

**A CONTEXTUAL INTERPRETATION OF ARCHBISHOP JANANI LUWUM'S
MODEL OF NON-VIOLENCE RESISTANCE AND CHURCH - STATE RELATIONS
IN CONTEMPORARY UGANDA**

Kisekka Wilson

Supervisor: Dr. S. R. Kumalo

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Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Pietermaritzburg**

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DECLARATION

I, **KISEKKA WILSON** hereby declare that this thesis, unless specified in the text, is my original work. I further declare that I have not submitted this thesis for any other purpose at any Institution or University.

Signature.....

Date.....

KISEKKA WILSON

As Supervisor I agree to the submission of this thesis

.....

Rev. Dr. S. Kumalo

.....

Date

ABSTRACT

This thesis is aimed at making a contextual interpretation of Luwum's model of non-violent resistance and church-state relations in contemporary Uganda. The thesis reconstructs Archbishop Luwum's life and explores the roots and the formative factors that shaped his thoughts and actions. It notes that the influence of the Acholi culture, early school life, the early Ugandan martyrs, *Balokole* theology, his theological studies, his ecclesiastical position, his parents and the writings and works of Martin Luther King Jr. shaped and refined his worldview. All of these factors provided grounding for his political and theological articulations of non-violent resistance and church-state relations. The thesis argues the principles of non-violent resistance are in harmony with the Christian understanding of *shalom*. Thus the church which upholds the principle of justice, love, truth and suffering will find non-violent resistance models an important tool for fighting injustices.

With regard to injustice in the Ugandan context the thesis identifies and examined Amin's ghosts such as the politics of dominance, corruption; a militaristic tradition and a culture of guns, religious conflicts and other problems which have continued to haunt the current Uganda. All of these can be confronted by the church using non-violence resistance model. The study argues that if this is going to be effective, the Anglican Church needs to embrace a pastoral hermeneutic based on non-violence resistance which can enable the church to be involved in social transformation without being co-opted by the state. In view of this, the study finds that through the principles of the non-violence resistance model the church can advocate for reconciliation and for the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to facilitate healing, confessing the past atrocities, identifying of victims and model of non-violence. To make recommendations for possible reparation, and processing the application for amnesty and indemnity so as to prevent the future human rights violations. This will be the beginning of fostering reconciliation in Uganda and establishing justice using non-violent means.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Mr Ernset Lubogo and Mrs Rose Imerida Namubiru Lubogo who made so many sacrifices for my education.

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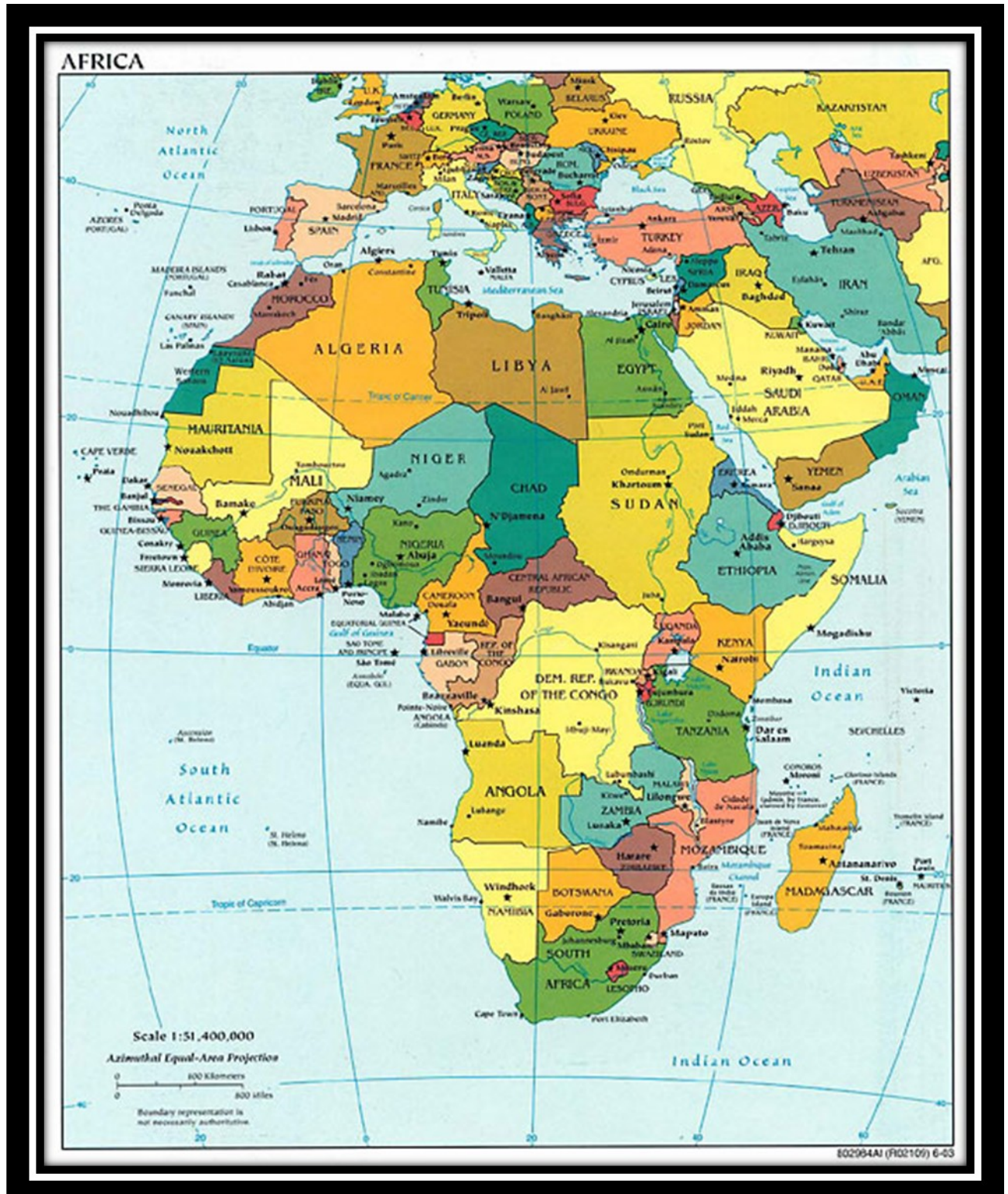
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ACRONYMS

ACU	Anglican Church of Uganda
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DP	Democratic Party
FEDEEM	Federal Democratic Movement
IBEA	Imperial British East Africa Company
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KY	Kabaka Yekka
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
NAAM	National Association for Advancement
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PP	Progressive Party
SPLA	Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UJCC	Uganda Joint Christian Council
UNC	Uganda National Congress
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPA	Uganda People's Army
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPM	Uganda People's Movement
UPU	Uganda People's Union

MAP OF AFRICA



Source: www.africaguide.com

MAP OF UGANDA



Source: <http://www.uganda.run/indexrus.htm>

THE MOST REVEREND JANANI JAKALIYÁ LUWUM



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTON TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This research explores the interpretation of Archbishop Janani Luwum's model of non-violent resistance and church- state engagement and its relevance to the contemporary Anglican Church of Uganda. The study endeavours to examine, the appropriateness of Luwum's proposal for a non-violence resistance model in the Anglican Church's pastoral praxis. Thus a theoretical and theological analysis of Luwum's non-violence resistant model and church and state relations and its implication for the contemporary Uganda is discussed in the light of *shalom*, or christian justice. This chapter provides the general background and overview of the key aspects of this study. The aims, the motivation and the rationale for pursuing this study are presented. In addition to that, the research question, research hypothesis, methodology and objectives will be highlighted.

The Most Reverend Janani Luwum served the Anglican Church of Uganda at a critical period when the political setting was characterised by military dictatorship, which attempted to ensure that Idi Amin Dada remained in power at all costs. F.B Welbourton (1990:50) and H.B Hansen (1984:33) agree that Luwum was a leading voice in criticizing the excesses of Idi Amin's regime that assumed power in 1971, and that he worked for a just, peaceful and democratic society. Through the influence of *Balokole* (the saved ones) and the writing of Martin Luther King Jr, Luwum used a philosophy of non-violence resistant to confront Idi Amin Dada's policies of arbitrary killings and the unexplained disappearances of Ugandan citizens (Welbourton 1990:24).

Thus Luwum could for example personally approach the dreaded State Research Bureau to help secure those who had been captured and were waiting to be killed. Through the use of live broadcasts, Luwum educated the Uganda community with his sermons. Similarly, he could preach and attack the atrocities which were championed by Amin. He argued that Christians should not fear to tackle the challenges facing Uganda for they are coming to an end because Christians are victors through the victory which was achieved through the suffering of Christ (Welbourton 1990:24).

Although these live broadcasts could and were stopped, at times nevertheless, Luwum could personally confront Amin in his palace and present his case. As many people continued being killed as insecurity accelerated in Uganda, many leaders were silenced and Luwum became the only voice of the voiceless. He believed that the Christian Church, as with the wider social order, is integrated

in a fallen sinful condition, and therefore, the destiny of the Christian Church community is intertwined with the wider social, political and economic dimension of human life. As such, he argued that there is no separation between the Christian community and socio-economic, political and spiritual life. This wholistic understanding of the gospel compelled him to explicitly, visualise the task of the Anglican Church of Uganda and the Christian church in general, to be God's agent of justice, peace, reconciliation and restoration. This understanding enabled him to integrate the pastoral theory and praxis which would engage the church in social transformation programmes (Welbourn 1990:24).

As such, he initiated programmes geared towards fighting oppressive socio-economic and political structures (Luwum 1976:2). He affirmed that the church is called to engage in ensuring the well being of the poor (Luwum 1976:3). In this respect he saw structural poverty as being rooted in socio-economic and political institutions. His argument was that, if these social and political institutions are not transformed, they continue perpetuating poverty hence transferring it from one generation to another (Ford 1978:48). Luwum's (1976:44) contention was that human beings are psychosomatic beings and what affects the body also affects the mind and the soul, therefore the church should be involved in socio-economic and political issues as well as spiritual ones. This is in line with a wholistic approach to pastoral care as opposed to the inherited conservative approach where the physical body is seen as separate from spirituality. The wholistic understanding of the human being is vital for the Anglican Church of Uganda because a better society can only be achieved when the Christians and the citizens in general, understand the economic, social and political dimensions of the gospel. Interestingly, the late President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya had earlier expressed the same view to the East African Catholic Bishops of AMECEA when he asserted that,

The church was meant to be the conscience of society and this means political involvement, not in the sense of party politics, but in the sense of public action on behalf of the poor and victimised (cited in Hearne 1993:55).

On the other hand, Luwum saw transient poverty as occurring because of disaster and as experienced for a short period unlike structural poverty. He realised that Uganda is facing many problems which contributed to both structural and transient poverty and these problems include: famine, floods and ethnic violence leading to displacement of people, narrow political objectives, corruption at all levels, embezzlement of public funds and destructive political and economic governance (Luwum 1976:4). Poverty in Uganda is mainly a rural phenomenon, experienced by people living in remote rural areas, mountainous and arid region who are not only isolated from

each other but also from the general population. Of course, the lack of good roads obstructs them from having access to public services like, health and education.

For him the church as a redeemed community has an obligation to work for justice and peace to redeem the oppressed, the weak and the deprived of every society (Luwum 1976:3). He asserted that the church should speak out when injustice is experienced in the society (Luwum 1976:4). Of course, this broad Christian vision compelled him to engage with the question of the church and state relation. Luwum's (Ford 1978:60) assertion was that it is possible for the church to initiate caring programmes like Martin Luther King's beloved community (Luwum 1976:5). Like Martin Luther King Jr, Luwum was killed in 1977 by the system he was trying to transform (Douglass 1988:27-38, also cf Hansen 1984:33). This was after he was arrested, humiliated in public and then accused of treason together with two cabinet ministers namely, Erinayo Wilson Oryema and Charles Oboth Ofumbi. It is ironic that even though Luwum was preaching peace and non-violence in the community, he was killed violently by Amin's security forces, after his home was raided (Uganda Argus 11 February 1977:2).

Earlier, Luwum had attempted to respond to the above raid of his house. Together with 17 Anglican bishops of Uganda, he had sent an open letter of protest to the president, with copies being sent to various government ministers, all religious leaders and the international community. This event may be seen as a turning point for the church of Uganda and the Anglican Church in particular. The Anglican Church, which was against Luwum's involvement in politics, came to the realization that there was something terribly wrong with the Amin administration.

However it was difficult for the church to redeem itself from the inherited models that enabled it to be co-opted by the state. Indeed, during the colonial period, the Anglican Church's relations with the State were similar to those in Britain at the time- where both the Church and the state had developed a model of co-operation. It was after the death of Luwum that a few of the church leaders outside Uganda started questioning the autocratic system the church had helped to create. Additionally, the ecumenical Christian voice was lacking and this shows the weakness of the Anglican Church in her witness to justice. It is from this perspective that this study argues that the call for church prophecy against the undemocratic structures in Uganda needs a pastoral concern to restore peace, justice and love for humanity that resulted from the successive eras of the state's injustice and violence, especially under Idi Amin.

Since the pandemonium perpetuated by Obote and Amin's regimes continues to haunt contemporary Uganda, there is need to give a contextual interpretation of Luwum's non-violent resistance model and his views on church state relations. The study thus explores the past and the present Ugandan context and has examined how this past has continued to affect the present, and what the church can do to restore justice. This approach is validated by Emmanuel M. Katongole (2005:130) who calls for the church to examine the past so as to heal the present and the future. In this case the study has identified various ghosts of the past which include: corruption and brutal violence, embezzlement of funds, greed, and the politics of dominance, religious conflicts and church silence.

1.2 Rationale and motivation for doing this study

My choice of this topic is influenced by four factors. The first is what I witnessed during my pastoral ministry in the Diocese of Mukono, Kampala. In the Parish I served, I saw many families languishing in poverty and as I listened to their stories, I realised the damage caused by civil wars and the impact of the successive undemocratic rule in Uganda. As a result of various armed groups engaging in civil war, I have witnessed many abandoned children in the villages and many who were orphaned as a result of war and HIV and AIDS.

