes in *The Floods*: mass killings, torture of civilians, persecutions, sexual violence, and many other forms of abuse, reflect the times of turbulence in Uganda when the nation sunk to the lowest levels of degeneration, socially, economically, and politically. It was a time of national tragedy that Ruganda dramatizes through acts of the SRB boys, headed by Bwogo. The SRB were used by Boss to assert power, by carrying out crimes amongst which included suppression of people's right to speak. The attempt to kill Nankya by carrying out a massacre of the Islanders, is a clear illustration of abuse of human rights. There were places clearly designated for torture and murder of victims, such as the Public Safety Unit at Naguru, Nakasero, the military police at Makindye, water cites and forests. Other people were killed on mere suspicion of not being in support of the regime. As Ruganda dramatizes in *The Floods*, the Headmaster was killed for speaking English, a language the T.P. tycoon did not understand (p.57). Throughout Uganda, the army did mad killings (p.48). Political analyst, Wamanga Moses, supplies evidence about some of the prominent people Amin killed in a bid to assert power: DP Leader, Ben Kiwanuka, Chief Justice, Basil Bataringaya, Charles Oboth Ofumbi, Lt. Col. Erinayo Oryema, Mr. John Kalema, Shaban Nkutu, Mr. James Ochola, all these were Amin's Ministers and former UPC ministers, Archbishop Janan Luwum, Mr. Frank Kalimuzo, Vice Chancellor, Makerere University, Mr. Joseph Mubiru, the Governor of Bank of Uganda, Micheal Kagwa, the President of the Industrial court, Mr. Rwamashanje, the leader of the Uganda workers' Union, Mrs Nanziri, the warden of Africa Hall, many doctors of Mulago hospital and others (p.89). It is clear, in *The Floods*, Ruganda chronicles the repression of a regime in his time.

Additionally, Shakespeare's choice of setting of place, similarly captures the violence of the repressive reign of Queen Elizabeth. The setting of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is Rome, adopted from the famous and popular Roman legend of *Julius Caesar*, which Shakespeare borrowed and adopted to write his own play, *Julius Caesar*. Some of the features of the original play were maintained, such as the setting, and title. Yet, a critical reading of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* reveals that, it is representative of the political anxieties of the people of England, arising out of the

Queen's failure to produce an heir to the British throne. The repression executed on the Elizabethans, in a bid to uphold the power of the monarchy is reflected in the repression that Caesar executed over his subjects.

Both dramatists use the dramaturgy of defamiliarization to ably capture repression in their respective societies. Regarding Shakespeare, the employment of foreign material [the Roman legend], to write about the political crisis of the Elizabethans, appears to be aimed at the dramatist protecting himself from the repression of the monarchy executed to those that questioned its authority. Shakespeare's purpose in using the Roman legend, was to defamiliarize England. Defamiliarization is a technique of art propounded by Victor Shklovsky, and it is employed to 'make objects unfamiliar, to make forms difficult...to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself, and must be prolonged,' cited in K.M. Newton (p.4). Leo Tolstoy makes the purpose of defamiliarization explicit: 'to make the familiar seem strange, by not naming the familiar object. In describing something, he avoids the accepted names of its parts...' quoted in K.M. Newton (p.4). Shakespeare employed defamiliarization thereby making England unfamiliar to the English audience. So, the dramatist was able to protect himself from repression by the monarchy. The Queen held absolute authority over the Elizabethans, and dramatizing any material which portrayed the weaknesses of the monarchy was a criminal offence, punishable by death. By using a foreign setting, the Roman legend, *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare was able to communicate the concerns of his society, and subtly capture the repression of the monarchy against the Elizabethans.

Similarly, Ruganda employs defamiliarization to ably depict the repressive regime. The choice of the setting, an Island on Lake Victoria, is purposely intended not to name the familiar object, Uganda. This would protect the dramatist from the brutal repression of Amin. Amin had warned Ugandans not to indulge in politics, so, publication of any material that portrayed the weaknesses of his regime would be sentencing oneself to a firing squad, a popular mode of killing by Amin. Ruganda therefore had to use subtle means of depiction of Amin's tyrannical rule, by employing defamiliarization dramaturgy which shielded him from repression. Defamiliarization made Uganda strange, but a critical reading of the play, *The Floods*, reveals that, Ruganda wrote about the violent rule of Idi Amin. For Ruganda to ably voice brutal repression of Amin's regime, he had to seek protection through, what Austin Bukonya (1993), quoted in Alex Mukulu *30 Years of Bananas*,

refers to as: ‘...the subtlest forms of camouflage,’ also referred to as, ‘elusive’ drama. According to Bukenya, writing about Amin’s regime was a ‘taboo.’ (p.vii)

Significantly, Ugandan theatre, like other forms of media, was equally subjected to repression, just like the Elizabethan theatre, where plays were censored before production. Bukenya reveals that: ‘Ugandan theatre through the 1970s and 1980s had always been a valiant struggle for survival in the face of the murderously oppressive regimes of Milton Obote, Idi Amin and their ilk,’ cited in Alex Mukula (p.vii). A number of dramatists did not survive Amin’s ruthlessness, such as the eminent dramatist, Byron Kawadwa, killed in 1977. Thus, Uganda, like Shakespeare, employed the dramaturgy of defamiliarization to serve two purposes: aesthetic and escapism from brutal repression executed on the theatre during the murderous regime of Idi Amin Dada, or the British monarch for Shakespeare.

The dramatists also choose titles of their plays, *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, to aptly illuminate violence of a repressive regime. Concerning Shakespeare, the character, Julius Caesar in the Roman legend, from whom Shakespeare takes the title of the play, *Julius Caesar*, was one of the greatest Roman Generals, and a dictator. Correspondingly, Caesar depicts Queen Elizabeth, whose dictatorship echoes Queen Elizabeth’s dictatorship and the monarchy which suppressed the people of England. The Queen was ageing and childless, thus, there was no legitimate heir to the British throne. Amidst the prevailing political crisis, the society of the Elizabethans was influenced by Machiavellian teachings which spelt that, authority was rather secular than divine. The two conflicting ideologies posed an imminent power crisis, which was met by stiff resistance from the monarchy. The use of repressive means to eliminate political opponents by Caesar, in *Julius Caesar*, hints at a significant parallel, of Queen Elizabeth, who employed brutal repression to uphold the power of the monarchy. Thus, Queen Elizabeth’s repression of her subjects is clearly echoed in Caesar’s repression over his subjects. J.C. Walter similarly notes that : ‘the slight but clear resemblances between the characteristics Shakespeare has given Caesar, apart from what he found in his source, and some well-known characteristics of Elizabeth, may delicately hint at a significant parallel’ (p.4). It is explicit that, Caesar’s characteristics project Queen Elizabeth, prominent of which, is the employment of repression for political purposes of upholding power of the state.

Correspondingly, Ruganda chose the title, *The Floods*, as a form of narration of violence in a repressive regime. 'The Floods', is symbolic of sorrow, death, catastrophe and destruction, such that, a reading of the title psychologically prepares the reader to meet fits of violence. This phenomenon is well explicated in T.S. Eliot's notion of the objective colerative. According to Eliot, objective colerative is: 'a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events, which shall be the formula for the poet's emotion,' so that, 'when the external facts are given, the emotion is at once evoked.' The title, *The Floods*, has been made 'objective.' By the time a reader encounters fits of violence, his mental faculties have been made objective, and a reader can witness violence with the eyes, as well as with the heart. In addition, the biblical connotation of the floods, (Genesis Chapter 7), cannot be underscored. The floods in the Bible killed all the people, apart from Noah's family. The floods are therefore symbolic of destruction of life, hence they reflect the numbers of people Amin killed, estimated at half a million people in Uganda. Sambai Carolyn (p.21), shares a similar view about Ruganda's effective choice of the title, when she states that : 'the playwright's choice of 'floods' conveniently captures the level of violence of the state.'

Unlike Shakespeare, Ruganda uses the external structure of *The Floods*, to effectively capture the brutal repression in the Ugandan state, during the Idi Amin regime. *The Floods* is divided into three parts: the first, second and third wave, and all interrelated with acts of violence, which makes each wave flow systematically into the other. All the waves begin with graphic stage directions that portend a violent atmosphere. The first wave begins: *An Island in Lake Victoria, intermittent growls of thunder and flashes of lightning. The sky is dark with clouds of rain...shouts, cries, and all manner of noise from stampeding men...*' (p.1). In this wave, we witness the massacre of the Islanders, the military man whose body had been mutilated and thrown in a lake. The first wave flows smoothly into the second wave, which also begins with stage directions : '...Waves can be heard lapping and slapping the shores...A storm seems imminent. Thunder growls...flashes of lightning...' (p.15). In this wave, there is torture and numerous killings of people, and this wave flows smoothly into the third wave which begins with stage directions : '...Waves can be heard lapping against the shore and wind whistling in the trees...(p.50). In this wave, there are a number of incidents of horror, such as the rape of Nankya's mother, and the wave ends with a coup.