In addition to that, I have prayed with families who are displaced and others who are amputees as a result of mine related accidents. I have also seen how most of the country's infrastructure has been destroyed by the conflict in Northern Uganda. From the above observation, it has been my desire to find out what the Church can do to engage the state to improve the situation of ordinary people.

The second reason for choosing this topic stems from reading Luwum's books. I discovered that Archbishop Luwum attempted to address the above problems but his church ignored him only to make him a martyr after his death. After listening and reading the inaugural lecture, "*Archbishop Janani Luwum's commemoration 2004*", which was organised by The Global South Institute at the University of Mukono, I have come to realise that Luwum was also concerned with the poor and the marginalised. I then realised that Luwum's call for freedom needs to be harnessed through rebuilding and re-organising the programmes of the Anglican Church of Uganda.

The third reason for choosing this topic is because of my studies on transforming Christian ministry. I came to realise that Luwum was influenced by Martin Luther King's method of non-violence and

the ministry of Christ who showed compassion to the less privileged in society; attending to their needs and highlighting their concerns with the view of calling the entire society to transform itself particularly the marginalized groups. By comparing King and Luwum and I was inspired to conduct more research on Archbishop Luwum's concept of non-violence resistant and church and state relations. Furthermore I have also come to realise that the church-state relation falls within the wider concept of Christian social theology which is well expressed in the Anglican ecclesiology of a church as a community, although it has not been paid much attention by the Anglican Church of Uganda.

Finally, the fourth and greatest motivation for this research emanates from a personal conviction that the Anglican Church should get involved in the social transformation of Uganda. It has come to my understanding that Uganda's ethnic configuration also harbours potential for ethnic tension. This is one relatively influential factor that has contributed to the present and past conflict. While revenues are collected from all parts of the country, it is noted that it only serves the central part of Uganda leaving the other part of the country, underdeveloped. On top of that the public resources are also used for patronage, that is, to buy the political allegiance of political and military elites. Therefore the Anglican Church of Uganda and the church in general needs to participate in social transformation.

1.3 The statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to investigate the methods and approaches used by Archbishop Janani Luwum in the fight for democratic governance. This will drive us to explore critically the role of the Church during the time of Idi Amin and how Archbishop Luwum applied the method of non-violence. As such the statement of the problem is therefore: *What lessons can we learn from Archbishop Luwum's concept of the non-violent resistance method and church state relations and how can these concepts help the contemporary Anglican Church in her attempt to engage in the democratisation of Uganda?*

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- i) To explore a contextual interpretation of Archbishop Janani Luwum's model of church and state engagement.

- ii) To investigate and evaluate the appropriateness of Luwum's proposal for a non-violent resistance model in the Anglican Church's pastoral praxis.
- iii) To identify socio-economic and political issues of the past that continue to confront the present and see how Luwum's model of church and state can help the Anglican Church of Uganda to be conscience of the society.
- iv) To offer a theoretical and theological analysis of Luwum's model of church and state relations and its implication for the contemporary Uganda in the light of *shalom*.
- v) To show how the Anglican Church of Uganda can integrate Luwum's model in her pastoral programmes so as to enable her adherents to engage in participatory democracy and good governance.

1.5 Hypothesis

The study is constructed on the premise that:

- i) Ugandan's social problems (referring to poverty, disease and ignorance) are overwhelming and an authoritarian and undemocratic government is one of the major factors. As such, the Anglican Church can collaborate with other churches in the spirit of ecumenism so that all can effectively speak with one voice against all injustice.
- ii) A contextual interpretation of Archbishop Luwum's concept of church and state in Uganda can help the Anglican Church to participate effectively in the socio-economic and political transformation of Uganda. In this case, there is a need to identify the past and present socio-economic and political challenge so that the church can confront these as the conscience of the society.
- iii) If the Anglican Church is going to use Archbishop Luwum's model of church-state relations, then there is a need to explore this model theoretically and theologically and look at its implications in contemporary Uganda. As such, this will enable the church to evaluate its appropriateness as a model, which can be incorporated in the Anglican Church's pastoral praxis.

1.6 Scopes and the Limitation of the research:

The topic chosen and the statement of the problem limit this study. The study is confined within the area related to a contextual interpretation of Archbishop Janani Luwum's non-violence resistant model and church and state engagement and its implication for the Anglican Church of Uganda today. The theoretical frame work which also limits the study is of Martin Luther King's model of church and state relations while a further limiting factor is the methodology which is based on the qualitative research focusing on the application of practical theology and on a literature research.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts a theoretical framework based on church and state relations as exemplified by Martin Luther King Jr. Martin Luther King Jr. captured the attention of the world when he used the philosophy of non-violent resistance. Through the influence of the writings and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, King was struck by the concept of *satyagraha*, which means truth-force or love-force. According to King (1963:12) the only solution that could cure the society's evil and create a just society is non-violent resistant which is based on the power of love. He further realised that the Christian doctrine of love is in line with Gandhi's method of non-violence which is one of the most powerful weapons available to the oppressed people in their struggle for freedom (see King 1963a, 1963b, 1962).

King (1963b: 55) argues that non-violence is a tool for working against injustice in the society and it is a weapon of proclaiming *shalom* in the community. For King (1963b: 57) justice is indispensable to the notion of *shalom* and therefore the faith community should work for justice through the non-violence resistant method. He believes that *shalom* is against the dehumanisation and deprivation of humanity and as such the church is called to be in solidarity with those who are struggling to achieve their liberation hence fighting against unjust socio-political and economic structures. This is in line with Nicholas Wolterstorff (1983:70) who observes that the political dimension of *shalom* is exhibited in the book of Exodus when God sided with the oppressed Israelites and freed them from captivity. Therefore the concept of *shalom* includes the social aspect of bringing about peace and justice.

Through the non-violent method, King (1963b:57-60) reveals the social aspect of *shalom* which includes the peaceful demonstration, in striving for fair and just relationships in the society. The above is also observed by P. Yoder (1989:15-16) who contends that the just society should uphold honesty, integrity, righteousness and justice as a moral and ethical obligation. Therefore there is need for the Anglican Church of Uganda to work for justice by engaging in the process of democratisation which will ensure a society which reflects the characteristics mentioned by Yoder. Thus, the church will be compelled to change her present pastoral models so that it can embrace a model that is contextual and which is in line with the Christian understanding of *shalom*. Then the church will be able to side with the poor and the oppressed thus augmenting their integrity, honesty, justice and accountability for this is working for *shalom*, that is peace with justice.

1.8 Research methodology: Library research.

This study employs a non-empirical method of research. In other words, is a qualitative research based on conceptual analysis. As such, the approach used includes engaging practical theology in a dialogue with social events and cultural, political and historical events that are compatible with this study. The literature research is employed in an endeavour to meet the research objectives. For this reason, I have used the resources available at Pietermaritzburg campus of UKZN and other libraries like Makerere University and Mukono University, where extensive published work was consulted. Other sources include workshop papers on church and state and conference presentations.

1.9. Research methodology: Archival Research

Archival material has also been consulted. This includes primary materials, especially those papers written by early missionaries and Anglican synods from 1960 to 2007. My Bishop, Luzinda Eria and the University of Mukono allowed me to use their archives which have stored Archbishop Luwum's sermons, writings and other documents related to his ministry. These un-published sources were carefully selected and analysed as I attempted to construct Luwum's theology of non-violence resistant and church and state relations. I have also consulted various newspapers dated from 1960 to 2008. It is notable that the papers have been able to cover daily event from the time of Uganda's independence. These newspapers are therefore a key medium in which the Ugandan politics was/is covered. Interestingly, when Amin gagged the press, these newspapers continued reporting debates and misdeeds of the state. These newspapers are useful to this study, as they have helped me to capture the action and the debates on democracy and governance, Archbishop Luwum,

church-state relations and non-violent resistance. The Anglican Church magazine, the *New Vision* was also studied in order to establish the public debate on those issues related to church and state.

1.10 Structure of Dissertation

This study is divided into six chapters.

Chapter one: Provides the general background and overview of the key aspects of this study. The aims, the motivation and the rationale for pursuing this study are presented. In addition to that, the research question, research hypothesis, methodology and objectives will be highlighted.

Chapter two: The chapter investigates Archbishop Luwum's formative factors, which shaped his concept of a non-violent resistance model to fight the injustices posed by the autocratic regime in Uganda. It also explores his background, his inspiration and his encounter with *Balokole*. The chapter places Luwum within the socio-economic and political Ugandan context in which he worked.

Chapter three: The chapter discusses the non-violent resistance model from a theoretical perspective. It also gives a broad understanding of non-violence resistant model that Luwum promoted in his context and which he called the Anglican Church of Uganda to embrace when engaging with the state of Uganda. The chapter provides the roots of Luwum's non-violence resistance model and definition. The chapter compares and contrasts theories of non-violent resistance as practiced by Gandhi, King and Luwum.

Chapter four: This chapter deals with non-violence from a theological perspective. The chapter offers the philosophical understanding of non-violence resistance through the perspective of *shalom*. It also shows how the non-violence resistant model can be used as a pastoral hermeneutical tool in the Anglican Church of Uganda in her prophetic ministry. In so doing the chapter offers an overview of the definition of *shalom* and then looks at how a non-violent resistance model is related to the Christian understanding of *shalom* which is against injustice and oppression.

Chapter five: The chapter provides a contextual interpretation of Luwum's model of non-violence resistant and church –state relations in contemporary Uganda. The chapter identifies Amin's legacy in contemporary Uganda and explains how the Anglican Church can use Luwum's model of non-violence resistant to confront it. It also explains how the Anglican Church of Uganda can develop a contextual model for church –state relations. Based on the socio-political context that has transpired in Uganda, the chapter finally reveals how the Anglican Church of Uganda can engage in the process of democratisation on Uganda as regards its future work in bringing about justice.

Chapter six: This chapter concludes the whole study and gives recommendations and suggestions for the Anglican Church of Uganda as regards its future work in bringing about justice.

1.11 Conclusion

Having looked at the research background, rationale and motivation, the statement of the problem, hypothesis, scopes and the limitations of the research, research objectives, theoretical framework, research methodology and the structure of dissertation, this chapter has set the background for exploring a contextual interpretation of Archbishop Luwum's concepts of non-violence resistant and church- state relations in contemporary Uganda. The next chapter will investigate the formative factors that affected Archbishop Luwum's views within the Ugandan, socio-economic and political context.

CHAPTER TWO

JANANI JAKALIYA LUWUM: HIS LIFE AND FORMATIVE FACTORS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will investigate Archbishop Luwum's formative factors, which shaped his concept of a non-violent resistance model to fight the injustices posed by the autocratic regime in Uganda. In particular, the chapter will explore his early encounters and struggles, his educational background, his inspiration from his parents and his conversion to *Balokole*. The chapter will also attempt to locate his role in bringing about socio-economic and political transformation within the Ugandan context in which he worked. This will be done in order to understand what compelled him to engage in social transformation. As such, the chapter will drive the study to explore his pastoral praxis and his interpretation of church-state relations.

2.2 Luwum: His birth and naming

Janani Zakaliya Luwum was born in 1922 at Mucwini in Kitgum District, that is, East Acholi in Uganda, in east Africa. His family lived close to the border of southern Sudan and their house was a cluster of grass-thatched mud huts-amid arid savannah plains dissected by riverbeds.¹ Living in this region is somehow difficult because during the rainy season these riverbeds are impassable as torrents of water pour down them and during the dry season water is a scarce commodity, drawn from scattered bore hole and carried in large earthenware pots balanced precariously on the heads of women and girls who often cover long distances each day in search of it.² To overcome such conditions, the Acholi community had to work hard. For this reason each person in a family was located a particular job to do and there was no unemployment as everybody had something to do.

¹ See the map of Uganda

² I am indebted to Odhuli Kisinga (1/1/2008) of the Anglican Church of Uganda for this information.

Janani's responsibility in those early days was to look after the family's cattle, goats and sheep.³ This job of herding the animals was very difficult because if a sheep, a goat or cattle strayed into a neighbour's field, a herd-boy was thorough beaten by his parents.

Luwum whose full names are Janani Jakaliya Luwum was the first born in Eliya Okello's family. Names in Africa culture have meanings, and the name Luwum means a person who rejoices when somebody is having a problem or rejoices when someone is in trouble or in danger. Another example of a name with a meaning was seen when his wife Mary had a miscarriage. In this case the child was named, Benoni which means "son of sorrow " (Ford 1978:26). This is in line with the Acholi way of naming in which expressions of feelings are used to tell the circumstances surrounding the birth. Therefore, Luwum's assimilation into rich African cultural background was thus instrumental in his moulding into a person who could face hardship and fight for community and personal rights at any cost, always bearing in mind his cultural heritage.

2.3 Luwum: His primary and secondary school life

Although the family could work on the farm and raise some cattle money was scarce and it was only when Luwum was ten years old that his family could afford to take him to school. In his early primary school education, Luwum did extremely well in all classes. (Kasangaki 1983:30). After passing his primary school examination he was admitted at Gulu High School. Luwum often spoke of how he used to walk to and from Gulu High School, a distance of eighty miles at the beginning and end of each term (Kasangaki 1983:30). However Luwum did not finish his high school education because of poverty that had engulfed his family for they could not afford to pay the school fee. As noted, above, Luwum was born and brought up during a critical period in Uganda's political history. It was a time when the colonial brutality was at its highest peak and the massacre of the Uganda people by the colonial authorities especially Captain Lugard was causing world-wide outcry (Kasangaki 1983:30).

2.4 Luwum: Studies at the Boroboro Teachers Training College (BTTC)

After he left Gulu High School in 1939 Luwum joined Boroboro Teachers Training College based on the small mission station, five miles from Lira, the administrative centre of Lango district. Ralph Ewechue (1991:12) asserts that it was when Luwum joined Boroboro Teachers Training College that he began showing signs of leadership skills. Margaret Ford (1978:19) contends that Luwum

³ I am in dept to Odongo Okuku (1/1/2008) for this information

proved him to be courageous and dedicated to his work and lecturers and students noticed his special negotiating skills when he persuaded students not to engage in violence but instead to take part in dialogue. In one incident, the students staged a strike complaining about poor food diet provided at the BTTC. Luwum persuaded them not to destroy the college properties but to wait as he negotiated with the vice principle Phebe Cave of Church Missionary Society (CMS) (Ford 1978:19). The meeting that they held subsequently ended in a compromise that pleased all parties involved.

Academically Luwum was keen, neat, and hardworking. He rediscovered himself and was always top of his class. He was also talented artistic and excelled in stick drawing which was important in blackboard illustration. In addition he was involved in various extramural activities such as music and drama. After the final examination, Luwum was given the highest grade in practical teaching and when his assessments were taken to the ministry of education, the education department in Kampala doubted its correctness. As a result they sent three experts to verify and ratify these results. In view of this the experts asked him to conduct two physical education lessons simultaneously as it can happen in a school when one of the teachers is sick and then he was taken to do practical in a classroom. The panel was surprised when he managed to successfully complete these tasks, and therefore they confirmed and endorsed his earlier results (Ford 1978:20).

From the above, it is clear that Luwum was a brilliant student and despite the Second World War which affected many students at that time, Luwum was able to overcome the harsh realities caused by the first World War (1914 – 1918). He was born four years after the end of the First World War and lived through the Second World War (1939-1945). These events haunted his life as he wondered about why people engage in war instead of dialogue. However he realised that this Second World War had enlightened Africans politically and upon its end, they preached the gospel of liberation. People were also keen to learn from the experiences of the soldiers.

Indeed, the Africans who participated in the war eventually ended up being the freedom fighters and also discovered many secrets of the coloniser and for they had experienced the rivalries between the various colonising powers. They had also noted the cunningness of (some of) the colonising powers in using Africans to fight for them. Africans who participated in the Second European War (1939-1945) felt betrayed for being made to fight amongst rival European armies in the name of democracy when they themselves lived under autocratic rule. Luwum was, schooling during the

peak of this war, a fact that defined his early life and introduced him to concepts of non-violent resistance to achieve in justice, freedom and democracy.

2.5 Luwum: The memories of the early missionary work

Eliya Okello, Luwum's father was an early convert to Christianity. He was a dedicated man who had committed his life to serve the Lord as a church teacher and Luwum benefited from this background which his peers missed out on. At an early stage Luwum's mother taught him to be tough, to work hard and to be persistent. Besides Luwum's parents were Anglicans who had accepted the teaching and beliefs of the East Africa Revival (I will come to this later). Interestingly, his grand-parents had witnessed the arrival of the first CMS missionaries back in 1877 and were influenced by them thus becoming Christians.

Luwum was in turn influenced by the stories which were narrated to him by his parents and grand-parents about the coming of the CMS and how many young children were killed after converting to Christianity. The CMS came to Uganda as a result of a letter which was written by Henry Morton Stanley in the Daily Telegraph of 15th November 1875 in London (Ward 1995:84).⁴ In this letter H.M Stanley appealed for missionaries to come to Buganda as it was known then. This letter prompted an immediate result and on 27th April 1876 the first team of four missionaries left London for Buganda (Ward 1995:84). They arrived on March 1877 at the shores of Lake Victoria, which was locally known as "*Nalubaale*" (Ward 1995:81). Unfortunately on arrival one of the missionaries died of malaria, which was and still is common in eastern Africa while two others, O'Neill and Lieutenant Shergold Smith were killed at Ukerewe Island of Lake Victoria in a local dispute. Therefore, Revd Wilson was left alone until 1878 when Alexander Mackay arrived. The above stories of missionaries encouraged Luwum who admired the work of Mackay for as a missionary he was known as a strong and energetic man who influenced many people to Christianity in Uganda. Inspired by Mackay who was a preacher, a teacher and was the first missionary to translate the Bible into a local language in Uganda, Luwum eventually became a teacher and a preacher in the Anglican Church of Uganda.

⁴ Stanley's famous letter to the Daily Telegraph exaggerated that Kabaka Muteesa was eager to hear the gospel and would like the gospel to be spread in his kingdom, however as the missionaries came to realise later, Muteesa was a Muslim and had admired Islam teaching (see Ward 1995:81-82).

Luwum's grand-mother also told him about Alexander Mackay and Wilson who were joined by other CMS missionaries from London in 1879 and the Catholic group led by Fr. Simon Lourder.⁵ She told him that the genesis of the church and the kingdom of God started in Uganda with the coming of CMS and Roman Catholic missionaries (Ward 1991:81) similarly argues that the coming of the two groups (CMS and Catholic missionaries) was the "turning point of Uganda." In this regard Phares Mutibwa contends that,

The British Anglican missionaries and explorers were the first Christians to arrive in Uganda in 1877, and were welcomed by the Ugandan king as harbingers of advantageous political power. Just two years later, in 1879, the first Catholic missionaries arrived and presented their own theological case to the court of King Mutesa I. The French Catholic priests of the society of *Notre Dame d'Afrique* were immediately countered in their missionary effort by the doctrinal rebuttals of the Protestant British, such that the court of the Ugandan High King Mutesa I became a battlefield for the two missions (1992:2).

In fact, the above fight between Protestants and Catholics was a manifestation of the warfare which had lasted for centuries in Europe. Mary C. Moorman observes that,

Although the fundamental disagreements between the Christians missionaries originally inherent in theological differences, over time these doctrinal disagreements became politically charged, as proselytes began to take opposing sides in support of their religious instructors. This religious/political divergence degenerated into civil war for political sovereignty between the Catholic and protestant factions in 1892 (2007:82).

In this case the Uganda found herself caught up in the middle of not only the two groups but three rival groups. On one hand there were the Protestants (Anglicans), on the other hand there were Catholics and the Muslims were the third group in the background, who had⁶ preceded the other two. Because all the groups were based at the court of the Kabaka, (King) near what is now Kampala, Kabaka Mutesa took advantage of these factions and employed tactics to gain power through each group (Anglican and Catholic missionaries as well as the Muslims). From the above we note that the political conflict in Uganda can be traced to early religious tensions and was later reinforced by colonial power distribution. This religious conflict has remained as the basis of Ugandan politics up to now (Moorman 2007:82). Therefore, it is in such a situation of political and religious conflict that Luwum was socialised and raised.

Besides the above, as a child Luwum also experienced other negative aspects of the missionary enterprise where by suppression of African culture was the order of the day in the church. He

⁵ I am in dept to Joseph Okuku 2008/1/1 for this information.

⁶ Although Islam had been present in Uganda before the Christianity came, the religion was almost dormant and less aggressive compared to the thrusting force of Christians. What is interesting is that Islam paved the way for Christianity by offering a worldview and introducing of extreme monotheism; they also introduced the idea of Holy literature-Holy, a book, Holy days and the concept of the resurrection of the body and judgment day. As such the Christians were able to build on this foundation.

realised that the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was fully supporting the colonial regime. When he graduated in 1942 and was posted to teach at Puranga Primary School in East Acholi, he noticed that in school and at the church the students were taught to be docile subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. Rather than winning respect, the teaching approach that the CMS teachers used was the model of instilling fear in the students. Luwum also heard the village elders discussing the injustices that were being perpetrated by the local colonial administration. He could see the logic in their agitation, especially where they decried racism, denial of full human dignity through torture some of which led to deaths, and the grabbing of huge chunks of land by the colonial authorities. Although his zealous Christian father had not been directly involved in political agitation, Luwum, nonetheless was able to hear the concerns of the day from his father's contemporaries. He thus experienced the beginnings of ensuing struggle for national self-determination. For Luwum, colonialism therefore became a stigma that Uganda people should fight and as they searched for freedom.

2.6 Luwum: The memories of the first Ugandan martyrs.

Luwum was also influenced by the stories of the early Uganda martyrs. After the death of Kabaka Muteesa in 1884 his son Mwanga succeeded him at the age of 18 and immediately he started asserting his authority as a king (Ward 1995:86). The Anglicans, the Catholics and the Muslims continued to quarrel among themselves and expressed their ill intentions against one another to Mwanga. For instance, the Arabs (Muslims) asked Mwanga to expel the Europeans (Christians) and accused them of destroying their slave trade and so turning their economy and the economy of the state upside down.⁷

By 1884 the scramble for Africa⁸ was taking place Mwanga realized that the Germans were in the Northern Uganda, the Belgians in Western Uganda and the British/French were already within the country with the missionaries. Because he feared that his authority would be destabilized he redirected his irritation to the missionaries. Kevin Ward (1995:86) states that Mwanga denied that because of the religious confusion which was created by the missionaries, he was forced to order the persecution of those he considered a threat. This led to the killing of Makko Kakumba, Nuwa Serwanga and Yusufu Lugalama in 1885, which were African members of the Anglican Church and

⁷ This coincided with the scramble for Africa (1884),

⁸ The partition of Africa took place from 1884-85 and it has been suggested that the European invasion of Africa was prompted by economic factors that were brought about by the second industrial revolution. However there is a need to distinguish between the motives of the merchants and traders with that of missionaries and philanthropists. The missionaries were motivated by the need to spread the gospel while the merchants and traders were motivated by the need to make profit in Africa (see Nthamburi, Z. 1995:7)

were living in a mission house (Ward 1995:86). Therefore they became the first Ugandan Christians martyrs. The persecution of these three men was as a measure to counter missionary operations which Mwanga saw as a threat to his kingdom. These stories were of interest to Luwum and in his sermons he referred to these martyrs as great warriors who stood firm for their faith (Broadcast sermon New year service 1976).

The murder of James Hannington, the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Equatorial Forest, was of the stories that stayed in Luwum's memory. This story was popular in Uganda and was documented and also transmitted orally from one generation to another as a way of showing the humble beginnings of the work of CMS. Apparently Mwanga heard the news of the coming of the Anglican Bishop, who intended to open a new and shorter route to Uganda from Mombasa to the Kikuyu and Masaai area (Wright 1971:17-20). Michael Wright asserts that,

The news of Hannington's approach to Buganda by the unusual eastern route caused a special concern, for Kabaka Suna had expressly forbidden strangers to enter the country by this "back door" and the prohibition had never been revoked. The Baganda preferred the approach to their kingdom to be by the southern way, along the Arab trade route from Zanzibar to Tabora and hence through the outworks of Buganda's defences formed by the tributary southern lake and Bukoba chiefdoms and the natural barrier of the lake itself, which Buganda to a great extent commanded. To the east there was less depth to Buganda's defence-the Kabaka's influence barely extended beyond Busoga (1971:17).

In connection to the above, Mackay attempted to warn the Bishop about the danger of coming through this route because the Arabs and Kabaka Suna had predicted that the European who would conquer Buganda Kingdom would come from East. However, Ward (1995:87) argues that the assassination of Bishop James Hannington by Mwanga was prompted by fear of the missionaries and the arrogance of the Bishop. Ward goes on to say that,

It was the fear of a European invasion which principally caused the death in Busoga on 29th October 1885 of the 37 years old Anglican Bishop, James Hannington. Hannington was either ignorant of, or chose to ignore, the precarious position of the Christian community within Buganda and the dangers, in the international climate, of approaching Buganda by the politically sensitive "back-door" of Busoga (1995:87).

The death of Hannington had repercussion within Buganda because what followed was a series of Christian persecutions. For instance when Joseph Mukasa Balikuddembe criticized Mwanga for killing the Anglican Bishop, he was also murdered thus becoming the first Catholic martyr (Ward 1995:87). By May 1886 there was a "large massacre of Christians, both Catholic and Anglican" at a place called Namugogo, the traditional execution site which was also used to execute Muslims. This led to a period of political instability which only settled down with the arrival of the Imperial British

East Africa Company (IBEAC)⁹ and Captain Lugard with his gun (Wright 1971:152). Lugard's actions in 1892 ensured that the Anglican/Protestant faction rather than the Catholic or Muslim became the dominant force in Uganda in the period leading up to the declaration in 1894 of Uganda as a British Protectorate (Wright 1971:24). Thus, Mwanga rejected Christianity on the grounds that he identified the missionary enterprise with the colonial invasion. Consequently, he did not find any evidence to suggest that the objectives of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) were any different from those of the colonial administration. Thus, Mwanga rejected Christianity on very rational grounds. He had failed to see the difference between the missionary (CMS) and the colonial administrator who forced people into unnecessary wars. Indeed this was the general feeling in the East Africa in those days. Zablon Nthamburi explains.

It may be remarked that missionary activity, which went concurrently with the expansion of European hegemony in Africa, supplemented the colonial policy. The Gĩkũyũ have a saying, "*Gũtirĩ mũthũngũ na mũbĩa*," meaning that there was no marked difference between a colonial administrator and a missionary. The missionaries felt more secure within the administration of their own colonial powers. In fact they were happy to create an African middle class, which would fit the world of European. From such a middle class would be found a people who were suitable for a ministry. Such people would emulate the European missionary in every way by even adopting European way of life (1991: 39).

Because of Mwanga's persecution of the Christians, the missionaries felt that the only way to ensure survival of Christianity in Buganda was through military and political power (Ward 1995:89). In this regard, the Anglicans, the Catholics and Muslims of the Baganda tribe formed a powerful army called *bapere* which attracted young men, fortune seekers and adventurers in order to remove the king from power. When Mwanga attempted to get rid of this group in 1887 he was overthrown and he sought refuge in the White Father's mission at Bukumbi, south of Lake Victoria (Wright 1971:126). In the same year however the Muslim ousted the Christian group and established a Muslim state and instilled Kabaka Kalema as both the king and sheikh (Ward 1995:89) cf (Wright 1971:22).

By 1889 the Christians and traditional chiefs managed to defeat the Muslims and as a result they restored Mwanga back to leadership. The history of Uganda is thus clearly characterised by competition for state influence between different religious factions. It is from this perspective that Jesse N.K Mugambi (2004:20) affirms that at the beginning of Uganda's colonisation the Arab Muslims, the British Anglicans and the French Catholics were competing to win the favour of the

⁹ IBEAC was a private British chartered company, which the British government approved of but had no financial responsibility for. It was a way of ensuring British influence without the inconvenience of costing the British taxpayer anything (see Ward 1995:90).

king of Buganda, who was entrenched in the African Traditional Religion. Finally, British imperialism triumphed and started dominated Ugandan politics until independence in 1962 (Mugambi 2004:20). However, the rivalry between Anglicans, Catholics, Muslims and African Traditionalist remained entrenched in the political and social fabric of Uganda and as a result the political parties became identified with particular religions or denominations (Mugambi 2004:20). Kevin Ward affirms that,

The events of this violent period in Buganda's history are sometimes characterised as a "Christian revolution'-by which is meant the fact that a fundamental change occurred in Buganda in which Christianity was the motivating force and the chief beneficiary. It was a revolution with several phases: a revolution of the "new dini" 1888), a Muslim revolution' (1888-9), a Christian counterrevolution' (1889), a "Protestant seizure of power" (1892) and finally the consolidation of the revolutionary changes by the British take-over and loss of Buganda's sovereignty (1894/1900) (1995:91).