At another level, a wave can be considered as a metaphor of violence. The wave rises above the normal, thrust in an upward direction. A denotative meaning of a wave, is that swelling that is common on water bodies, a rise above the normal sea level. On the sea, however, strong waves appear as a hurricane, typhoon or tornado, the violence symbolic of acts of torture, of killings, of sexual violence against women, mysterious disappearance of people, throwing innocent people in lakes, and all manner of violence. The waves therefore depict a form of violence that is above the normal, characteristic of the violence that Amin committed against innocent people of Uganda, bizarre crimes that made Uganda to be synonymous to tyranny. Hence, waves project the turbulent times of Amin. Kyallo (1992) quoted in Robert Kanya observes that:

The Floods is a symbolic signification of the overwhelming wave of terror which rocked Uganda during Amin's reign. The forceful floods stand for the brutality and excessive oppression and exploitation of the Africans by dictatorial and military regimes. (p.37)

The waves of terror also suggest that, violence was visible everywhere, as also portrayed in the volumes of literary and political writings Amin's regime supplied, giving evidence to the excessive brutal repression of the Amin era. Amin figure features in lots of literary writings, both in Africa, and elsewhere. It is therefore explicit, Ruganda ably structures *The Floods*, to express violence of the Amin regime.

Although not divided into waves, the internal structure of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* has an internal rhythm that corresponds to Ruganda's waves of violence. One witnesses the rise and fall of crests of violence in *Julius Caesar*. The first part of the play involves violence, but it is unobtrusive. We hear reports of violence through the tribunes who upbraid the commoners for cheering Caesar, who is returning from a bootless war where he has destroyed part of the Roman citizenry (1.1). Then we hear Casca reporting that Marullus and Flavius have been put to silence for daring to undecorate Caesar's statues (1.2.279-280). In Act 2, Brutus makes the most callous statements: "It must be by his death" that must stop his ambition (2.1.10), and Caesar is, 'an egg of the adder that must be crushed in the shell (2.1.34). The violence reaches its first high crest in Act 3, when Caesar is stabbed with the biggest wound made by his best friend, Brutus, who claims to be a sacrificer. Another wave is witnessed again in Act 3, as Mark Antony leads the common people into mutiny.

He begins jokingly, and then, slowly but steadily, leads the mob into wild acts of violence where the mob indiscriminately kills, burns the city, and the chaos culminates into a war at Philippi. Thus, although Shakespeare does not demarcate his work with waverly boundaries, the internal structure of Shakespeare's play reflects the physical wave imagery that Ruganda uses to depict the theme of violence.

Another technique that both dramatists use to portray violence is the use of stories and reporting. Through the stories and reports, we get to hear horrible narratives of violence that cannot be possibly be displayed on the stage. As stated before, Casca's report to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom do not attend Caesar's crowning ceremony, Shakespeare portrays the repression of Caesar's regime on to the citizens. Casca reveals that Marullus and Flavius were put to silence for pulling Caesar's portraits from the walls in the city (1.2.280-1). Caesar used repression to silence his opponents. This is a clear depiction of using violence to assert power. In a way, political repression has another dimension of blocking the people's efforts to oppose the system.

Through another dialogue between Caesar and Antony, Shakespeare portrays how political leaders suppress opposition as a means of asserting power. Caesar says:

Let me have men about me that are fat,
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep a- nights,
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much. Such men are dangerous. (1.2.192-5)

It is vivid that Caesar is non-tolerant to opposition or criticism of his governance. The type of people who think much, like Cassius, would critique his government, and given a chance, he would liquidate them like he did to Marullus and Flavius, (1.5) for daring to remove decorations of his pictures from the city walls. Thus Caesar, although he has not yet been inaugurated sole leader of Rome, he reveals his plan, that he does not want to share power. This is why he seeks to cooperate with people, like Antony who are naïve in political matters. Such people cannot point out his weaknesses. This incident is repression, an infringement of people's rights to speech.

Political repression is further manifested in the coinage of images to inspire fear. In turn, fear propounds obedience and submission. Caesar refers to himself as, 'constant as the northern star' (3.1.60). A clear case when fear is used to effect submission, is witnessed in a dialogue between Caesar and the senators, Brutus, Cassius, Decius, and Casca, the senators all address Caesar: 'Most high, most mighty, and most puissant Caesar, / Metellus Cimber throws himself before thy seat / An humble heart' (3.1.33-5). (Senators are key political figures involved in making decisions that govern Rome). They plead that Caesar pardons Publius Cimber, whom he had banished into exile, but he could not change his decision, however much they pleaded to him. It is clear Romans lived in awesome fear of Caesar, subsequently making fear a weapon of governance.

Caesar's repression was also employed for the purpose of attaining power, by eliminating triumvir leadership and seeking to become a sole ruler of Rome. The more Caesar stayed in power, the more corrupt he became. According to *The Wikipedia Encyclopedia*,³ it is revealed that : 'After assuming control of government, Caesar began extensive reforms of Roman society and government and used ruthless means to control the people.' Caesar's repression culminated in a group of Senators assassinating him on the 'ides of March.'

In adopting the story of Caesar, Shakespeare was subtly reflecting Queen Elizabeth, who, as J.H Walter (p.11) observes, "the monarchy was revered divine." Elizabethans believed that the monarch was ruled by divine right. Thus, it was considered a crime to interfere in political matters. Though the Queen was ageing and frail, and had no child to inherit her on the British throne, it was illegal to challenge her authority. As earlier discussed, this was termed as 'dabbling in politics' and a criminal offence. Many were killed for such a crime, including Shakespeare's own relative, William Arden, a cousin to Shakespeare's mother, Mary Arden.

Evidence from *William Shakespeare and Elizabethan politics*,⁴ reveals that : 'a number of people, including the Earl of Essex, were killed for rebelling against the authority of Queen Elizabeth.' The monarchy sought to uphold Queen Elizabeth's authority by employing brutal repression to suppress those who interfered in her leadership. In addition, the monarchy controlled other institutions such as the media, since the media can influence people to cooperate, or reject the regime in power. The media role in politics cannot be underscored, as Winnie Graham⁵ reveals. According to Graham, in

Rwanda, radio broadcasts instigated the genocide of 1994, where 850,000 people were murdered in three months. Significantly, the theatre is a great form of media, because it communicates to large numbers of people within a relatively short time. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, and Ruganda's *The Floods* significantly serve a 'watchdog.'

Similar to Shakespeare, Ruganda employs reports to reveal repression by the state. Kyeyune reports to Nankya and Bwogo the horror he has just witnessed: 'spouts of gun-fire and fierce arrows of brilliance penetrating the body of the lonely boat. Thunder claps bouncing off the body of the boat and sending reverberations of death ... men, women and children toppling over from the boat into the lake,' (p. 38). The army was shooting and killing innocent islanders who had been shortly lured into boarding a 'saving' boat. But, it was all a hoax, a plan to eliminate Nankya. The killing of the islanders would ensure that Nankya is eliminated. The state killed at will. The large numbers of people massacred, and the ruthless means used shows how volatile the state could go to assert power. Nankya relates another brutal incident of a man whom Bwogo pushed down the stairs, all the way from the fifteenth floor of the International Hotel, 'Kicked him and shoveled him down the staircase with their military boots...His brains splotted all over the staircase (p.32). The idea of throwing a person down from a fifteenth floor, and the image of brain substance splotted all over, shows how volatile the state could go to assert power.

Shakespeare further uses dialogue to depict how leaders employ repression to control people.

Nankya tells Bwogo about the harm that has been done on to innocent people:

...Temples tainted with martyred blood and above all,
uncertainty and death. Death stalking the streets like
thousands of soldiers on the beat. The situation is real bad. (p.29)

There are many brutal acts that Boss deliberately inflicted on the populace to assert power. Blood was everywhere, ultimately compelling the populace to be submissive to the injustices of the military regime. Hannah Arendt asserts that; 'violence enhances obedience' (p.35). This becomes a reality that begins with torture of people who then get possessed with fear. In turn, fear acts as a weapon that makes them voiceless, inevitably submitting to authority. Boss's regime used the military and security agents to abuse and kill the citizens, subsequently establishing an atmosphere

of terror, that political critic Wamanga Moses identifies with 'fascist suppression' (p.88). Wamanga defines fascism as: 'a militarist and forceful use of terror by small groups of leaders over the majority of people to obey and observe the rule, will, and wishes of those in power'(p.88). Hence, when a dictatorial government feels that it is losing control over the people, it employs violence.

Ruganda also uses a play-within-a-play, between Nankya and Bwogo, to illuminate how the dictatorial regime of Amin used violence to assert power:

Bwogo: I'm hereby warning you that unless you cooperate fully with the law enforcing officers, you will face...
Nankya : Firing squad. Is that it ?
Bwogo : ...Place of birth ?
Nankya : General ward... National hospital. Floor mucked with faeces and vomit. The walls with blood stains. Every patient chocking with stench.
Bwogo : (*His patience has run out. He grabs her and twists her hand behind the back.*) Bloody bastard. What do you think you are ? We have tried to be civil with you...(*forces her into a squatting position... gets out his pistol and points at her temple.*) (p. 42.)