Amidst the above context the Anglican Church of Uganda started to take shape as a large denomination after the coming of Bishop Alfred Tucker who arrived in Uganda in 1890. In 1897 he became the first Bishop of Uganda carved out of the vast and ill-defined Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa. It was in this last decade of the nineteenth century that the Anglican church of Uganda became a Province which comprised of Uganda, Congo Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi (Ward 1995:91). The Anglican Church was never an official established church in colonial Uganda. However, was third in the order of precedence at the official functions because after the governor spoke, The Kabaka, and then the Anglican Bishop were always called to address the people. The Catholic Church was not given such political role in the Ugandan colony. Because of this the British authorities preferred the non-political role of the Catholics to the gratuitous advice and criticism of the Anglican Church. Ward contends that,

The CMS missionaries were very conscious of the fact that they had preceded the administrators-had practically (invited) them to Uganda, in fact. Individuals thus felt free to criticise where they thought necessary- for example, the excessive use of force in "pacifying" Bunyoro in the 1890s. The British often resented such criticism (1995:91).

However, J.J. Willis (1912-1939) the second Anglican Bishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda brought the church into a very close relationship with the administrators so that the Church was almost co-opted by the colonial government (Ward 1995:98). In other words, the first Anglican Bishop of Uganda, Alfred Tucker (1890-1912) was a critic of the colonial administrator while the second J.J Willis (1912-1939) collaborated with the Colonial government thus was silent about the injustices committed by state. Apart from witnessing the arrival of the first CMS missionaries in Uganda, Luwum's parents also witnessed the brutal invasion of the British colonial soldiers in 1904 and 1906 (Taylor 1967: 33). In particular, the invading colonial soldiers forced many of Luwum's

relatives to serve in the Carrier Corps in the then Tanganyika (Tanzania was then called during the First World War (1914-18) (Taylor 1967: 40). According to Herbert L. Peacock, by the time the First World War came to an end, it was declared that this war was the most destructive and ferocious that the world had ever seen (Peacock 1987:291-292).

Peacock (1987:291-293) asserts that those who were killed by this war was about 13, 000,000. This can be translated to mean that for every minute of the fighting four soldiers were killed and nine were wounded and as the war came to an end, it left more than 10, 000, 000 widows and orphans and more than 1, 000,000 families without any means of survival (Peacock 1987: 291-292). Added to this destruction was the vast problem of millions of starving people and refugees” (Peacock 1987: 291-292). During the war, many Africans in Uganda suffered needlessly because the British enrolled them (from all colonial territories) to fight their enemy- the Germans In this war, the Germans¹⁰ who (following the Berlin Conference 1884-5) had occupied Tanganyika.¹¹ By the time Luwum was born in 1922 there were many widows and many children who were orphaned as a result of this war. Luwum was touched by the suffering of these children especially when his parents told him stories about this war and taught him the value of life and respecting other people views hence the necessity of consensus building and fighting for freedom. It is no wonder that the value of human life became a central theme in Luwum’s preaching and he was ready to die for truth and justice.

2.7 Luwum as a *Mulokole*

Luwum was enormously influenced by the *Balokole* theology even though he had studied liberal theology in Europe. As we have seen above, Okello, the father of Luwum was an early convert to Christianity; however it was only on 6th January 1948 that Luwum committed his life to Jesus Christ through the preaching of Yusto Otunno and his wife Josephine. This couple convinced Luwum to join the East Africa Revival Fellowship which was popularly known as *Balokole*. The word *Balokole* comes from the Luganda word meaning “the saved one.” In view of this Otunno and his wife nurtured Luwum in the teaching and beliefs of the *Balokole*, which had become the East Africa Revival movement which swept through the church denomination in Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya

¹⁰ Following the end of the war, Germany lost all her Colonies and was declared guilty of provoking the war, and by 1921 her payment in reparations to the Allies as worked out by a Special Reparations Commission was fixed at the stupendous sum of \$6, 500,000,000 to be paid in instalments. She had to deliver to the Allies part of this sum in the form of ships (which she had to build for the Allies for five years), coal, chemicals, dyestuffs, cattle, etc. The final treaty of Versailles with Germany was signed on June 28, 1919, in the Hall Mirrors at Versailles (Peacock 1987:289ff).

¹¹ During the Berlin conference of 1884/85, Tanganyika, which borders Kenya and Uganda (in East Africa), was taken over by Germany. Upon the merger between Tanganyika and the East African Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in 1964, it was renamed the Union of Tanzania which is her current status.

in late 1930s. As Luwum affirmed his acceptance to the *Balokole* way of life the whole team sang the Tukutendereza song which goes like this,

Tukutendereza Yesu, (Glory glory, Glory Jesus)
Yesu Mwan gwe'endiga: (Jesus son of God)
Omsaa yi gwo gunaazizza; (Oh, the cleansing blood has reached me)
Nkebaza Mulokozi. (Praise, praise to the Lamb) (Kivuti 1990:40).

This song had become the theme song of the Revivalists throughout East Africa. The enthusiasm of this fellowship gave a unique character to Protestant Christianity in East Africa for it encouraged the composition of new indigenous hymns and the popularization of the old ones among local people in the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in East Africa (Kivuti 1990:39). What ignited the East Africa Revival can be traced back in 1920's when the Anglican Church of Uganda started showing the discontent with the missionary power and dissatisfaction with an imported spirituality (Kivuti 1990:40). The dominance of the CMS led to a particular low-church tradition in Uganda which the local communities interpreting it as a dry spirituality (Kivuti 1990:41-42). Because of this spiritual dryness, people started challenging the church leaders. The Revival movement of the *Balokole* made a powerful impact firstly in western Uganda and then in Buganda and later the whole of Uganda. Despite their theological roots in the Western Revival movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the *Balokole* evolved as indigenous Africa movement and perhaps this is why Luwum maintained the *Balokole* theology even after having studied in Europe.

At first *Balokole* was a controversial movement in its criticism of church leaders and one wonders how Luwum was able to cling to its theology as a church leader. By 1941 twenty-six *Balokole* were expelled from Bishop Tucker Theological College. Their leader was William Nagenda who was said to be gifted in evangelism. Through various church leaders a complete schism was avoided and the spirituality of the *Balokole* became absorbed as a major feature of the Anglican Church of Uganda. When John V. Taylor was posted at Bishop Tucker College in Mukono as the new principle he was committed to integrating the positive insights of the Revival tradition within the Anglican Church of Uganda (Robins 1983:50). Taylor was also significant for his studies of Ugandan church growth, integrity and spirituality rather than seeing Uganda as a mission field for Europeans and he helped the *Balokole* to thrive by accommodating them (Robins 1983:53-54).

However, the Movement continued to criticize the established hierarchies within the Church of Uganda and questioned the prevailing morality or double standards (Robins 1983:24). Because of this the *Balokole* formed egalitarian brotherhoods/sisterhood circles, following the puritanical

rules, publicly confessed their sins and professed their experience of conversion, which they understood as a radical break with their former sinful selves (Robins 1983:50). As opposed to the Christian spirituality brought by the missionaries, this Revival movement became radical in its approach to evangelism and the way of life (Robins 1983:53). For instance, in its organisation, the *Balokole* was quite different from the normal ecclesiastical administrative structures. Nelson Kivuti observes that,

In the Revival movement here are no officials, not executive, no salaried worker, no headquarter, no paper work, no minutes, no budgets, no membership list and no annual subscription fees. Unlike the churches to which virtually all its followers belong, the fellowship is informal, unstructured, spontaneous and group-led. What little organisation exists is designed merely to facilitate meetings, conventions and itineraries. The fellowship meetings are primarily devotional, providing opportunity for testimony and mutual encouragement, prayer and bible reading, including frequent singing of the Revival chorus in Luganda language (1992:40).

Kivuti goes on to say that, among the Protestant churches, the Revival Fellowship has served the positive function of reminding the hierarchy and the ordinary communicants, as that the Christian faith is a pilgrimage in which the pilgrims cannot afford to lapse. It is a race in which the “runner must keep a fast pace throughout the track” (Kivuti 1992:41).

Another unique feature of *Balokole* is that all “team meetings” (a few selected members for each area) have the same purpose, objective and functions, but at different geographic and administrative levels (Robins 1983:60). At the distinct and divisional levels the teams provides for monthly or fortnightly fellowship gatherings and open air evangelistic meetings, while large conventions are organised at the provincial and national levels. It is worth noting that all decisions made in Team meetings have to be unanimous; majority voting is never practiced in the *Balokole*. Thus consensus is the norm in all decision making. These factors were clearly instrumental to Luwum’s formative years, for had it not been for this *Balokole*, he could not have been selected as a candidate for the bishopric and elected as a Bishop and later as the Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda. This is because the majority of the Anglican Christians had become Balokole and they did not want to elect somebody who is outside this fellowship. It should also be noted that, nearly all Revival Team leaders have always been lay people. Kivuti observes that,

Men and women participate fully and equally in the organisational task of the movement. As volunteers, they are not required to have any theological or leadership training. All that is required is commitment to the fellowship, after public declaration of new “birth.” Any of the leaders is accepted as a teacher, evangelist, catechist and missionary. In the Revival Fellowship, the clergy tend to retreat into the background, while the laity takes the lead. The doctrine of priesthood of all believers is taken seriously in the Revival Movement, even though most revivalists may never have heard of Martin Luther. Consequently, biblical teaching has tended to lack theological depth the bible is read devotionally and there is hardly

any interest in theological analysis. Emphasis on enthusiasm has tended to compromise reason and consideration. The risk of false and inaccurate teaching has therefore been present through the history of the East Africa Revival Movement (1992:35).

As Luwum came to learn that the most significant opposition to the Revival Fellowship was from within the church hierarchy, especially the missionary hierarchy, whose leadership was overshadowed by the Revival Fellowship in every congregation. As noted above, the Revivalists adopted consensus methods of decision making and allowed maximum participation amongst all members. The sitting arrangement of the Fellowship meeting was normally in circles to symbolise the equality of all the participants, including the clergy in attendance. There was no discrimination against women and youth, as tended to happen in the denominational hierarchy. The non-denominational, multi-ethnic and international hierarchy character of the East Africa Revival Movement was very different from the divided and hierarchal Protestant and Catholic Christianity from Europe and North America. The above model of operation was a serious challenge to the mainstream denominations. Their theology at times contradicted that of these churches and they also became very dogmatic to what they formulate in their teachings. In addressing the challenges to the Revival, Mugambi cautions,

There is clearly a big gap between *(the)* older Christians and *(the)* younger ones. The older Christians tend to think that the youth is “lukewarm” in faith, whereas the youth considers the older generation to be rigid and conservative. It is important to remember that these attitudes are always present in every culture and every historical period. The older generation always have a tendency to suppress the energies of the youth, particularly when youth urges for change to reflect *(the)* changed circumstances. Ironically, the older generation, which considers itself knowledgeable about the needs of its youth, will itself have been agitating for change in earlier days. We should therefore recall our attitudes in our own youth before we condemn the demands of our sons and daughters, in matters both religious and secular (1995:129).

Later on Luwum tended to keep his conversion experience to himself, but in December 1976 he told theological students and his wife that he had experienced the Holy Spirit in a dramatic way when he became a born again;

When I was converted, after realising that my sins were forgiven and the implications of Jesus’ death and resurrection, I was overwhelmed by a sense of joy and peace. I suddenly found myself climbing a tree to tell those in the school compound to repent and return to Jesus Christ. From time to time I spoke in tongues. I stayed up that tree for a long time. Later on I discovered that some boys were converted due to a sermon I preached up that tree. The reality of Jesus overwhelmed me-and it still does. But I would be wrong to demand that those who are converted should climb a tree and speak in tongues (Ford 1978: 22).

After his conversion experience, Luwum was caught up for the whole year with the Revival movement and involved personally in its struggle with the church. Characteristically, the Revival movement advocated a rebirth (cf. John 3) – that is – being born again. Literally, their theology held that a person must not just say that s/he is a Christian but more importantly, s/he must confess the

saving grace of Christ through his birth, life, death and resurrection. In specific terms, “a born again Christian does not take local brew or alcohol in general; doesn’t keep the beard; doesn’t smoke; doesn’t hate or abuse other people; doesn’t tell lies” among other vices. S/he must “always walk by light” by briefing others on social and personal issues that s/he is engaged in. This includes, “telling how s/he lives with his/her family; and must constantly ask for forgiveness whenever he/she annoys his/her neighbours.” As a forgiven sinner, a born again Christian is always under constant threat from the devil who roams like a hungry lion looking for its prey (James 5:8). Hence, a Christian must vigilantly guard his/her faith by confessing and “living” a holy life. Because of this Luwum was dismissed from one church school by the church authorities who accused him of spoiling the pupils with his message of repentance.

One month after his conversion, in February 1948, Luwum was arrested with eight others and brought before the sub-chief of Mucwini and was charged with disturbing the peace. This is because at an open air meeting Luwum had condemned drunkenness and smoking. He challenged his hearers to choose between Christ and the devil, life and death, urging them to repent of their sins and spend their time with Christ and his followers listening to God’s word, rather than with the Devil and his followers, drinking and smoking. The arrest had been contrived by the church teachers who seldom spoke out against drunkenness, but prefer to turn a blind eye to what was going on around them. The following morning they were taken to Kitgum, the administrative centre of East Acholi, thrown into prison, tortured and given no food for two days. The prison warders repeatedly asked them to denounce their faith but Luwum replied:

You are good people and our beloved brothers. It is not you, but your masters, Satan, who is using you to torture us and leave us to go hungry. We love you and our master, Jesus Christ, love you too. The wooden bars at the window of this tiny cell cannot separate us from the love of God, nor stop us proclaiming his message of salvation, through his son Jesus Christ. All of us here are committed to Christ, even unto death (Ford 1978: 23).