In the above episode, Bwogo is enacting the role of an army officer. The violence he executes on to an innocent victim epitomizes the violence of the repressive regime against a helpless populace. The military was the law, and all power rested in this institution. The Ugandan state became militarized, with key political positions taken over by the army. The gun was then used as an instrument of upholding power as Ruganda dramatizes through Bwogo:

Bwogo : Stop it damn you ! (He pounces on her. There is a struggle during which Kyeyune enters excitedly. Bwogo, who is startled by this unexpected intrusion draws a pistol from his jacket and fires. He misses. Kyeyune has collapsed to the ground, his gear scattering all over. Nankya lets out a scream.)
Nankya : Bwogo ! You have killed him.(Tries to move towards Kyeyune: Bwogo pulls her back.)
Bwogo : Don't (His pistol at the ready)
Nankya : You've killed an innocent man-again. (p.36)

The word, 'again' in Nankya's speech above, suggests that the Bwogos kill people over and over again. Kyeyune says : 'They are mad. Shooting and killing anything on sight.' (p.48). The judiciary,

where people would report repression, was similarly suppressed. Inevitably, the populace lived according to military policies. Sambai Carolyn aptly refers to Amin's regime, as, 'an era born in repression and bloodshed' (p.14). To many, Amin has remained a subject of controversy and almost a mythical figure. On the reflections of killers⁶ of the 20th Century, Amin is described as: 'An illiterate and gluttonous buffoon, and a subject of many bizarre rumours and myths...' Amin killed a wide spectrum of people, from tribes he did not like, such as Acholi and Langi, religious leaders, elite, business men and women, non-nationals, the old and young. He killed his wife Kay Amin, and it is believed he killed one of his children, as ritual sacrifice to retain power. Consequently, Uganda became famous abroad because of Amin, and the crimes he committed against humanity.

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda further use characterization and symbolism to enact violence. Bwogo's uncouth character is symbolic of dictatorial brutal leaders, who employ violence to assert power. We witness Bwogo physically assaulting Nankya for having exposed the injustice of the state and its security agents:

Nankya : Most wanted criminal ! My God !
Bwogo : (Slaps her hard) STOP IT ! (*quick drink... silence*)
Nankya : You slapped me because I told the truth. (p.33)

Nankya has just spoken out the gruel-some murder of a man thrown down from the fifteenth floor of The International Hotel, by Bwogo's SRB boys, and false charges had been placed on him in the papers, as, 'most wanted criminal.' The violence that Bwogo executes on Nankya, demonstrates how far the state can employ repression to assert power. Those who critique the state are eliminated, such that, the citizens were enveloped in a fear that held them voiceless. The army was on rampage, killing at will, those in opposition or those suspected to be in opposition of the regime, such that, the nation 'smelt blood.' The images of blood were everywhere, as Mary Karooro Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* notes : 'it was a time when a stench of blood hit the country' (p.10).

Correspondingly, Shakespeare enacts repression through the character of Mark Antony. Mark Antony is depicted as the author of mischief. He gloats over suffering in the destruction of lives and property of Rome. Mark Antony knows very well Brutus had killed Caesar for an honourable reason (5.5.68-72). He would have joined with him to make a better government. On the contrary, he

deliberately uses demagoguery to incite the mob against Brutus and other conspirators, and the hopeless commoners exert uncalled for violence to the innocent people, such as represented by Cinna, the poet. Antony is an epitome of evil. In Act 4, Scene 1, he is seen writing down all the names of the people to be killed, including his own relatives on the opposition. He also has intemperate greed for power. He wants to eliminate Lepidus from sharing the national cake by relegating him to a role of an errand boy (4.1.12-3).

In general, Ruganda's characterization of Bwogo appears to be patterned on Shakespeare's Mark Antony. Bwogo loyally follows the Boss, as Mark Antony follows Caesar, who in Act 1 Scene 2, confesses that, whatever Caesar says, has to be done. Bwogo follows Boss's instructions to the letter. He kills ruthlessly, and when chastised by Nankya about the killing rampage, Bwogo attributes the practice to survival. His character is reflected in the brutal type we see in Mark Antony. Bwogo plans to kill his own fiancée Nankya, as an act done to eliminate opposition to Boss's government. Bwogo is similar to Mark Antony, who in Act 4, is seen writing out a list of people to be killed including his own relatives, because they were on the opposition side. Bwogo holds unquestionable authority, since the victims of his violence cannot report these cases to courts of law and are helpless victims of violence.

From the above analysis, it is explicit that the dramatists share dramaturgies of defamiliarization, violent narrative, imagery, structure and characterisation, employed to portray how dictatorial leaders use repression to attain and sustain power. The dramatists differ in the use of some dramaturgies: Ruganda extensively employs cross-purpose, memory, and a play-within-a play. It is significant to note that, Ruganda is overt in his representation of a violent state.

4.6 Wars and Coups

Wars and coups are a form of politically motivated violence that both Shakespeare and Ruganda dramatize in their respective plays, *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*. War is premeditated mass murder, planned and executed by warring groups, each fighting against the other, and they are a phenomenon that has marred the world since time immemorial. Biblical revelations of God's curse of man to a life

of evil is a prologue to the wars that have occurred in human history. Foakes R.A⁵ observes that: 'violence is recorded in the Old Testament through stories of frequent wars, and God embraces violence as, 'a punisher who causes others to suffer'(p.1). In Matthew, the biblical prophetic verse: 'Those who rise by the sword will fall by the sword,' (26:52-53) has come true again and again, with man's quest for more and more power breeding increased discontent, and a major source of armed conflicts.

Wars have been fought since time immemorial: civil wars, guerilla wars, inter-state, and, intra-wars, such that, man is living in a 'vicious' circle of coups and wars. Yoweri K. Museveni outlines the various forms of wars: the 'conventional war,' where the strategy is for large formations of the armies to slog it out in face-to-face battles, such as in world war 1, 11, and the Arab-Israel wars. Such wars entail use of modern and sophisticated equipment, such as artillery, aircraft and rockets. The second form of war, is a 'coup d'etat', which is a strategy where elements of the army seize key installations and take over power in a relatively short time. The 'protracted people's war', where popular forces that are supported by the masses wage a protracted war against those in power. According to Museveni, the war that ushered him to power, 1981-1986, is a protracted people's war. (p.129-141).

There are adverse effects that accrue as a consequence of wars. Fr. Raphael meeje et al⁷ in *Leadership for Christian Leaders*, states that: 'violence associated with political conflict is growing. Over 21 million people have died in the 150 wars that have taken place, mostly in the third world since world war 11' (p. 16). Besides natural calamities, such as earthquakes or floods, wars are the main destroyer of human life. The First World War, (1914-1918) was the first most dangerous war that was fought on a global scale. The Second World War, (1939-1945) was sparked off by Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939, but later was fought basically between the axis powers of Italy, Japan, and Germany, versus the allied powers of Britain, France, Russia and U.S.A. The second world war caused so much suffering and deaths all over the continent. Even Africans were forcefully taken to fight a war many of them did not consider 'theirs.' Up to the 20th century, the effects of these wars are still registered in some countries, such as Japan, where some babies have been born blind or disfigured, as a result of the toxic effects of the bomb blasts on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There are

famous other wars in human history, such as the Nazi war in Germany, America versus Afghanistan, and others. In Africa, the continent has been marred by mostly inter-state wars, such as the war in Southern Sudan, the Biafra wars in Nigeria, the genocide in Rwanda, the war in northern Uganda, Libya, and many others.

A coup is a sudden forceful seizure of power, usually involving the military as principal actors. Omita Okoth Robert describes a coup, as, 'a sudden and unlawful change of a state government by the capture of state power' (p.16). There is use of force and violence. In many states, coups are unlawful and regarded as treason, though, like wars, they have swept over the continent and constitute cycles of violence.

The coups that both Shakespeare and Ruganda dramatize, are a form of politically motivated violence. Regarding Ruganda, he dramatizes a coup in the third wave that sees Boss ousted from power (P.106). Ruganda also uses this coup to epitomize the many coups Uganda has witnessed in post-independence times, amounting to 6 in a period of 40 years. Aporo George Goldie in, *A Compendius Monograph for African Nationalism* similarly observes the prevalence of coups in Africa, and notes that: 'by 1970, as many as about half of the then independent African states were being governed by one or other kind of military rule, and by 1981, military coups had been carried out in 27 independent African states' (p. 261). Since 1981, there are more coups that have occurred on the African continent, in Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Egypt, Ethiopia and Uganda. Most of these coups occur because politicians seek power as easy means of wealth acquisition. According to Jean Francis Bayart,⁸ Nigeria's postcolonial experience characterized by numerous coups, is the most apt example of 'politics of the belly' (p.1). Nigeria has witnessed coup after coup, ushering in countless regimes because people seek power as a means of acquiring wealth. What is happening in Nigeria is similar to what is happening in Uganda or elsewhere in many African states. In his analysis of the rampant coups in Africa, where about 90% of the 45 independent Black African states have experienced a military coup, Craig J. Jenkins⁹ on. *Explaining Military Coups D'etat. Black Africa*, (1957-1984), observes that coups are 'the institutionalized mechanism for succession.'

The cause of the coup that Ruganda dramatizes in *The Floods*, is twofold: one, it is incited by excessive abuse of power by Boss and his henchmen. Two, it is an instrument for getting power. One can say that, the practice of repression forces people to team up and fight back. So, coups are caused by repression. Besides ambition for power, a desire to revenge has been a major cause of conflicts in Uganda. In *Julius Caesar*, Mark Antony stirs the Plebeians to fight for two reasons: to revenge for his friend who was killed, and to gain power by eliminating his rivals.

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda portray wars and coups as a form of politically motivated violence. In *Julius Caesar*, the play begins with reports of Caesar returning from war against Pompey. But, this war is a civil war, where Caesar's goal was to attain power and become sole ruler alone. In Act 3, Brutus attained power after assassinating Caesar. Although Brutus gives ambition as reason for Caesar's assassination, his speech demonstrates that the conspirators had no laid out plans for Rome, hence, they were merely power seekers. The conspirators' usurpation of power is short-lived, as Antony manipulated the mob into a violence that ousts the conspirators and burning of the city. The battle at Philippi, between Antony/ Octavius/ Lepidus army was fought against Brutus /Cassius army, with a purpose of attaining power. Antony, Octavius and Lepidus formed the second triumvirate which took over the leadership of Rome as the second triumvir. It is explicit the cycles of violence Shakespeare depicts in *Julius Caesar* are politically motivated, with purposes of attaining power. According to Robert N.Watson,¹⁰ cited in Jonathan Dolimore and Alan Sinfield, (p.162) Shakespeare's presentation of violence establishes a 'philosophical myth,' which is based on theological foundations. Watson states that:

anyone who takes the throne without inheriting it will always be vulnerable to new usurpers, and will have trouble passing it on to his own offspring, and can never safely relinquish that throne either. (p.162)

Watson further advances that, Shakespeare's treatment of power is 'pragmatic' and 'practical.' This is because the cycles of violence keep on repeating. People are continuously ambitious for power because they use these political positions to accumulate wealth. The *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*,¹⁰ reveals that: 'after Caesar's assassination, there were a series of civil wars which ultimately led to the establishment of the permanent Roman Empire by Caesar's adopted heir, Octavius, later known as Augustus.'

The insecurity prevailing in the country, as Nankya states: ‘a slight sign of unrest, and Boss trots to the neighbouring countries’ (p.19), epitomizes the many civil and guerrilla wars that have marred the Ugandan nation. While militia groups fight from within the country in a bid to attain power, the regime in power offers resistance by severely crushing any uprising ; ‘emergence rescue operations.’ Although repression is used by the regime in power to crush ‘rebel activity,’ somehow there will be a coup that will oust the dictator, as witnessed in the coup that ousts Boss in the third wave (p.106). George Ayittey,¹¹ in ‘*Open letter to African Presidents On African Politics*’ observes that, although coups happen, the next tyrant doesn’t learn. Being a product of the same structure with intricate knowledge of its inner workings, he repairs the weaknesses and strengthens the structure to become even a worse tyrant. What happens is that, he too is overthrown by the same security apparatus.

The main cause of wars and coups is either to attain or retain power. When in power, the politicians grab public funds so as to become as rich as possible. Thus, power becomes a means to an end, which is wealth acquisition. Besides ambition for power, and revenge as significant causes of wars and coups, the influence of films of horror cannot be underscored. The young grow witnessing violence, and are groomed to adore violence, similar to the Homeric heroes.

Ruganda’s dramatization of political unrest in *The Floods* reveals that, the victims of wars are the common people who suffer most. They are tortured, women are raped, girls are defiled, people are displaced, property is looted, others are killed, and the entire lives of such people where war takes place is dis-oriented. Cases to consider include wars in Luweero Triangle in the early 1980’s, and the war between the LRA against UPDF in Northern Uganda. These wars led to untold suffering of the people in these regions. For many people, wars and coups remain undesirable because of the instabilities they cause. In his submission, *Do not entertain Coups*, Umaru M. Kashaka¹² articulates the undesirability of coups :

There is no such a thing as a good coup in this day and age, when ballots are supposed to have replaced guns. African leaders should also stop creating situations that warrant their removal by the gun. (p.6)

Coups have become the commonest means of removing leaders from power in African countries. They are too frequent that, as Bade Onimode in *A Political Economy of the African Crisis* evaluates, coups have caused a problem of, 'the legitimacy of leadership,' or a 'crisis of legitimacy' (p.227). Coups and counter-coups have caused instability in government, with those that team up to fight for power to usher in a new regime labelled as 'rebel activity,' outlawed and treasonable. There is a persistent problem in change of leadership and leadership by succession is only confined to traditional hierarchies. Coups are undesirable, and those regarded as good are those that depose tyrants. According to ECOMOG, an organization in West Africa, military coups should be delegitimised. The role of the military should be to protect its citizens, to see peace prevailing, rather than to engage in political struggles.

From the above discussion, it is explicit that both dramatists, Shakespeare and Ruganda, portray wars and coups as a form of politically motivated violence. Wars and coups happen because people seek to attain or retain power.

4.7 Sexual Violence

Ruganda overtly dramatizes political violence against women by Bwogo and the soldiers in *The Floods*, to illuminate sexual violence as a political ideology. Sexual violence is an attack on a woman, by physically abusing her body. This may be in form of rape, or defilement. In *The Floods*, the regime that Ruganda dramatizes is militarized, and it uses sexual violence against women as a tool of repression. Whereas sexual violence is a practice against women, the psychological pain it causes goes beyond womankind, and touches the entire society. Sexual violence de-humanises the victim, physically and emotionally.

Odera G.Outa¹³ observes that: 'When Ruganda presents Nankya or even her mother raped by soldiers, he of course is alluding to a form of 'female exploitation,' almost taken for granted in the post-colony' (p.357). In *The Floods*, Ruganda dramatizes sexual violence against women, as one of the significant ways militarized states assert power over a helpless populace. For instance, Bwogo sexually abuses women in his office, (p.30) regardless the feelings of the victims, their families, or

even society. Like the rest of the perpetrators of this act, Bwogo regards it as a right. Yet, the victims are vulnerable and cannot report the offence to any legal authority, since in such a militarized state, the army 'speaks' louder than the law. Meredith Turshen notes that; 'militarised rape is directly related to the functions of a formal institution such as the State National Security, or defence apparatus or an insurgency military arm' (p.3). What Meredith observes is true as we witness Bwogo in *The Floods*, the head of the SRB boys, a security apparatus Boss has put in place to assert power, kills, persecutes and sexually abuse women.

Nankya has been raped by Bwogo, and she reminds him of this past injustice against her : 'Had anybody known me before you, Bwogo ? Had anybody...before you seduced me ?' (p.30). Nankya herself is a product of such violence against her mother :

The military boots are steadily approaching... Mother's door is burst open. smashed to pulp. Four figures turn the house upside- down... and my mother is only sixteen. They look at her...Soon the four men are on top of mother, one after the other, before she passes out...(p.98)

Ruganda's dramatization of a spate of sexual violence by Bwogo and the soldiers against women, epitomizes the prevalence of this abuse by the military in Amin's regime. In his submission; '*Uganda : Sexual Violence Against Women Must be Stopped*,' Felix Kulaigye ¹⁴ similarly observes that : 'sexual violence against women is one of the most widespread violations of human rights, where, today's combatants have become rape monsters that women must run away from' (p.8).

Bwogo and the soldiers who sexually abuse women in the play portray militarized states in Africa that have failed to control their armies. In such states, there is lawlessness and soldiers are never apprehended when they commit crimes against the populace. According to Niye Akigbe's¹⁴ submission, 'Defying Armies, Protesting Military Oppression in Arrows of Rain': 'rape is systematic violence- which by extension reverberates a narration of subjugation of the state by the military.' Rape is a deliberate practice by those in political leadership, intended to demonstrate power. In Amin's regime, the army was indisciplined, on rampage, killing, molesting, intimidating, robbing, and sexually abusing women. It is believed the high numbers of street children in the 80's was a consequence of sexually abusing women by Amin's soldiers.

There are no overt sexual violence scenes in *Julius Caesar*, though there are instances of covert sexual repression. For example, In Act 1 Scene 2, Caesar is seen embarrassing his wife when he orders her to stand where Antony will touch her during the holy chase, so as to cure her of barrenness. Here, Shakespeare echoes the Tarquin dynasty, who, according to his *Rape of Lucrece* were ousted due to raping of Lucrece. Shakespeare's other play, *Macbeth*, includes raping of Lady Macduff by Macbeth's soldiers, as a punishment to Macduff, who is Macbeth's political opponent and has fled to England (4.2). The dramatist further shows aspects of sidelining women when it comes to the struggle for power transfer. In Act 3, when Calpurnia warns Caesar about the future, Caesar dismisses her wisdom in preference to the men's deceptive flattery. Calpurnia turns out a tormented silent spectator. It is apparent women are nothing, just objects for pleasure. The same thing happens when Brutus plans the conspiracy in the absence of his wife. Portia is a brave woman. She attests to her stoicism when she shows a scar of self-inflicted pain to prove that she can keep secrets. It is reported in Act 4 that Portia died stoically for the sake of Brutus, whose struggle for power results in a long absence from home. These aspects of women abuse have a bearing on present day society.

It is clear in both *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, women are only good for pleasure, not partners in political power. It is men who hold the power. In areas of armed conflicts, sexual violence has also been used as a practice of demonstrating power, as Meredith Turshen¹⁶ states :

Rape as systematic violence assumes that, rape during armed conflict is a socially constructed experience that is produced by a series of deliberate policy decisions, and that, it is therefore neither inevitable nor unchangeable.(p.4)

During armed conflicts, those in power do not condone this practice, and in many cases, the military commanders encourage their soldiers to 'loot' women so that they use them to provide pleasure, or free labour by using them as wives to cook for them. In *The Floods*, Uganda dramatizes political unrest, a situation that enables the soldiers not only to terrorize and kill the populace, but also to sexually abuse women at will, such as witnessed in Bwogo's sexual conquests, and the rape of Nankya's mother (p.98). A report compiled by Meredith Turshen (p.4), in The '*Human Rights*

Watch' (1997), reveals that, in the war between the LRA and UPDF in Northern Uganda, the captured school girls by the LRA were used as wives and concubines. In the *Amnesty International Report* (1997), Meredith Turshen also reveals sexual violence against women in Luweero triangle, where women were abused by Obote soldiers, as a form of punishment against the civilians in this region for supporting Museveni's National Resistance Army (p18). It is clear Uganda's dramatization of sexual violence against women remains un-averted since the crime has no legal redress. This position therefore concretizes sexual violence as a form of political ideology employed to assert power in militarized states. However, today, rape and defilement are criminal offences carrying a minimum sentence of sixteen years jail.