The brethren rejoiced and praised the Lord that they had been counted worthy to suffer for Christ’s sake. After a short while they were released. All of them returned to their homes stronger in faith and even more committed to continue preaching about repentance. When Luwum’s brother Okecho and Yusto Otunno, were arrested, Luwum went with them to the court and challenged the magistrate when he realised that they were tortured by the police. He then addressed the court by saying, “have these people been beaten because they have been preaching in the name of Jesus? ...I am one of the *Balokole* myself...you can also get hold of me” (Ford 1989:23).

In this regard, Luwum's bold statement embarrassed the magistrate, who promptly ordered his arrest for contempt of court and was sentenced to a one month imprisonment or to pay a fine of twenty shillings (R2.00). Luwum preferred to go to jail and suffer alongside his fellow brethren; however Otunno pleaded with him to pay the fine instead of going to prison. Otunno thought that it was better for Luwum to continue preaching the message of salvation during their temporary enforced absence instead of all of them serving the jail term. Luwum lived bravely as St. Paul counsels when he says,

finally, brethren whatever is true, whatever is noble, whatever is right, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is admirable, if anything is excellent or praiseworthy, think about such things (Philippians 4:8-9).

After convincing Luwum, Yusto Otunno and Aloni Okecho therefore served their sentence and through their ministry in prison seventy prisoners became Christians. What is interesting with Luwum and other *Balokole's* is that, they were not discouraged by opposition, imprisonment, ridicule, or false allegations for they were ready to work for peace and justice. As such they continued to travel together in groups all over East Acholi, propagating their theology to all those who could listen to them.

What is clear with the characteristic of the *Balokole* Movement in Uganda is that they were loyal to the Anglican Church of Uganda despite their strong, often passionate, criticism of the church. In other words they felt that they are called to witness to the mainline churches. And this is evidenced by their noticeable regular attendance at Sunday worship, their concern to be baptised and to have their children baptised in these churches, their desire to be married in these churches and to have one wife or one husband as per the rule and regulation of the church and their interest in taking Holy Communion. However they believe that the sacrament does not have the power to mediate salvation (Ward 1995:131). Furthermore, the *Balokole* movement cautions their adherents not to trust in the mere fact that they have been baptised as an assurance of being saved. Therefore it is from this spiritual experience that Luwum was nurtured and fostered, which had a great impact in his life. His methods of non-violent resistance were also influenced by the democratic and non- hierarchical nature of *Balokole*. Actually, the *Balokole* theology had a great impact on Luwum life and ministry because it informed his spirituality and shaped his understanding of non-violence resistance and participatory democracy.

2.8 Luwum and the calling to the ministry

As it was the custom of the *Balokole* to preach in the open air and at the market place, Luwum used to preach in the above places every Sunday. In November 1948, Luwum was preaching to a group of people in the compound of the All Saints Church in Kitgum when tears started streaming down his face and said,

The Spirit of the Lord has shown me that many educated men have run away from the church. They want the church to fall and to fall alone. Today, I promised before God and all of you assembled here, that if the church is falling, she will fall on me. I surrender myself to the church (Ford 1979:24).

After this incident Luwum fell on the ground and wept, amid loud shouts of praise and thanksgiving and he was sure God was calling him to the full time pastoral ministry. As time went on the church leaders grew more and more suspicious of the *Balokole* teaching on repentance and tried to halt the Revival movement by going to the government and accusing its members of disturbing the peace. Otunno and other members of the movement persuaded Luwum that the Revival movement would be better placed to preach salvation within the church and so they asked Luwum to sacrifice his teaching career and offer himself for the ministry. Luwum accepted but this was against the wishes of his family who wanted him to be a local chief. However, his wife Mary doubted about this call but Luwum convinced her that it is good to obey the will of God and accept to be a church minister.

Having looked at the *Balokole's* role in Luwum's formation and his call to the ministry, we can now examine the influence of his theological education. What was his position on *Balokole* theology vis-à-vis the liberal theology taught in Anglican theological college? How was his theology of non-violence resistant shaped by his theological studies abroad?

2.9 Luwum: Studies at Buwalasi Theological College, Uganda

After experiencing a call to the ministry, Luwum enrolled for a two years lay-reader course which was conducted by Bishop Usher Wilson of the Diocese of the Upper Nile. This course was unique because it was the only lay-reader course that was conducted in English in that Diocese. Therefore in 1949 Luwum joined Buwalasi Theological College together with John Wasike who later became a Bishop of Mbale and Wesonga became the secretary of the United Bible Society. After graduation in 1950, Luwum was licenced as a lay-reader and was attached to St Philips Church in Gulu. Commenting on Luwum's work in this parish, Ford states that,

He attacked all his work with similar vigour. He helped with translation at deanery meetings, encouraging sub-grade school teachers, organizing the children service at St

Philips, fostering the growth of Sunday school and organizing camps for secondary school boys who helped with the building of new classrooms and churches constructed from glass (1978:26).

As a result of his work, Bishop Usher Wilson was pleased with him and he wanted him to go for three years training at Buwalasi Theological College so that he could qualify for ordination. However his vicar Revd Latigo opposed the move to have him go for further studies because he was perhaps threatened the young men who speak fluent English and are better trained than him. Thus it was only in 1953, when Luwum enrolled for a three years ordination course at Bawalasi Theological College and after successfully completing his studies in 1955, he was made a deacon by Bishop Keith Russell. In 1956 he was ordained as priest by Bishop Usher Wilson.

2.10 Luwum: Studies at St Augustine, Canterbury

After serving in a parish for four years, Luwum was admitted for a one year theological course at St Augustines College in Canterbury, United Kingdom in 1958. This was made possible through the funds generated by a congregation of St Mary in England. During this time St Augustines was known as a central college for the Anglican Communion and for helping to train many priests and lay readers who were subsequently called to work in administrative offices in the Anglican Church. It was at this college that he received lessons on how the church should work as ecumenical body and hoe the church should work for justice. Luwum was also exposed to different denominational orientation model and he realised that unlike the church in Uganda which was divided according to denominational orientation, the Anglican Church in England is open to other church denominations. It is from that background that we can understand why Luwum was deeply involved in the ecumenical movement and non-violence reistance method. His call for an ecumenical approach to fight authoritarianism stems for the teaching he received at St Augustine, Canterbury. This helps us to understand why Luwum's model of non-violence resistant was based on support across an ecumenical range rather than from the Anglican Church where he ministered. It was at St Augustines' that Luwum was also introduced to the writing and works of Rudolf Bultmann. Bultmann was a member of the confessing church in Germany and critical towards National Socialism as championed by Adolf Hitler. He spoke out against the mistreatment of Jews, against nationalistic excesses and against the dismissal of non-Aryan Christian ministers (Bultmann 1957:21). The teachings of Bultmann immensely influenced Luwum for it helped him to understand the theology of non-violence in a broader way. This underlined Luwum's stance against racism and oppression.

Some of the reasons why Luwum was attracted to the teaching and the writing of Bultmann is because, Bultmann drew his teaching from the New Testament and particularly from the faith of the apostles who looked back at the cross of Jesus, new life in Christ, the belief that it was the world which was dying, not God who was dead (Bultmann 1952:54). At first Luwum was shocked by the way Bultmann demythologizing the Bible but finally he was convinced that whether one accepts it or not, there is a fundamental point he had raised. When Luwum returned to Uganda in 1959 he was sent to Lira Palwo Parish in the east of Acholi. With only a bicycle, for transport he was ministering twenty four congregations and this presented him with a great challenge. He realised that the studies at St Augustine were relevant to his ministry because it enlightened him more on Anglican Christianity, state machineries, issues of injustice, brevity, insistence on proper discipline on both private and public matters and non-violence resistance.

2.11 Luwum: Studies at the London *College of Divinity*

When Uganda became independent in 1962, Luwum was posted to Buwalasi Theological College as vice principal. He stayed there for one year and then he left Uganda for England where he was awarded a bursary to study for two years at the London College of Divinity. Here, Luwum was introduced to contemporary western Christian theologians such as Tillich, Barth, Brunner, Feuerbach, Taylor, and Altizer. He also conducted more research on the work of Bultmann. Because of his urge to contextualize the gospel in Africa, Luwum admired the work of Paul Tillich. Tillich a German-born theologian and a philosopher, applied metaphorical forms to make the logic of Christian faith accessible to his fellow contemporaries (Tillich 1951:1-6). In this approach he proposed the metaphor of sin as the denial of one's courage, instead of interpreting sin as alienation from God (Tillich 1951:1-6, 66-8). He further replaces the metaphor of "God-in-heaven" with the metaphor of "God-the-Ground-of Being"; and rather than "Faith as belief in God he proposed "Faith as Ultimate Concern" (Tillich 1951:1-6, 66-8). Perhaps Luwum admired the work of Tillich because his views resonated well with the *Balokole* theology.

Also at London College of Divinity Luwum came to admire the work of Martin Luther King Jr and his non-violence resistant method. Luwum learnt that the central point of King's philosophy of non-violent resistance rested on the fact that it prevents physical violence and the "internal violence of spirit" (King 1963a: 25). He also learnt that King (1963a:24) contended that "the bitterness and

hate are absent from the resister's mind" this because bitterness and hatred are replaced by love of God and humanity. In other words, King (1958:3) believed that any person who accepts the evil passively is "as much involved in it as someone who helps to perpetuate it." For this reason, King (1963b: 4) appealed to every community to resist evil and argues that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." He thus argued that people should organise themselves and work for a just society:

We must pray unceasingly for racial justice but we must also use our minds to develop a programme, organise ourselves into mass non-violence action, and employ every resource of our bodies and souls to bring an end to racial injustice. We must pray unrelentingly for economic justice, but we must work diligently to bring into being those social changes that makes for a better distribution of wealth within our nation and the underdeveloped countries of the world (1963b: 27).

Certainly, his studies in London College of Divinity set him on a new path of discovery that the church is called to proclaim total liberation (salvation) of the whole person which includes the body, the soul and spirit. The subjects that had a profound effect in transforming his theological thinking were the history of the Reformation, Church and society; New and Old Testament theology, Systematic theology; Anglicanism; Hebrew and Greek and Christian and social transformation among others. After finishing his studies in 1965 he returned to Uganda and became the principle of Buwalasi Theological College.

2.13 Luwum as a Provincial Secretary of the Anglican Church of Uganda.

In September 1966 Luwum was elevated to the position of administrator of the whole Anglican Church of Uganda. In this post of Provincial Secretary of the Anglican Church of Uganda his task was to coordinate the whole Anglican Province. It was when he was Provincial Secretary that he initiated refugee program and started catering for Rwandan refugees. He also founded scholarships for those refugees who were joining the university or colleges (Choate 1991:125). By 1967 Luwum had pioneered the first ten-year development plan for the Church of Uganda. This plan included the building of a multi-storey Church House which is a piece of commercial real estate located on prime property on Kampala Road, in Kampala, Uganda's capital, (Choate 1991:125). His aim was to empower the Church of Uganda to become self-sustaining, and to empower the pastors through pension scheme projects.

Another major event that greatly influenced Luwum was his relationship with John Henry Okullu of Kenya who introduced him to political theology. Okullu¹² who later became a national figure in Kenya was living in Uganda where he was ordained as an Anglican Priest. After studying at Virginia Seminary he became the editor of the Anglican Church of Uganda newspaper entitled, *The New Day*. He took over the editorship of *The New Day* at the end of 1966, although he was concerned that his nationality as a Kenyan could become an issue when he started addressing issues related with the Obote's government (Okullu 1997a:40). At that time Okullu was the only priest with a degree in theology in the whole of the Anglican Church of Uganda and so he was greatly respected. Okullu, and Luwum became friends and they teamed up to challenge the issues affecting the community. In this case, they expressed their view through preaching and through publications (Okullu 1997a: 45). For instance in his book *Church and state in East Africa* which he wrote in 1974 Okullu explored the issue of church and politics and demonstrated how the Christians should be involved in socio- political issues.

This book influenced and convinced Luwum that there is need for the Anglican Church to be involved in socio-economic and political issues in Uganda. Okullu later wrote a book titled *Church and State in Nation building and Human Development* (1984) in which he defines the biblical basis for the church's interference in politics as a quest for justice. He also discusses the issue of society and the implication of justice in nation building. For Okullu the church is,

... Not here merely to convert souls. The church must be the mouthpiece for those who cannot speak for themselves on political, economic and other issues (1997a:48).

When Luwum took over the post of Provincial Secretary, the Anglican Church of Uganda was embroiled in a fierce campaign to elect the first African Archbishop to replace Leslie Brown. In the broader society a civil war was looming between the Central government led by Dr Milton Obote and the Kingdom of Buganda (Okullu 1997a:40).

In the 1950's as the spirit of nationalism had swept through Uganda, a major question that remained unresolved was the place of the Kabaka (King of Buganda) in an independent Uganda (Uweche 1991:49-66). The Kabaka was also perceived to be the father of the Anglican Church of Uganda for it was through the Kabaka kingdom that the Anglican Church spread to the other places. The two

¹² Okullu was a national figure who wrote several books and later held an important ecclesiastical position both locally and internationally. He became Bishop in 1974 and was the Chairman of the National Council of churches of Kenya (1989-1990), Chairman of the National ecumenical Civil Education Programme, a member of Unit Two on justice and peace of WCC, President of World Conference on Religion and Peace, Africa Region and Chairman of the Commission of human Right of the Africa Conference of Human Right among others.

leading politicians, Apollo Milton Obote and Benedicto Kiwanuka and their parties, Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and the Democratic Party (DP), respectively sought to strike a deal with the Kabaka Mutesa and his party Kabaka Yekka (KY). Obote, the shrewder politician of the two, offered Kabaka Edward Mutesa II the position of head of state in return for his position as prime minister, upon independence. He proposed a coalition government between the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and Kabaka Yekka (KY) (Okullu 1997a:40-43). In 1966 Obote's army, led by Idi Amin, descended upon Lubiri (Mutesa's palace) and destroyed it. Disguised as a Catholic Priest, the Kabaka escaped and fled to England. Obote proceeded to abolish the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Busoga and all other ethnic entities everywhere in Uganda (Okullu 1997a:43). Ford observes that,

The undignified departure of their beloved Kabaka had dealt a second mortifying blow on the whole Baganda tribe which alienated them from Church and State. It was not altogether surprising that Dr Obote's partnership with the Kabaka was short lived and ended as it did, in May 1966, with the Kabaka narrowly escaping with his life after the attack on his palace and seeking refuge with a friend in England. Dr Obote seized the presidency and democracy was thrown to the winds. He relied increasingly on his army to help him wield the power he needed to rule Uganda. He alienated the whole of the Baganda tribe. He was afraid to travel in Buganda without an armed escort. But always at the back of his mind was the comforting thought that his army contained large numbers of his own fellow Langi and Acholi tribesmen and he knew he could count on their loyalty if the Baganda tried to take control (1978:35).