Thus, both Shakespeare and Uganda depict military states with instances of violence against women. In Shakespeare, there are subtle cases of abuse of women, while in Uganda, they are overt. To sum up, one can argue that sexual abuse is a significant practice in militarized dictatorial states, with those in leadership practicing violence against women as a means of demonstrating power. Hence, sexual violence stands as a political ideology in militarized dictatorial states.

4.8 Consequences of Violence

Both Shakespeare and Uganda depict characters who suffer psychologically because of the violence inflicted on them by a repressive regime. First, there is the psychological torture which makes the people suffer, because of knowing that leaders in power have attained those positions not by the "general will," of the electorate, but rather by violence and manipulation. This is characteristic of dictatorial leadership that both Shakespeare and Uganda dramatize in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* respectively. Power is attained by forceful seizure by Boss and Caesar. Although there is no rigging in both plays, the practice of manipulation of the populace, as already discussed in chapter two, is equivalent to abuse of peoples' rights. People cannot talk or go against the machinations of the politicians, they simply keep quiet as they consciously endure the unwanted leadership. The helplessness of the people steels the politicians, and they continue to torture the populace, aware the people do not have the power to put up a resistance. So, to have power and be unable to use it, is itself the greatest psychological pain. Worse still, is the mockery of telling the people that, the power

belongs to them when actually it does not. All the above cited incidents are indicators of psychological pain. It is not surprising that people like the Plebeians in *Julius Caesar* are totally hopeless. They cannot tell the right from the left, as Casca says, they would have given votes to Caesar even if he had murdered their own mothers (1.2.269-270).

The behaviour of the common people that both Shakespeare and Ruganda dramatize in their plays reflects that the people have been affected psychologically as a result of being subjected to violence by those in power. In both *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, the common people's behaviour demonstrates a deterioration of their intellectual functions. The common people in *Julius Caesar* are described as, 'incapable of telling right from wrong,' (1.2.268-269) because they are intellectually indebted. In *The Floods*, the common people as represented by Kyeyune, who is witnessed suffering mentally because of violence of the state. The consequences of violence inflicted on the people is epitomized as 'schizophrenia' or dementia, a symptom of violence. In *The Floods*, the characters who suffer from schizophrenia exhibit indicators that range from hallucinations, fear, day-dreaming, speaking at cross purpose, to memory lapses. As the leaders ceaselessly inflict pain on their subjects, the victims are trapped in, 'an endless cycle of distress and pain,' consequently, causing mental damage on the led. Critics have observed that mental degeneration of the populace is a deliberate strategy instituted by those in power. According to Patrick Chabal.¹⁷ : 'Disorder is a Political Instrument.' The creation of mental disorder is deliberate because leaders know they will be able to stay in power without opposition.

Cycles of repressive regimes that both Shakespeare and Ruganda dramatize in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* are held responsible for eroding the mental and emotional capacity of the people, some to levels of insanity. Mental degeneration is referred to by Stephen M. Kosslyn and Robin S. Roseberg as: PTSD. 'Post Traumatic Stress Disorder' (p.599). These disorders include: mood disorders, anxiety disorders, schizophrenia, diassociative, eating disorders and personality disorders. It is explicit, political violence is a traumatic experience, which completely dis-orient a person's life from normal.

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda employ characters whose lives are ruled by fear, a consequence of violence that political leaders use to assert power. In *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, there are citizens who live in awesome fear of the state, a fear that turns out a sickness in itself. Caesar and Boss inflict physical pain on their subjects through torture and killings so as to assert power. Such a situation brings about not only physical, but also psychological pain that gradually incapacitates the mental faculties of the victims, and erodes them of upright thinking. This is a state of mental degeneration. Carole Wade and Carol Tarvis refer to mental degeneration as, 'Schizophrenia,' a term they use to describe :

A fragmented condition, not the co-existence of several different personalities. It is an example of a psychosis, a mental condition that involves distorted perceptions of reality and an inability to function in most aspects of life. (p.606).

The individual suffering from Schizophrenia suffers from a distortion of normal thinking, and drifts out of reality. According to Wade and Tarvis, the term, 'Schizophrenia' was coined in 1911 by a Swiss psychiatrist, Eugen Bleuler, to describe cases in which 'the personality loses its unity; words are split from meaning, actions from motives, perceptions from reality' (p.606). It is explicit Ruganda dramatises the effects of violence in the character of Kyeyune who suffers from hallucinatory experiences that make him drift away from reality, a symptom of schizophrenia.

Shakespeare's portrayal of the characters who suffer the consequences of violence differs from Ruganda's depiction. While Ruganda uses the common people to illuminate the consequences of repression, Shakespeare uses political figures in key positions of leadership. Cassius's lament to Brutus depicts a man who is suffering psychologically because of Caesar's autocracy. Cassius is in pain because Caesar wants to bring back the undesirable form of leadership, as a sole ruler of Rome (1.2.130), a form of leadership that would inevitably bring back dictatorship which had made people suffer a lot in the past. The Romans had fought valiantly to get rid of dictatorship. Secondly, Cassius is suffering psychologically because the Romans are proving to be weak, by allowing Caesar defy the triumvir leadership which the Romans had put in place to fight dictatorial leadership.

Cassius is suffering because he is under a regime where Caesar uses violence to assert power. Caesar is set to eliminate opposition, such as witnessed in the liquidation of Marullus and Flavius. Romans

are thus filled with fear, and Cassius is tormented because the Romans who define stoicism as a virtue of a Roman spirit, have taken on 'a culture of silence.' In a situation where Caesar has silenced his political opponents in a bid to assert power, the Romans do not act. Cassius laments : 'But, woe the while, our fathers' minds are dead, / And we are governed with our mothers' spirits: / Our yoke and sufferance show us womanish (1.3.82-4). According to Cassius, the spirit of stoicism was dying in the Romans, making it easier for Caesar to defy the triumvir leadership. According to Cassius, Caesar whom he describes as a 'Colossus' towing over his subjects (1.2.135-7), lacks the spirit of stoicism, hence, he cannot be a good ruler of Rome. Cassius argues he would make a better leader than Caesar, for he once saved Caesar from drowning in river Tiber, and saved him from a fever (1.2.90-131).

Cassius's psychological torment made him initiate a plot to assassinate dictatorial Caesar. After Cassius's success in convincing Brutus see Caesar's faults, Brutus is similarly tortured psychologically because he has to undertake a decision that affects his friend Caesar. To kill Caesar and free Rome from the leadership that Caesar wants to re-establish, or to spare Caesar's life, and let the rule of Kingship be established by Caesar. Brutus's psychological torture is deduced in the strange habits that Portia observes:

... Y' have urgently, Brutus,
Stole from my bed: and yester night at supper
You suddenly arose, and walked about,
Musing and sighing, with your arms across;
And when I asked you what the matter was,
You stared at me with ungentle looks, (2.1.237-256)

According to Portia, Brutus is acting strangely, and she feels he has 'some sick offence within his mind.' The psychological torture that Brutus faced drove him to a near- mental break down, as witnessed in the dilemma in the decision he finally has to make:

Brutus: It must be by his death; and for my part,
I know no personal cause to spurn at him,
But for the general... (2.1.10-13)

Brutus's utterances reveal that he is a man suffering psychologically, and the final arrival at the decision of killing Caesar is partially a pain to him, because he is submitting to killing a friend and confidant, in the name of saving Rome from the so much undesirable form of leadership that Caesar sought to re-establish.

Shakespeare also uses Caius Ligarius to illuminate the consequences of violence of repression. Caius is depicted suffering psychologically too (2.1.310-336), and refers to himself as, 'a sick man,' whose sickness would cure if Brutus accepted to join the conspirators in their plot. When Brutus confirmed his acceptance, Caius is at once relieved: 'I here discard my sickness' (2.1.321). According to Caius, since Brutus is regarded as the 'Soul of Rome,' (2.1.321) noble, a son of a distinguished father, his acceptance to join the conspirators raised the spirits of the conspirators, and his involvement in the assassination of Caesar would justify the assassination act. Brutus would thereby be used to lead the conspirators. Shakespeare has depicted the conspirators as men who suffer psychologically as a consequence of Caesar's violence and their sickness is cured at Caesar's fall. Together with other conspirators, Cinna shouts: 'Liberty ! Freedom ! Tyranny is dead' (3.1.78).

Regards Ruganda, *The Floods* has been credited for its grand depiction of the damage a repressive regime can do to the psyche of man. Ruganda dramatizes Kyeyune who suffers from hallucinations, which is nearer madness: 'scatter-brained,' goes about talking to himself... sometimes talks to trees and buildings... (p.35). The past experience of horror that Kyeyune witnessed when he fished out the body of a 'military man, with nails in his head...' (p.10), has led to a traumatic disorder that can be described as Schizophrenia. Stephen M. Kosslyn and Robin S. Roseberg describe 'Schizophrenia' as a term that embraces a number of disorders, each with distinct symptoms: delusions of persecution (beliefs that others are out to 'get' you), of grandeur (beliefs that you are an important person), of reference (beliefs that normal events have special meaning directed towards you), of control (beliefs that your feelings, behaviour, or thoughts are controlled by others), hallucinations, disordered behaviour, disorganized speech and so many other symptoms (p.599).

Kyeyune shows delusions, with a belief that there are some people who are out to get him:

Nankya : (anxiously) Are you all right?

Kyeyune: (still looks distraught; unsure of his fate and whereabouts) Where am I?
Please, don't kill me. Don't kill me, I pray you. I'm only a simple person. Spare me masters.

Nankya : (shakes him vigorously to bring him back to reality). Kyeyune, Kyeyune, Look at me. You're safe. No one is going to hurt you.

Kyeyune: They will. They will. The ambassadors of darkness. I saw them. Faces masked with vengeance. Tell them to leave me alone

Nankya : I will. Now calm down.

Kyeyune : (still on his knees) How can I ? How can I calm down ? Can't you see?
(p.36-7)

In the above dialogue, what Kyeyune refers to as ambassadors of darkness are the military men whom he has seen brutally torturing and killing innocent Islanders: men, women and children massacred in a boat. The horror of the massacre keeps on drifting into his present, and he gets the delusion that the same military men have come for him. Kyeyune therefore sees what other people do not see, a state that is made explicit in the information on, 'Psychomedia,'¹⁸ that: 'Victims of torture do not have memories but have hallucinatory representations of the violent pasts because experiences of horror disable the psyche and alter the work of memory. The violent moment gets frozen around the traumatic events and hurtful memories.' The horror of the past experience is so traumatic, hence frozen in Kyeyune's psyche. He cannot erase the horror from his memory, it has attained a permanence. Something small, or a related event, will throw Kyeyune in a delirium of fear, and will trigger on the past experience to recur. We later see him addressing an object that Bwogo and Nankya cannot see:

If I must die, irresistible one, spare me the lure of your beckon;
My feet trudging towards the shore and my eyes glued to the one
With the three nails stuck in his skull... (p.50)

Kyeyune is in a state of fright about what he thinks he sees: 'a military man, dead, with three long nails in his head, his genitals sticking out in his mouth, a big stone round his neck, his belly ripped open, and intestines oozing out'(p.10). The magnitude of fear is so intense that he feels the body is beckoning him, though his body, seems to be in a state of paralysis. Kyeyune's hallucinations are involuntary, but they keep on drifting into his life. He does not understand himself: 'I must be going mad. Mad like a monkey' (p.39). Others too think Kyeyune is mad: 'scatter-brained' (p.36). The image of the General with, 'three nails in his skull' keeps on tormenting him, coming back alive in

his memory as he visualises it. In another incident, Kyeyune narrates how he went fishing and later found a human finger in the belly of the fish he was eating:

Fireside prattles he calls them. Am I a prattler now because I
found a human finger in the bowels of a fish ? A human finger !
I went out and threw up... (p.10)

Kyeyune's narrative is so graphic, that the reader can see the gruel-some actions committed by those in power. Many people were killed in Amin's regime, and their bodies were dumped in the Lakes. The sight of part of a human body in fish was a common phenomenon in Amin's time, and many people stopped eating fish.

Additionally, Ruganda effectively uses cross-purpose communication in *The Floods*, to demonstrate the damage repressive regimes have done on to the populace. Cross- purpose is when characters engage in a dialogue, but the ideas they speak are not connected. A case in point is Nankya's dialogue with Kyeyune, where the two speak at cross-purpose, after the latter witnessed the horror of wanton killing of Islanders:

Nankya : What do they think they are? Will my daughter not grow up to be one of them?
Kyeyune: (taken by surprise) Go? Go where? Are you alright madam?
Nankya : Anywhere, away from here.
Kyeyune: I knew it. I knew the moment would come. The mighty never go alone. This is madness. Suicide. Can't you see we can't go anywhere? Trapped by the floods and ambushed by the one with three nails.(p.55)

Ruganda's dramatization of characters whose speech is disorganized, is a clear depiction of Schizophrenia. As Nankya's thoughts probe into a problematic future, Kyeyune is trapped in the vision of seeing people die on the lake, and the body with three nails. Such stressful events in the life of people often triggers a re-occurrence of symptoms, such as, disorganized speech, which is dramatically referred to as cross-purpose. As witnessed in both characters, Kyeyune and Nankya, the violent experiences in their past are firmly stamped on their minds, and they experience occasional lapses where they both get lost in the present. In another dialogue between Bwogo and Nankya, the two speak at cross-purpose:

Bwogo : The accursed work of the guerrillas. That's right. Guerrillas.
 Nankya : Poor Nnalongo and her twins.
 Bwogo : Guerrillas parading their ill-gotten guns. An assortment of guns from Peking, or are they from Russia without love?
 Nankya : They too have gone down the lake.
 Bwogo : Dragging Muslims from their mosques, ripping their bellies open...
 Nankya : Faithful Christian. Like my mother.
 Bwogo : Burning their shops and Shambas... (p.40).

The painful memories of the past keep on recurring and cause severe damage to the brain, hence, a mental breakdown. Nankya cannot realize that the ideas she is speaking are disconnected to those of Bwogo. Whereas Bwogo is recounting the harm inflicted by the guerrillas in the country, Nankya is lost in thoughts of the killings of the common people.

Ruganda further dramatizes Nankya, as a character who suffers from a mental breakdown due to sexual violence that has been inflicted on her, plus her mother. Nankya relieves her mother's experience with such graphic descriptions, and the reader recognizes that Nankya is mentally lost in the suffering : 'The military boots are steadily approaching... Mother's door is burst open. Smashed to pulp. Four figures turn the house up-side-down... and my mother is only sixteen. They look at her... Soon the four men are on top of mother, one after the other, before she passes out...' (p.98). Nankya is engrossed in sharing the pain her mother went through, she herself being a product of this abuse, and she therefore does not know her father. She tells Bwogo about her past, not because she wants to, but because the painful past keeps on drifting into her life (p.97). In another dialogue between Nankya and Bwogo, Nankya relieves the poverty and suffering of her family; her grandmother had died, but there was to be no wailing or crying because her family lived in premises owned by a rich man, the Master, who did not want noise in his vicinity. Goaded by the memory of pain her family had to endure, she tells the story to Bwogo while trembling, and breaks down in tears as she repeats the chant with increasing intensity: 'NO WAILING, NO CRYING BECAUSE MASTER HATES NOISE...' (p.74). Nankya's situation is an exemplification of stifled emotions which have later found expression also in trembling and crying. Suppressed emotions will seek for an outlet, and if they remain suppressed for a longer time, a person is capable of suicide, committing crimes he/she may never have thought of doing, or may experience a mental breakdown. It is of little

wonder therefore, that cases of mental breakdown are ever on the rise in Uganda, as people's liberty and freedom is suppressed by those in power.

Nankya is suffering psychologically, having been a victim of sexual violence inflicted on her by Bwogo. In the dialogue with Bwogo, she expresses the fact that it was an injustice against her: 'Had anybody known me before you, Bwogo ? Had anybody... before you seduced me ? (p.30) The fact that Nankya is a product of a rape of her mother, and a victim of rape by Bwogo, has made her suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), a mental state that finds clear explanation from information provided by Stephen M. Kosslyn and Robin S. Rosenberg (p.597). According to Kosslyn and Rosenberg, a traumatized individual experiences the following symptoms:

The persistent re-experiencing of the traumatic event, which may take the form of intrusive, unwanted, and distressing recollections, dreams, or nightmares of the events, or may involve flashbacks that can include illusions, hallucinations, and a sense of reliving the experience.

It is explicit that Ruganda has aptly employed the dramaturgy of memory to relate the psychological pain the victim of rape has gone through. Kosslyn and Rosenberg further state that: ' victims who suffer from PTSD. react in differing ways, such as, experiencing general feelings of anger, helplessness, guilt, pain, embarrassment, or anxiety' (p.596-7). Nankya feels the pain and helplessness as she reveals the incident to Bwogo. When she uses the present simple tense to tell her mother's rape experience, Ruganda wants us to realize that rape is a phenomenon alive today.

Conan Busingye¹⁹ observes that, Northern Uganda has one of the world's highest rates of mental illness, with Post- Traumatic Stress Disorder, the most common mental ailment, a result of horror (p.8). Experiences of horror, include : war, accidents, loss of loved ones, and sexual abuse against women. The dis-orientation of people's lives from villages to refugee camps has also been a significant factor towards mental degeneration. Efforts by the government and other organizations are in place, and by the year 2010 there has been resettlement of displaced people back in their lands. The mission of (UNHCR) United Nations High Commission for Refugees in camps is to reconnect them with their families, no matter where in the world.