Having destroyed all the kingdoms and expelled Mutesa, Obote then proceeded to declare Uganda a one-party state and banned all opposition parties (Ewechue 1991:13). This incident prompted Luwum to condemn Obote's act while his friend Okullu wrote a contemptuous editorial in *The New Day*. Both Luwum and Okullu accused Obote of intending to introduce dictatorship in Uganda. This caused a major uproar in the Ugandan parliament (Okullu 1997a:46).

To create fear, Obote sent his soldiers to brutalise the people, particularly the Baganda. This forced Luwum to team up with Okullu, Yona Okoth and Sabiti to go to the parliamentary building in Kampala to meet Obote and to protest against the atrocities of soldiers molesting, robbing and committing all kind of torture against the innocent people (Okullu 1997a:46). In 1965 Obote and Amin were implicated in a deal to smuggle ivory and gold into Uganda from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Okullu 1997a:46). The deal, as later alleged by General Nicholas Olenga, an associate of the former Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba, was part of an arrangement to help troops opposed to the Congolese government trade ivory and gold for arms supplies secretly smuggled to them by Amin (Okullu 1997a:47). In 1966, Parliament demanded an investigation and

it was during this time that Obote imposed a new constitution abolishing the ceremonial presidency which was held by Kabaka Mutesa and declared himself executive president (Okullu 1997a:47). After this he promoted Amin to the position of colonel and army commander.

From the above we note that Luwums' family had a strong relationship with the family of Okullu. When Luwum was murdered by Idi Amin Dada in July 1977, Luwum's family and other Anglican Priests took refuge in Okullu's house at Kisumu until Amin was removed from power. This compelled Idi Amin Dada to put a price on Okullu's head hence saying, "if Okullu steps into Uganda he will be arrested and tried by military tribunal" (Okullu 1997a:95-96). By then Okullu had left Uganda and was the bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Maseno West in Kenya. During this time the Anglican Church was faced with a major problem of leadership. The Archbishop Leslie Brown influenced the appointment of his successor, Bishop Eric Sabiti rather than Bishop Danstun Nsubaga who was a Muganda and popular with the people (Ewechue 1991:13). Bishop Brown was disenchanted with the Baganda who, before independence sought ascendancy both in church and state. The Baganda had in turn accused him of conspiring with the British governor and Obote to deport Kabaka to the United Kingdom (Ewechue 1991:16). As a result, the Baganda reject the leadership of newly appointed Archbishop, making his work difficult. For instance, Bishop Nsubaga refused to vacate the Archbishop's official residence in Namirembe and the Archbishop had to operate the province from Fort Portal in Ruwenzori.

Archbishop Brown was a strong supporter of UPC and KY and when the coalition won the election he was the first to congratulate Obote and invited him to a "Thanksgiving Service" for the National Assembly (*Uganda Argus* 16th February 1962:4). Similarly, three months later in July 1962, Obote was again invited to a service by Archbishop Brown and in his opening speech he asked Obote to recognise the Anglican Church of Uganda as the "Official Church." In his reply Obote said "Under the new Constitution it was not possible to recognise the Church as the official Church" but he promised to work together with church leaders (*Uganda Argus* 16th July 1962). When Brown announced his resignation in 1964 the Buganda felt that they could now take over the Anglican Church leadership.

In the debate over who would be the next Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda, Buganda found themselves encircled in a manner reminiscent of the UPC encirclement of Buganda before the UPC-KY alliance. The chairman of the Namirembe Diocesan Christian Association, Mr. K.

Wamala, wrote an open letter to Archbishop Brown calling for a separate Episcopal Province when became clear that there is a possibility of a non-Buganda being appointed as Archbishop. Wamala argued that the Baganda Christians have been discriminated against.¹³ However Brown rejected this and argued that to avoid tribalism in the Church they must elect an Archbishop who is non-Muganda.¹⁴ It was in this context that Bishop Eric Sabiiti was elected as Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda. This move was supported by Obote, but as soon as Sabiiti was elected, Danstun Nsubuga occupied the Archbishops residence and refused to vacate it. The Archbishop Sabiiti had to administer the Province from his diocese or from a guest house wing in Kampala. Therefore, it took the assistance of the Archbishop of Episcopal Church of the USA and President Obote to settle Sabiiti properly in Kampala, the former promised to build a house for the new Archbishop and President Obote promised to furnish it. As a result the Bagandas and Namirembe church establishment reacted by referring Archbishop Sabiiti as the “UPC Archbishop” (Mudoola 1996:47). Of course this was confirmed by the Archbishop Sabiiti’s reaction to 1966 crisis when Kabaka Muteesa was exiled and the Sabiiti invited Obote for the thanks giving service. Dan M. Mudoola observes that,

The pledges of cooperation and desire to maintain good relations between the Church and State were expressed by President Obote and Archbishop Eric Sabiiti. The Archbishop underlined the responsibility of the church to pray for all in authority that they might be guided by God’s power in the heavy tasks they had to do. The president told the Archbishop that the government would welcome the assistance of the church and all religious bodies in finding solutions to the problems of the country. The Archbishop said that the Anglican Church of Uganda wanted to assist the government in all possible ways. He appreciated the steps taken by the government to contain the situation and hope that the measures would be exercised to safeguard the lives of the citizen (1996:47).

The Baganda did not accept the above agreement kindly and they reacted by intensifying their resentment towards the Archbishop. The Archbishop’s speech was interpreted by Baganda’s as legitimising Obote as president of Uganda. When he was almost assassinated in 1966, it was Archbishop Sabiiti who asked all the Bishops of the Anglican Church of Uganda to observe the next Sunday as a day of “Thanksgiving for the deliverance and recovery of President Obote (Mudoola 1996:48). It was in such foregoing context of the church-state relations that the Idi Amin coup of January 1971 took place. With the disappearance of Obote, the old political bitterness in the Anglican Church of Uganda came to the surface (Mudoola 1996:48). The Namirembe Anglican Church Diocese under Bishop Dunstan Nsubuga had withdrawn into itself during the Obote years and so when Amin came to power, he was well received by them. It was in such a challenging environment that Luwum worked as Provincial Secretary (Mudoola 1996:49). To solve the above

¹³ Mr. K. Wamala’s letter to Archbishop Brown, 2nd June 1962, (ACU diocesan file)

¹⁴ Archbishop Brown’s letter in response to Mr. K. Wamala, 4th June 1962 (ACU diocesan file)

problem, Luwum proposed that the Diocese of Namirembe should be carved up to create a separate diocese of Kampala so that any Archbishop of the Province could be situated at Kampala, the capital city (Uweche 1991:49-66). Considering this incident and in view of the above, it is clear that Luwum gained a lot of experience when he became the Provincial Secretary of the Anglican Church of Uganda for this position introduced him to ecclesiastical politics, besides having a broad understanding of church administration and the social and political situation in Uganda.

2.14 Luwum as a Bishop

On 25th January 1969 Luwum was consecrated as the Anglican Bishop of the Northern Diocese of Uganda in Pece Stadium at Gulu. Concerning the consecration day, Ford argues that,

It was not just a religious ceremony, but a political rally. Dr Obote's government and the church of Uganda were becoming increasingly linked together in people's minds. This was a natural conclusion, since the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) was strongly Protestant though Archbishop Sabiiti resisted to accept the offer by the government to pay bishop's salaries (1978:37).

From the above it is clear that by the time Luwum was the Bishop of the Northern Diocese, the Anglican Church of Uganda was almost controlled by the government, which was even prepared to pay the salaries of the bishop. In other words, Obote's government was prepared to make the Anglican Bishops the employees of the government. During the consecration service, the Archbishop Sabiiti led Luwum to the edge of the red carpet and according to Ford (1978:39) two children gave Luwum a blossom called *anyero*, which is a special flower given by the elders to those embarking on a dangerous journey. And as they finish giving him the *anyero*, many traditional dancers sang,

Luwum (Luwum)
Lam piny (Bless this land)
Wek pacowa okwe (So that there is peace)
Pi ber okelo (Our unworthiness)
Kaca i Komwa (Shall finish us)
Pi ber okelo (Our unworthiness)
Ayela yee e i yee (Shall bring trouble)
Eno wod nyako (So son of a girl)
Nen lawoko loko (Let live ones speak)
Bako doge (Beseeching God) (Ford1978:39).

This shows how the liturgy was contextualised in Acholi, an approach Luwum used in his other programmes to effectively reach the rich and the poor in the society. This was helpful because the Northern Diocese was one of the poorest dioceses in Uganda and to overcome this challenge Luwum had to initiate various church projects to fight poverty and empower the Christians (Karugire 1980:21). In other words, his pastoral ministry involved social transformation in the

society. For instance he secured opportunities of vocational training for school dropouts. Similarly, he identified and sent highly educated and talented young people into church ministry because he believed in empowerment. Some of the young people he identified, developed and mentored became prominent in Uganda and in the world. Examples are Henry Luke Orombi who became the Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda and John Sentamu who became the first black Bishop and Archbishop of the Anglican Diocese of York in England.

Before Orombi met Luwum, he was a school-teacher and lay preacher in Lira, the present day Lango Diocese in Northern Uganda (Orombi 2007:1-2). Luwum spotted his talent and brought him to work in the diocese as Assistant Diocesan Religious Education Advisor in 1973. Bishop Luwum then sent him to Mukono Univeristy where he studied theology and trained for ministry. After finishing Luwum organise for his scholarship and he went to study at the University of Nottingham in England. Later he became Bishop and then was elected as the Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda on 25th January 2004 exactly thirty years after the enthronement of Archbishop Luwum. Similarly, before he was noticed by Luwum, John Sentamu was a Chief Magistrate in Gulu, Northern Uganda (Orombi 2007:2). Luwum appointed him as a Diocesan Chancellor (legal advisor of the Diocese). Together they started a programme for resettling refugees from among the Southern Sudanese in Northern Uganda. It was while they were in this programme that Luwum noticed his talents and commitment to the ministry hence recommending him for theological training in the UK. Later Sentamu was expelled by Amin therefore settling in the United Kingdom where he continued serving as priest before becoming a Bishop and then the Archbishop of York (Orombi 2007:2).

Besides the above, Luwum was able to initiate projects such as the leprosy clinic at Gulu and the Christian Agricultural Centre (CAC) where members of the local congregations could receive training in Christian leadership training and farming, thus enhancing their skills. At the same location he also developed a modern church dairy farm near the diocesan headquarters. In the prologue and epilogue of *A Century of Christianity in Uganda 1877-1977*, Luwum called for an African contextualisation of the gospel. In order to contextualise the gospel, Luwum challenged the university graduates to take an interest in science, art, theatre, literature, cultural dance and song among others and make Christ known through African idioms (Tuma and Mutibwa) (Karugire 1980:21). In his oratory or when preaching Luwum often used African stories and imagery to illustrate his message.

On the other hand, Luwum attempted to empower the church by initiating various programmes as a way of making the church economically viable (Kyemba 1997: 179-182). In other words he wanted the church to overcome the dependency syndrome which was created by the white missionaries who relied on support from Britain (Kyemba 1997: 179-182).¹⁵ Luwum further started refugee programme where he re-settled the Southern Sudanese refugees and this includes the Archbishop of the Sudan's Episcopal Church. Kodwo Ankrah who worked with Luwum as the founding Coordinator of the Planning, Relief and Development arm of the Anglican Church of Uganda affirms that Luwum's vision and entrepreneurial leadership has helped the Anglican Church of Uganda beyond what many had expected (Ankrah 1999:17).

2.15 Luwum and the emergence of the Dictator Idi Amin Dada

The emergence of the dictator Idi Amin had a dramatic impact on Bishop Luwum's life. On 20th December 1969, Luwum received news of an attempted coup d'état in which President Milton Obote was almost shot. Olok-Apire (1983:45) observes that this created great unrest in Kampala and on 25th January 1970 General Amin's deputy, Brigadier Okaya and his wife were shot in their home which was just five miles from where Luwum was in Gulu. Additionally, Olok-Apire (1983:30-32) contends that even before this incident, there were rumours that Obote had planned to appoint Okaya as head of the army to replace Idi Amin, whom Obote suspected was behind the failed coup d'état in 1969. And because Okaya was vocal and also a critic of Amin's personal bodyguard, Amin was seen as a suspect in his murder (Olok-Apire 1983:45). After investigation the Criminal Investigation Department verified that Amin was behind the killing, hence filling a case against him.