Ruganda's dramatization of Kyeyune's mental disorder is symbolic of the rising cases of mental disorders in Uganda following traumatic experiences people have encountered. Besides repressive regimes, wars such as in Northern Uganda, between the rebel LRA and the government forces, UPDF, have left physical and psychological scars among the people from those regions. Julius Ocwinyo in *Fate of The Banished*, reveals that the people who witnessed brutal murder of their loved ones, lost a number of emotions, such as respect for government institutions, or love for much of humanity, and the lost emotions have been replaced by, 'an overpowering diffuse, unfocussed anger'(p.20). To the victims of horror, the suppressed emotions may find expression as Schizophrenia. Other victims of repression have committed crimes, of 'shame and redemption,' crimes beyond human comprehension, such as the murder of one's next of kin. Crimes popularly known as, 'crimes of passion,' also prevalent today are a consequence of traumatic experiences. In particular, many people in the North and Teso region, have been deprived of their livelihood. Cows, a source of dowry, were all stolen, and the people find life not worth living.

4.9 Conclusion

Basing on the above discussion, it is explicit that both dramatists, Shakespeare and Ruganda depict poor political leadership as a cause of degeneration of a nation. Through characters who suffer from various forms of mental degeneration, both dramatists epitomize the consequences of violence to an individual, and symbolically of a nation.

It is clear both Shakespeare and Ruganda share similar views about politics. The dramatists both depict repression as a tool employed by dictatorial leaders to assert power. They both dramatize wars and coups, as politically motivated violence. Both depict consequences of violence through characters who suffer from various forms of mental degeneration, also symbolic of a degenerated nation. The similarity shared by the two dramatists in the thematic concern of political violence, can be fetched from both the reader response and T.S. Eliot's view of Art History. As stated before, the reader response claims that, there is the influence of 'misreading.' Hence, Ruganda carried a Shakespearean experience in *The Floods*. Basing on T.S. Eliot's essay, when two writers of different generations, 15-16th century versus 21st century, and differing places, such as, England

versus Uganda, write about similar themes, though under different contexts, there is a tradition they are conforming to: 'a single literary tradition, which embraces the entire Literature of Europe, from Homer, down to the present day.' One can argue that, it is such similarity that makes both dramatists fit in this 'literary tradition.'

The individual differences of the dramatists are depicted in the presentation of psychological violence. Shakespeare depicts the consequences of violence in a subtle manner, by using key political figures who suffer psychologically. Ruganda overtly depicts the consequences of violence, by dramatizing Kyeyune, as a common man who has degenerated mentally, because of repression. Ruganda's drama pronounces much more what a repressive regime can do to the psyche of man. The individual difference is explained by the reader-response theory, which explains that, a writer struggles to 'liberate' himself from the influence of his predecessors. Despite the differences, both Shakespeare and Ruganda share the theme violence, and depict the consequences of violence. Hence, the reader-response notion, that: a writer can never fully liberate himself from his predecessors stands.

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Chapter Five

CONCLUSION

5.1 Review of Study

This study used T.S. Eliot's view of the timelessness of art and the Reader-Response view of the writer writing according to his/ her history (experience), and struggling to be unique. The study also pre-supposed that, there were striking similarities between William Shakespeare and John Ruganda's political plays, namely, *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, in terms of presenting political themes : politics and politicians, the political experiences of futility of coups, futility of independence, friendship and betrayal, manipulation of the common people, and political violence. The study assumed differences in dramaturgies used to depict violence by Ruganda, such as, cross-purposes, and a play-within-a- play. Hence, the research set out to do the following: to identify similarities in Shakespeare and Ruganda's political plays: *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*, to identify the unique ways in the dramaturgy of each playwright, to account for the phenomena of similarities and differences, and to appraise the writers.

The research gap that prompted the investigation was the absence of any comprehensive comparative analysis of the works of the two artists, Shakespeare and Ruganda. Critics who had extensively studied themes in the plays of Ruganda and Shakespeare had done so handling each playwright separately. In the Literature Review of this study, it was stated that none of the critics on the works of Ruganda or Shakespeare had undertaken a comprehensive comparative analysis of the themes of politics and violence in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*. Therefore, the intent of this study was to make a comparative, deliberate, and comprehensive analysis of the two plays cited above, to establish whether Ruganda and Shakespeare have common aspects in political themes and dramaturgy. The findings of the comparative study were used to appreciate both Ruganda, the latter dramatist, and Shakespeare the earlier dramatist. It was established in the findings, that Ruganda, the latter dramatist, was an accomplished artist who has a place in the pantheon of great literary artists, where Shakespeare belongs.

It was argued out in the statement of the problem that a comparative analysis of a new writer with an old writer was required to augment the aesthetic success of each writer being compared. There were two possible outcomes of the study: to make a critical appraisal of the two writers based on the unique dramaturgy of each writer, and to establish that Ruganda misread Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* into his play, *The Floods*, basing on the evidence of the similarities in the aspects identified.

5.2 Research Findings

A comparative analysis of *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods* led to the following findings: On the basis of political characters, both plays could be called political handbooks of political archetypes because they successfully anatomize the political characters and show their motives and strategies.

Both dramatists are similar in the depiction of four types of political personnel: the Caesar type, that Ruganda presents as Boss in *The Floods*, are crazily ambitious and employ brutal repression to remain in power. They are Machiavellian, pragmatic, and to them 'the end justifies the means.' They are politically insecure, and therefore guard their power by repression. They eliminate the intelligent. They are also politically surveillant, not for the goal of protection of a nation, but rather to attain their own selfish interests. They seek respect by crafting self-images, invoking the world to bow to them. It is explicit Shakespeare and Ruganda have both ably drawn a grand spectacle of what power does to man, in the Caesar/ Boss type of politician.

Both dramatists present a second type of politician: the murderous, pragmatic, and frivolous in the character of Mark Antony and Bwogo. This type is used by politicians as instruments of upholding power. Mark Antony is a henchman of Julius Caesar, and Bwogo for Boss. They are also masters at wearing a friendly facade, underneath which guise, lies ferocity of the highest degree. They are ruthless and want to kill all their political opponents.

The dramatists present to us a third type of politician, the idealist / pseudo-intellectual type, in the character of Brutus and Nankya. This type constitutes good people, with a status quo, a reputation,

but are political imbeciles. They know much about what should be done, but they do not know how it should be done, hence, they are not useful in making the nation change for the better.

The fourth type that the dramatists present is the blinded and ruthless type, in the character of Mark Antony, Bwogo and Cassius. This type is devoid of any moral conscience and can do anything to remain in power. They portend death and are the main perpetrators of evil.

Concerning the theme of political experiences, the plays share the following occurrences: friendship and betrayal, futility of coups and independence, and manipulation of the common people. Both dramatists show that there is no true friendship in politics. One's best friend can kill him or her for the purpose of attaining power. Both dramatists show the futility of coups and independence. The central argument being that, independence is not, 'a mere change of guard' but needs to be a process that should overhaul the attitude of the electorate to empower them to vote leadership effectively.

With regard to manipulation of the common people, both dramatists reveal that the common people are the ladders that politicians use to climb to positions of power. This is because the commoners are poor and ideologically dependant. The politicians ensure the poor remain in that class so as to keep themselves in power. Hence, politicians do not acquire power legitimately. Rather, they use influence and manipulation. It is clear both Shakespeare and Ruganda share similarities, which range from common political themes such as, political characterization, political strategies of manipulating the commoners, the futility of revolutions and independence.

Concerning the theme of political violence, both Shakespeare and Ruganda depict motives of political violence, various types of violence that include: sexual violence, wars and coups, and consequences of violence. The plays also share the theme of political violence: using violence to maintain power, but also to destroy power.

In the analysis of how both Shakespeare and Ruganda depict the political atmosphere of their respective society existing at the time of writing, the study revealed that, the dramatists are similar in a number of ways: both employ the dramaturgy of defamiliarization to capture an atmosphere of violence characteristic of the Elizabethan era, and the repressive regime of Idi Amin respectively.

Both dramatists employ a violent narrative sustained through effective choice of title, time, structure of the play, characterization, reports, purposely to capture the repressive regimes in their societies. Noteworthy, Ruganda excels Shakespeare in the representation of violence on stage, by going further to employ dramaturgies that bring out violence alive: cross-purpose, memory and a play-within-a-play.

The violence that Shakespeare dramatizes in *Julius Caesar* is a reflection of the violence of the English Monarchy against its people. In Act 1, Caesar is returning from war at the beginning of the play. Caesar killed the tribunes Marullus and Flavius in Act 1, Scene 2. Caesar is assassinated in Act 3, Scene 1. The conspirators are ousted from Rome, and the mob burned the city, destroyed property, and killed people suspected to collaborate with conspirators. There is war between Antony, Lepidus, Octavius, versus Brutus and Cassius army in the plains of Phillipi, where the former emerged triumphant, and formed a second triumvirate. It is clear *Julius Caesar* has numerous scenes of violence. Robin Headman Wells¹ in his analysis on: *Shakespeare, Politics, and the State*, states that: 'Shakespeare's plays have the explicit political function of displaying the power of the monarch, primarily to the monarch, and then, by extension, to the subjected public' (1986: 2). It is explicit that, in *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare defamiliarized England for the purpose of depicting the violence within the Elizabethan regime, where the monarchy persecuted its subjects. Information on, *William Shakespeare, and Elizabethan Politics*,² reveals that, 'the monarchy held absolute authority and power, torturing all its political opponents, and executing them at the Tower of London.' Thus, the violence that is reflected in *Julius Caesar* as a tool for purposes of performing power, is analogous to violence employed by the monarchy to assert its power over the people in England.