While Obote had issued a warrant for Amin's arrest before he left for a Commonwealth Conference in Singapore, little did he know that Amin was already aware of the arrest and this prompted him to quickly overthrow the government with the help of Israel technicians. Amin declared himself the President of Uganda through a radio broadcast on 25th January 1971. This process was easy because

¹⁵ The missionaries were being paid by their sending agencies, however these agencies did not pay the stipends of black clergy and they did not teach the young church how to support the ministry. As a result the Africa clergy suffered financially (also see Mugambi 1995).

he had already recruited members of the Lugbara, Kakwa¹⁶ (his community), Nubian, and other small ethnic groups from the West Nile area bordering Sudan into the army to counter attack Langi and Acholi (Obote's community) (Olok-Apire 1983:45). The Nubian community had been residents in Uganda since the early 20th century, having been brought from Sudan by the colonial government who used them in their army. In Uganda the Nubians were usually perceived as Sudanese foreigners and in most cases there were referred to as Anyanya (Anyanya were southern Sudanese rebels of the First Sudanese Civil War). Considering the above, Ford observes that,

Following Amin's coup, a dark shadow hung over the Diocese of Northern Uganda. The suffering was intense. The Acholi and Langi were Amin's special target. Houses in Gulu were looted and many burned to the ground in their first purge. Military personnel were given extraordinary powers of arrest and instant execution. Army vehicles full of soldiers roar through the country side going to villages, they dragged out supporters of the deposed President Obote, threw them into prison, or shot on the spot if they resist. Their bodies were thrown over the Kabalega Bridge into the river Nile or left on the roadside. Those who were found wearing shirts portraying Obote's head were forced at gun point to eat them.....at Malire barrack, thirty-two senior Langi and Acholi soldiers were herded into a room and blown up by explosives (1978:48).

The situation in Uganda worsened day by day and between 25th and 30th January 1971, Amin¹⁷ had imposed dozens of extreme and wide-ranging laws, which were referred to as Army Command. This included provisions for "communal punishment, curfews, the control of individual and mass movements of people", the confiscation of property, the censorship and banning of publications, detention without trial and over 2000 Acholi soldiers were killed (Kyemba 1977:152-158). Certainly, it was clear that the reign of terror in Uganda had turned the country into a military-state. For example, the army could be seen raping women together with their daughters at gun point. The women could be asked to choose between being raped by two or three soldiers or death. The majority of the victims chose to be raped after considering their children and the struggle that these children may undergo.

¹⁶ Amin came from a predominantly Muslim Community which is located on the border of Sudan, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo. Many of them are Nubians and they are known to be ruthless fighters ever since they were brought to Uganda at the beginning of the 19th Century as mercenaries by Captain Lugard.

¹⁷ Amin joined the King's African Rifles (KAR) of the British Colonial Army in 1946 as an assistant cook. He claimed he was forced to join the Army during World War II and that he served in the Burma Campaign, but records indicate he was first enlisted after the war was concluded. He was transferred to Kenya for infantry service as a private in 1947 and served in the 21st KAR infantry brigade in Gilgil, Kenya, until 1949. That year, his unit was deployed to Somalia to fight the Somali *Shifto* (rebels) who were rustling cattle there. In 1952 his battalion was deployed against the Mau Mau rebels in Kenya. He was promoted to corporal the same year, then to sergeant in 1953. In 1954 Amin was made *effendi* (warrant officer), the highest rank possible for a Black African in the colonial British army of that time. Amin returned to Uganda the same year, and in 1961 he was promoted to lieutenant, becoming one of the first two Ugandans to become commissioned officers. He was then assigned to quell the cattle rustling between Uganda's Karamojong and Kenya's Turkana nomads. In 1962 he was promoted to a captain and then, in 1963, to major. The following year, he was appointed Deputy Commander of the Army.

Paradoxically the coup d'état of Amin was greeted with jubilation by the Anglican Church of Uganda and other church leaders (Kyemba 1977:152). Similarly, the general population in Uganda welcomed Amin but what surprised many people was the way the international community rejoiced when they heard that Amin has taken over the government. For instance in their internal memo (FOIM 1971:1), the British Foreign Office described Amin as "a splendid type and a good football player" (Olok-Apire 1983:45). To impress the Buganda, Amin brought back the remains of the deported Kabaka (the Baganda king and former president, who had died in exile) gave him a state burial in April 1971. He then freed many political prisoners, and reiterated his promise to hold free and fair elections and to return the country to democratic rule in the shortest period possible (Kyemba 1977:152-158). However within some few weeks, Amin announced that he was suspending the constitution and instituted an Advisory Defence Council composed of military officers, with himself as the chairman (Olok-Apire 1983:45).

In addition to the above, Amin placed military tribunals above the system of civil law and then appointed soldiers to top government posts (Olok-Apire 1983:45). In the same way he posted soldiers to run various companies, factories and mines despite their illiteracy. He subject the entire newly inducted civilian cabinet ministers to a military discipline and renamed the presidential lodge in Kampala from Government House to "The Command Post" (Olok-Apire 1983:45). Finally he disbanded the General Service Unit (GSU), an intelligence agency created by the previous government, and replaced it with the State Research Bureau (SRB) (Kyemba 1977:152-158). This SRB, whose headquarters were in the Kampala suburb of Nakasero, became the scene of torture and executions for several years (Kyemba 1977:152-158).

To save his life Obote took refuge in Tanzania, where he was offered refugee status by President Julius Nyerere. Because the Buganda thought that Amin could restore their kingdom and help in removing Archbishop Sabiti from church leadership, thus they supported him wholeheartedly. Due to the fact that Amin was backed by the Baganda, he reciprocated as mentioned above by bringing back the body of their king and the former first president of Uganda who had died in exile in England in 1969 following the 1966 Civil Strife. Muteesa's body was brought back in 1971 and was buried in the royal tomb of Kasubi near Kampala (something Obote could not have done). In addition to that, Amin appointed some leading Baganda Protestants and Catholics as well as Muslims to high government offices. Among these were Abu Mayanja, Benedict Kiwanuka. Kiwanuka was the leader of the Democratic Party, who was made the Chief Justice. However, this

did not last long because later Kiwanuka was dragged from the High Court and killed for advocating a curb of army's powers. Similarly, when the vice-chancellor of Makerere University questioned the killing of Kiwanuka, he was arrested and later executed in Makindye Military Prison. Like those of many Ugandans who were killed during this time, the bodies of vice-chancellor and Kiwanuka's were never found.

During this time the Baganda refused Archbishop Sabiti to conduct services at Namirembe Cathedral, thus threatening the stability of the Anglican Church of Uganda. Even when he attended the funeral of Kabaka Muteesa at Namirembe Cathedral, he was turned away at the gate and Bishop Yokana Mukasa was called to give a sermon (Mudoola 1996:48). Ford observes that,

It was this rift between the Baganda and the rest of the Church of Uganda that Amin now attempted to put right. He surprised the church leaders when he summoned all the Bishops and Diocesan Councillors of the Church of Uganda (Anglican) to a meeting in Kampala (1978:49).

The above was a direct intrusion of Amin into the ecclesiastical affairs of the Anglican of Uganda. Festo Kivengere, one of the bishops' who was in that meeting and later became a critic of Amin states,

For two day days we sat and looked at one another, and differences remained. But on 28th November, the Lord gave us a message from Philippians. We saw that we were men going up from, each one thinking about his reputation and demanding his rights...our Archbishop, Erica Sabiti and each of the nine Diocesan Bishops, went down in confession of the sins which had contributed to the divisions in the church, and a great melting by the Holy Spirit came upon us all. President Amin has always since then, laughingly reminded us that "he saved the church. But we know that Jesus, the one- coming-down, did it (1982:19).

Kivengere's comment exhibits three things, first it illustrates how the Anglican Church was working under the influence of *Balokole* theology; second it exposes the deep division within its administration and leadership; and finally it reveals the church's difficult position in trying to confront Amin as a team because of her internal and external conflicts. Amin also attempted to appease the Muslims, which enabled him to consolidate his powers within the Muslim's religion (Aviragan and Martha 1982:28). The Muslims started propagating their faith energetically and the Baganda Muslims technically appointed a Kabaka who was a Muslim in hope that Amin would place them back in power. The broader Muslim world welcomed Amin and supported him in several ways which were mainly geared towards propagation of Islamic faith (Aviragan and Martha 1982:40). In this regard, he helped them to establish an Islamic University at Mbale.

While Amin was continuing with the genocide in the Northern Anglican Diocese where many Langi and Acholi communities were being massacred, the world seems to have closed their eyes and ears and as Luwum attempted to address this vice, he was a lonely voice in the wilderness. This is because, during this time, Amin was being supported by the majority of Ugandans and the international community was on his side. Indeed, Amin began to acquire large quantities of arms and when Britain and Israel refused his request, he expelled the Israel community from Uganda, and then turned for help to the predominantly Arab states. Through President Gadaffi of Libya, Amin was able to extravagantly purchase military equipment (Aviragan and Martha 1982:40). Although the world did not react to the expulsion of Israelis but when he expelled all Asians, both Pakistanis and Indians, from 9th August 1972 the international community put sanctions on Uganda. Emmanuel M. Katangole affirms that,

In a dream, Amin had been warned that these Ugandan Asians were exploiters, and were draining the country of the much-needed foreign exchange. Accordingly, Amin gave them 90 days to leave the country. Economically, this was a disastrous decision, as the combination of gross mismanagement by Ugandan business, the lack of skills and technical know-how in manufacturing, as well as economic sanctions imposed on Uganda by international community, soon brought the economy to a standstill (2005:17).

Therefore it was in such context that Luwum found himself ministering the Anglican Diocese of Northern Uganda, giving him the conviction that he had to personally confront Amin for as he said “the enemy has to be rooted out” (Ford 1978:50). At this juncture, the Anglican Bishops and the ecumenical bodies were hesitant to join Luwum in his non-violence resistant method (more on this will be explored in chapter three). And because of the division within the church caused by succession at Diocesan and Provincial levels the Anglican Church was divided in whether to support Luwum or Amin (we will revisit this later on). Thus the socio-cultural institution which should have sustained the national and local Protestant establishment was polarised into factions and this in long last created a political vacuum which was effectively exploited by Idi Amin. As we have seen above, the Namirembe response to the January 1971 coup contributed to this by providing the Amin coup with legitimacy. On the other hand, the centrality of the Catholic Church in the formation of the opposition Democratic Party (DP) only exacerbated the polarization of Uganda (Kassimir 1998:57). This further divided the population along both ethnic and religious lines.

Similarly, the position of the Anglican Church as an “official Church” did not help matters as it was characterized by division in its administration, as well as by the politics of tribalism and regionalism (Mudoola, 1996:27). Therefore, the nature of church-state interaction as working for justice and the articulation of the democratic process as called for by Luwum was further complicated by

unresolved regional and ethnic questions in the country and because of this it was empirically impossible for Luwum to advance the collective will of the society on issues of democracy and human rights. As a result Amin's regime freely continued to killing, harassing, looting and using excessive power against the same people he claimed to serve. In this regard Luwum told the police that "we look to you to uphold the law of our land. Do not abuse this privilege" (Ford1978:75), but his words fell on the deaf ears.

2.16 Luwum as the Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda

On 7th May 1974 Luwum was elected as the head of the Anglican Church of Uganda and was installed as an Archbishop on 9th June 1974 in Namirembe Cathedral. This also marked three years since Idi Amin came to power in a military coup. Luwum immediately embarked on mobilising the support of the international community to fight Amin's regime. Thus he attended the Lausanne International Congress on World Evangelisation (LICWE) in Switzerland and informed the conference of the murders being committed by the government. On another occasion he joined the World Council of Churches where he was appointed to be a member of the Central Committee and in this meeting he revealed the atrocities being committed by the Amin government. This compelled the international community to start calling for sanctions on Uganda. While Luwum continued to criticise the extremes of Idi Amin's regime in his attempt to fight for a just, peaceful and democratic society, Amin intensified assassination of people, while thousands were arrested, beaten and imprisoned without trial (Kivengere 1982:38). In February 1976, a student from Kenya who was studying at the University of Makerere was warned that she was in danger and while attempting to escape, she was arrested at the airport and she was killed (Kivengere 1982:40). As a result the the Kenyan government demanded that a Commission of Inquiry should be formed to look into her disappearance. Similarly, another Ugandan student was shot at the gate of the same University.

This compelled the whole student body to demand an inquiry of the above. Through an approach of non-violent resistance, called for by Luwum, they demonstrated in the city while their leaders gave a hard hitting speech against Amin's regime. The news of the student strike reached Amin who assumed that the students wanted to overthrow his government. As a result he detached the military and attacked the students when they returned in their residence hall. They were packed into military trucks and taken to military prison. This prompted Luwum and the Catholic Bishop to confront the military to release the students. The military chief of staff then released the students and ordered

that they should be given a cup of tea, which is after lecturing them to be patriotic and loyal to the government (Kivengere 1982:40). Besides teaming up with other people, Luwum would personally go to the office of the dreaded State Research Bureau to help secure the release of those who were to be killed. On December 1975 in a live broadcast Christmas sermon, Luwum attacked the regime, accusing the government of atrocities within the country. Similarly, he reminded Christians that this will come to an end because in Christ there is victory which is achieved through the suffering of Christ. However, this live broadcast was abruptly taken off the air when he started threatening to lead a non-violent resistance campaign the following day.

Even though Luwum was preaching peace, on February 1977, the security forces raided his claiming to be looking for arms (*Uganda Argus* 11 February 1977:2). In response to the above, Luwum and 17 other Anglican Bishops in Uganda sent an open letter of protest to the president, on February 8th with copies sent to government ministers, other church denominations, including Muslim leaders and to the All-Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) in Nairobi. This letter protested against the insecurity of the people of Uganda, the government abuse of power and the threat against the Archbishop's life, hence Luwum stated,

We have buried many who have died as a result of being shot and there are many more whose bodies have not been found. The gun which was meant to protect Uganda as a nation, the Ugandan citizen and his property, is increasingly being used against the Ugandan to take away his life and his property (1977 Letter to President Amin).

This was the first time any member of the church had publicly criticized the military regime so strongly. Shortly afterwards, on 14 February, Idi Amin publicized his "knowledge" of a "conspiracy" against the state in which Luwum was alleged to been involved. Luwum and his wife were interviewed by Amin in the presidential palace near Lake Victoria, and after denying any involvement in the plot to overthrow the government, Luwum was advised to concentrate solely on his religious functions. Two days later the Archbishop and other leading churchmen were invited to a large rally in Kampala. During the ceremonies, confessions were read out by three other alleged conspirators and Luwum was named as one of those involved. He was also accused of being a key figure in smuggling arms into the country in preparation for a coup against the government. Archbishop Luwum was not allowed to reply, but shook his head in denial.¹⁸ The President concluded by asking the crowd: "What shall we do with these traitors?" And the the soldiers replied "Kill him now"-hence the Archbishop was separated from his bishops and as he was taken away he

¹⁸ www.ucu.ac.ug/content/view/648/85/-37k

told the bishops: “Do not be afraid, I see God's hand in this.”¹⁹ The next morning it was announced that Luwum had been killed in a car crash.