Correspondingly, the violence that Ruganda dramatizes in *The Floods* is a reflection of the violence of Idi Amin's regime. In all the three waves, there are incidents of violence that range from torture, disappearances of people, to killings. Similar to Shakespeare, Ruganda defamiliarized Uganda for aesthetic value, and to shield himself from Amin's tyranny. Thus, the violence that is reflected in *The Floods*, is an allegory of the violence in the Ugandan state during Amin's era.

5.3 An Account for Similarities and Differences in *Julius Caesar* and *The Floods*

There are a number of reasons that account for similarities in Shakespeare and Ruganda's views about politics. First, Shakespeare is a universal writer whose concerns go beyond his society to envelop humanity. John J. Palmer is explicit on Shakespeare's universality :

The political characters of Shakespeare may not be immediately recognizable in the public men of today, but in their essential qualities, dispositions and conduct, they remain the same, the expedients to which they resort, the devices by which they recommend themselves to public favour, the motives by which they are governed, the principles which they profess, even the language which they use to glorify or extenuate their behaviour, can be matched from history and never more aptly than from our own contemporary records.(1948: ix)

Ruganda, as the discussion in the findings reveals, presents political characters and situations in a manner similar to that of Shakespeare. The similarity between the two dramatists is accounted for by Bloom who states that; 'writers find their creative inspiration in previous writers and begin by imitating those writers in order to develop a poetic voice of their own.' As the discussion in Chapter one reveals, Shakespeare has received world acclamation as a 'giant' writer. John J. Joughin acknowledges him as 'the literary exception that proves the rule (p.2). This study further notes that, Ruganda has unique ways of representing political violence, with dramaturgies that intensify the political experience and makes the dramatist similarly great. Unlike Shakespeare whose representation of violence is subtle, Ruganda's representation is overtly done. First, he employs the title, *The Floods*, to instantly illuminate a violence that portends destruction and death. The word 'flood' is also used graphically by the dramatist in the three waves. I am therefore in agreement with Sambai Carloyn in her assessment of Ruganda's drama : 'that the playwright's choice of the title conveniently captures the level of violence by the state' (p.12). Secondly, Ruganda structures *The Floods* in three waves. Symbolically, a wave is a rise above normal. All waves portend destruction : from the stage directions, to graphic dramatization of incidents of horror therein. Thirdly, the dramaturgies of cross-purpose, memory, and characterization, aptly expose the effects of violence on man. Ruganda makes us see characters who have mentally degenerated because of a violent state. Kyeyune and Nankya suffer from Schizophrenia, hence are a grand spectacle of how a repressive regime can destroy a nation.

It is clear that Shakespeare's views on politics are similar in many ways to those reflected in the contemporary world that Ruganda dramatizes in *The Floods*. This similarity can be accounted for by John J. Joughin's evaluation of Shakespeare's plays, that, 'they possess a qualitative newness which ensures that they somehow remain 'representative' of our most traditional concerns (p.3). For instance, in *Julius Caesar* Shakespeare portrays betrayal in politics, as Ruganda does in *The Floods*. Both dramatists depict manipulation and violence as means used by politicians to attain and retain power. According to Yoder R.A³: 'Character and ideologies give way to history. Though men are brilliantly differentiated, they are drawn into the mechanism of history, they lose their streaks, repeating each others ways, becoming more and more alike' (p.315). When people are placed in particular situations that are similar, they lose their individuality and behave as a type. For instance, the Brutus type, seemingly loyal, will behave in many ways that are similar to their masters, even when they operate in differing historical contexts. The Caesar/ Boss type, a grand representation of military dictatorship, will behave in many ways that are similar, even when placed in differing places and times. Thus, the various archetypes which Shakespeare and Ruganda depict in their plays are similar in many ways. It is therefore true to say that Shakespeare's representation of the politics of England of the 16-17th century, vis-a-vis Ruganda's representation of politics of Uganda of the 20-21st century respectively, establishes the political archetypes and practices as incontrovertible political history.

The other explanation that accounts for the similarity between Shakespeare and Ruganda's political personnel is Eliot's view that propounds the 'simultaneous existence of literature.' There is nothing entirely new in the literary world, and 'all art continues to live in a timeless present.' Hence, what has come out as Ruganda's *The Floods* is more or less a repeated form of what the great artist, Shakespeare has documented in the historical past. According to Eliot, this is in line with a literary tradition to which every good artist must adhere.

Further explanation why Shakespeare and Ruganda are similar in many ways is explained by the reader-response tenet of 'the influence of misreading.' Ruganda, a Shakespearean scholar,

transferred the Ugandan experience in the reading of Shakespeare, and what we read as *The Floods*, is an imprint of Shakespeare in the Ugandan context.

However, the dramatists demonstrate individual differences. According to Eliot, 'a good artist does not blindly follow what his predecessors have done, he must show individual skill in his art.' This is true of both dramatist. Ruganda, a Shakespearean scholar, deviated from his predecessor in the representation of violence on stage. For instance, Ruganda represents the abuse of women overtly, such that, we recognize sexual violence against women as a political ideology, whereas Shakespeare represents this form of violence in a subtle manner, by depicting marginalization of women as a form of abuse. Ruganda also differs from Shakespeare in the representation of repression, by dramatizing numerous incidents that bring out how dictatorial leaders assert power.

The individual differences between Shakespeare and Ruganda can also be accounted for by the reader-response tenet, which spells the influence of 'misreading.' Bloom notes that : 'Every writer is always struggling against [antagonistically misreading] his predecessors, although he can never truly liberate himself from their influence (p.4). Ruganda's *The Floods* is therefore an inevitable struggle against 'the influence' of his predecessor, (Shakespeare), from which he can nevertheless not fully free himself. That is why, even where the dramatists differ in the representation of a particular theme, they have a meeting point that can be accounted to inevitable cases of inescapable influence. For instance, both dramatists represent violence against women in politics in different ways, but they are both able to make ample comments on politics and political practices.

On the basis of the above comparative analysis of the two texts, the study established that, there are increasingly more countries showing a decline in observance of democracy. Repressive regimes with militarized forms of governance have taken over the globe, with the army extensively involved in power struggles world-wide. Coups and wars are extensively employed to attain and retain power. The gun is significantly used by dictators to reinforce power, and also to cover for political weaknesses. Fr. Raphael⁴ states that: 'the problem of violence has been escalated world-wide due to easy access and proliferation of arms and ammunitions by militant groups.' Guns are almost everywhere; in the army, police, politicians, civilians, and guerrillas in the bush. Consequently, the

youth grow up in a culture of violence, and when faced with a conflict, they see no other way of resolving it, besides resorting to violence. Repression fuels political unrest, and the government in power usually reacts to such unrest brutally, by shooting at people, throwing tear gas canisters at people, arresting and throwing the unlucky ones in jail, who in many cases demonstrate for a justifiable cause.

Aware of its unpopularity, a dictatorial government such as represented by Ruganda in *The Floods*, lives in fear of strong armed conflicts that can arise, and therefore employs guns and heavy ammunitions for its own security. Ideally, guns should be used for protection in situations such as foreign enemy invasions, and not for injuring helpless civilians. The presence of military men everywhere in public places signifies violence as a reinforcement of power, and militarization of a state by dictatorial leadership. As Henry Mugisha Rodney⁵ notes : ‘Power in a civilized world does not, and need not flow from the barrel of the gun. It must flow from our ability to talk, hear, and understand other persons’ points of view’ (p.12).

Both Shakespeare and Ruganda seem to disapprove of violence as a means of attaining and sustaining power. Use of force or a gun throws away all etiquettes of civilization, and takes back the world to ‘dark days’ of early man, where he lived like a savage beast, and the only means he knew of conflict resolution, was the arrow and spear. The best power over people should be that which emanates from the word, as earlier discussed in chapter 2 on, ‘*Power and Rhetoric*’ : ‘the ability to make things happen by words, is the most powerful type of authority.’ Power attained peacefully can re-shape the turbulent world back to the tranquility had upon creation. Nations should borrow a leaf from other nations that observe a relatively high rate of democracy, such as Great Britain, and America, as particularly witnessed in 2008, when America held Presidential elections which swept the world with anxiety, democratically electing Barrack Obama, black President of the United States of America, at 47 years.

Since great men and women recognize Shakespeare as a great writer, of the past as of the present, his works should be utilized in deciphering meaning and worth of other artistic productions. T.S.Eliot emphasises the significance of comparison of writers : ‘No poet, no artist has his complete meaning

alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him for contrast and comparison among the dead.' (p.27). When we find similarities in Shakespeare and Ruganda, it further adds on the weight of Shakespeare's artistic mass and Ruganda's as an artist under comparison with a 'giant' writer. It is upon such grounds that Ruganda has similarly been recognized as a 'monumental' writer whose art necessitates further research.

5.4 Recommendations

Since both Shakespeare and Ruganda's artistic productions are a living reality of politics and political practices in the past and the present, their art is recommendable for further research. In addition, this study recommends further utilization of Reader- Response and T.S. Eliot's views to carry out more comparative studies of artists, since they both provide a comprehensive approach towards the study that leads to higher levels of meaning of the art under study.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

This comparative study has established the factor of the simultaneous existence of literature in great works of art, as evidenced in Shakespeare and Ruganda's drama. The study therefore recommends that literary scholars probe further in Shakespeare and Ruganda's art, so as to further add more weight to the notion that Ruganda is a gifted literary writer, who has a place in the pantheon of great artists, where Shakespeare belongs.

End Notes

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