According to the government, Luwum was killed in a car crash on the way to an interrogation.²⁰ It argued that he had apparently tried to overpower the driver with the help of two ministers arrested with him, and this had caused a fatal collision. However, other sources have said that the damage to the car did not correspond to the official version of the accident and that Luwum was shot dead by security forces.²¹ His body was buried secretly and there was no inquest. The truth was that he was shot because he had stood up against authoritarian regime of President Amin and his Government and he was killed just a few months before the centenary celebrations of the Church of Uganda, an anniversary which marked the martyrdom of Anglicans in Uganda nearly a century before. His death brought a revival to the Anglican Church of Uganda and changed the political climate of Uganda thus he was declared the twenty-first saint in the Anglican Communion in 1998.²²

2.17 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the roots and the formative factors that shaped Archbishop Luwum's thoughts and actions. We have noted that his background provided him with early engagements with the concepts of non-violent resistance method. In this regard, we have seen that the two world wars influenced Luwum in many ways and how as an inquisitive child Luwum was able to understand human suffering at a very young age. The chapter has looked at the family background as part of his formative factors and has argued that the stories and the teachings of his parent had a strong influence on him. We further notes that other factors such as his experiences Acholi culture, early school life, early martyrs, Teacher training college, *Balokole* theology, his theological studies in Uganda and in United Kingdom shaped and refined his worldview. The chapter has revealed that this background and the socio-economic challenges posed by Idi Amin government prompted Luwum to develop his sense of identity and mission in terms of his place in Ugandan context. In particular, his studies in London which exposed him to the writing and works of Martin Luther King Jr, Paul Tillich, Bultmann and others provided theological profundity to his confronting the autocratic regime. Similarly, his ecclesiastical positions (leadership) such as being

¹⁹ www.ucu.ac.ug/content/view/648/85/ - 37k

²⁰ www.ucu.ac.ug/content/view/648/85/ - 37k

²¹ www.ucu.ac.ug/content/view/648/85/ - 37k

²² www.ucu.ac.ug/content/view/648/85/ - 37k

an Anglican Clergy, Provincial Secretary, Bishop and as an Archbishop placed him in a strategic position which positively exposed him to critical thinking thereby providing a good ground for his political theological articulations and non-violence resistant approach that dominated his life.

Luwum as a pastor, a theologian, Bishop and Archbishop was greatly influenced by the East Africa Revival Fellowship (the Balokole theology). Although his perspective was broadened by his exposure to a number of ideas, persons and experiences, through his life Luwum preserved his *Balokole* theology and this help him to maintain piety as he engage in socio-economic and political transformation. As such his method of non-violence resistance was nurtured and informed by *Balokole* theology. The chapter has therefore prepared us to explore Luwum's principles of non-violent resistance from a theoretical perspective. We turn to this discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

NON- VIOLENT RESISTENCE MODEL: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

Having studied the socio-economic and political life of Uganda and Luwum's formative factors in the previous chapter, we shall in this chapter discuss the non-violent resistance model from theoretical perspective. This will help us to gain a broad understanding of the non-violent resistance model that Luwum promoted in his context and which he called the Anglican Church of Uganda to embrace when engaging with the state. In undertaking this task, we shall be attempting to shed more light on how the six principles of the non-violent resistance method can be used in the contemporary Anglican Church of Uganda as it engages in state relations. As such, we shall look at the definition of non-violent resistance, the theory behind Gandhi and King's model of non-violence and then Luwum's understanding of non-violent resistance before exploring the similarities and difference between the three models.

It is important to note that Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr and Janani Luwum, all transformed their society through a non-violent resistance method on the behalf of marginalized and oppressed groups. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi used his method of non-violent resistance in India from 1915 to 1930 when he was assassinated, while Martin Luther King Jr used the same approach in United States from 1955 to 1968 when he was also assassinated. Similarly, Janani Luwum used a non-violent resistance method in his Ugandan context from 1971 when Idi Amin

Dada seized the government to 1977 when he was subsequently killed by him. Gandhi was a Hindu who admired Jesus' Sermon on the Mount; King was a Baptist Christians while Luwum was an Anglican Archbishop. Because all of them were influenced by the teaching of Jesus Christ, the chapter will therefore argue that the understanding and interpretation of non-violent resistance model can help the Anglican Church of Uganda to formulate a contextual model for church-state engagement. The Anglican Church of Uganda will then be able to position herself to address the socio-economic and political challenges posed by undemocratic systems within the society.

3.2 Definition of non-violent resistance

There are many definitions related to the term “non-violence” and many people tend to use the term “non-violence” to imply a moral abhorrence against the use of force or violence. According to Mulford Q. Sibley (2007:6) for some the term “non-violence” is simply interpreted as a political strategy while others view it as a personal ethic which guides their morality. The Mennonite Christians view non-violent resistance as a religious commitment instead of a political tool (Sibley 2007:6-7). Because of this interpretation Mennonite Christians are known to passively obey the state in all matters so long as the state regulations do not require them to violate any of their non-violent beliefs. For instance, they advocate that their members should pay taxes to the state but they refuse their members to join the Army or to participate in any war waged by the state. In Sibley’s (2007:7) contention, the non-violent resistance model resembles the Mennonite approach. From a political perspective, non-violence is associated with the term “non-violent resistance”, which employs strategies such as group or mass boycotts in compelling the opponents to change their mind or to reach to a political negotiation or compromise. In this case, non-violent resistance is seen as a moral powerful and persuasive tool. In view of this Richard Gregg argues that,

Non-violent resistance acts as a sort of moral ju-jitsu. The non-violence and good will of the victim acts in the same way that the lack of physical opposition by user of physical ju-jitsu does, causing the attacker to lose his moral balance. He (sic) suddenly and unexpectedly loses the moral support which the usual violent resistance of most victims would render him. He (sic) plunges forward, as it were, into a new world of values. He (sic) feels insecure because of the novelty of the situation and his (sic) ignorance of how to handle it. He (sic) loses his (sic) poise and self-confidence. The victim not only lets the attacker come, but at it were, pulls him (sic) forward by kindness, generosity and voluntary suffering, so that the attacker losses his (sic) moral balance (1999:44).

From the above we note that the user of the non-violent resistance approach has a clear perception of his or her moral balance and ultimate values for he or she is able to keep his or her own balance while throwing the violent attacker off guard by showing kindness, being generous and through voluntary suffering. Certainly, Gandhi, King and Luwum demonstrated this in their practice of the non-violent resistance method.

3.3 Gandhi's non-violent resistance model

Gandhi's non-violent resistance model is based on the understanding that there is a need to avoid injury and killing (Gandhi 1951:2-3). Gandhi, whose full name is Mahatma (Great Soul) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi believed that, "the refusal to inflict injury does not rest either upon fear or upon the absence of the capacity to inflict violence for non-violence, is a conscious choice" (Gandhi 1951:3). For Gandhi (1951:3) non-violent resistance cannot be taught to individuals who are afraid and as he affirms, "a helpless mouse is not non-violence because it is always eaten by a pussy. It could gladly eat the murderess if it could, but it ever tries to flee from her." Bondurant (1998:28) reminds us that Gandhi's perception of non-violence was that, it was a militant concept which resists evil defies the enemy and yet reaches out to convert him or her. This is what makes the non-violent resistance model a powerful tool for fighting against injustice of all forms. Bondurant (1998:28) goes on to say that the conversion motif in Gandhi's understanding of non-violence resistance is present in all methods of non-violence whether religious or socio-political.

Although Gandhi advocate a non-violent resistance approach, nevertheless, Bondurant (1998:132) observes that under certain circumstances he suggested the use of violence as justifiable. For instance, when Gandhi was asked how his son should have responded concerning his safety in South Africa, he answered,

When my eldest son asked me what he should have done, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1908, whether he should have run away and seen me killed or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use, and defend me. I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence (Bondurant 1998:132).

In this case Gandhi believed that his son is ethically obliged to defend his father's life even through that means using violence. However, Gandhi was quick to assert that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence and that "forgiveness is better than punishment" (Bondurant 1998:132). In this regard Gandhi (195: 17) contended that forgiveness is not forgiveness "when it is grounded in fear and weakness or when there is no power to punish the adversary." For Gandhi (1951:8) God's forgiveness would be "meaningless if God is not capable of destroying the world." Of course, Gandhi was not saying that to be a non-violence resister one must be capable of destroying his or her adversary, he implies is that while the opponent capacity to inflict violence is essential for being non-violent, the capacity need not be sufficient to assure violent victory over the adversary (Bondurant (1998:132-133). From this understanding it is easier to construe that the non-violent resistance model is based on courage and in his own words, Gandhi affirms that,

The non-violent person is not one who is afraid to fight, even when the odds are against him or her. He is a person of courage who chooses to be non-violent out of conviction, not out of fear (1951:8).

Bondurant (1998:132) observes that Gandhi's formulation of non-violent resistance is influenced by the religious principles of *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* is a Sanskrit word which is composed of the two words, that is, *satya* and *agraha* (Gandhi 1951:2). *Satya* means the "truth" and *agraha* means "holding fast" or "adherence" or "insistence" so that *Satyagraha* literally means "holding fast to the truth" (Gandhi 1951:2-3). It now becomes clear why the term "truth" is the fundamental supposition in Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, for he used the word "Truth" interchangeably with the idea of God (Gandhi 1951:6). In his book "*Satyagraha: The power of truth*". Diwakar argues that,

Truth is not just an attribute of God but also an essence of God. The word Sat, from which *Satya* is derived means, *is* in Sanskrit. This refers to the Being of God. To seek truth is to seek the Being of God and to be truthful is to be God-like. Thus, the more truthful one is the closer to God one is. *Satyagraha* is an ethical method by which Gandhi seeks truth for he was preoccupied with means. But ends and means are interchangeable for him. In other words, the end is the means. Gandhi is convinced that immoral means cannot result in moral ends (2004:34).

Similarly, Erik Erickson (2003:151) describes *Satyagraha* as that of a "double conversion," which means that,

In the militant nonviolent encounter the marginalized person, by containing his egotistic hate and by learning to love the opponent as human, will confront the opponent with an enveloping technique that will force, or rather permit, him to regain his latent capacity to trust and to love. In all these varieties of confrontation, the emphasis is not so much (or not entirely) on the power to be gained as on the cure of an unbearable inner condition (2003:151).

It is from this background Erickson (2003:151-152) argues that Gandhi was prepared to die in the quest of his conviction for there are ills in the human condition which a discerning person must not tolerate. He goes on to say that Gandhi could sympathize with proud and violent youth; but he believed that violence breeds violence from generation to generation and that only the combined insight and discipline of *Satyagraha* can really disarm us, or give us a power stronger than arms (Erickson 2003:151). Therefore, double conversion, then, refers to the conversion of the militant nonviolent confronter to a trust in the one who is confronted. This trust is a willingness to take the risk that the opponent, the one dehumanizing, will in turn "undergo a conversion that will enable him or her to respond in a reciprocal trust" (Erickson 2003:151). The confronting non-violent resister is converted to a desire to "elicit the best from the one who is confronted", while that confronted person is converted to respond in ways that "express his or her own best self" (Erickson 2003:151).

Bondurant (1998:132) observes that *Satyagraha* is based on three fundamental principles, that is, - truth, love (*ahimsa*) and suffering. He goes on to say,

If one acts on the basis of truth as he or she perceives it, then he or she is being truthful. The dynamics in the principle of truth move in the following order: perception of fact, expression of the fact as experience and action on the basis of the expression. Suffering is the second principle upon which Gandhi's system is built. Gandhi is convinced that suffering is a crucial element in the successes of any non-violence endeavour. He believes that by suffering the cruelties of one's opponent one can lead him to open his eyes and repent for his wrong-doings (Bondurant 1998:132).

In this sense Gandhi (1951:56) argued that "given a just cause, capacity for endless suffering and avoidance, the victory is certainty." This is because voluntary suffering occurs when there is an alternative of inflicting suffering on others. Therefore, suffering according to Gandhi, builds the moral character of the sufferer and this agrees with Bondurant who affirms,

Suffering injury in one's own person is...of the essence of non-violence and is the chosen substitute for violence to other... it result in the long run in the least loss of life, and what is more, it enables those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifices (1998:27).

Thus, sacrifice is very important in non-violent philosophy because it bridges the gap between ideas and action. This conviction is deeply rooted in Gandhi's religious beliefs which are heavily influenced by the Bahagavad Gita. Much of the Gita's teaching centres on sacrifice and non-possession of material things as a means of salvation. And as a Hindu, Gandhi grew in this religious conviction and understanding, and hence surrendered himself from his worldly possession. In this case Gandhi started seeing his body as a possession and he thus committed his body to the service of humanity. Thus he says,

It is not a movement of brag or bluff. It is a test of our sincerity. It requires solid and silent self-sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our capacity for national work. It is a movement that aims at translating ideas into action. And the more we do, the more we find that must be done that we expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble (Gandhi 1951:161).

The third principle of *Satyagraha*, *ahimsa* –love- which expresses an ancient Buddhist precept is generally translated as non-violence (Gandhi 1951:161). As a religious principle, Gandhi said that *ahimsa* means,

Not to hurt any living thing by evil thought, by undue haste, by falsification and hatred. *Ahimsa* is not just a negative concept or state of harmless; it is also a positive state of love and doing well for the evildoer. Like agape, it is self-giving and self-sacrificing. *Ahimsa* requires one to separate himself from the wrong doer, even if such separation results in injury to the evil doer.... If my son lives a life of shame, I may not help him to do so by continuing to support him; on the contrary, my love for him requires me to withdraw all support from him although it may mean his death. But once the

individual repents we are morally obligated to draw him to our bosom and do what we can for him (1951:161).

Through the influence of the writings and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr was therefore; struck by the concept of truth, love (*ahimsa*) and suffering based on *Satyagraha*. We now explore King's philosophy of non-violent resistance, to which we now turn.

3.4.1 King's non-violent resistance model

Martin Luther King Jr. ²³ captured the attention of the world when he embraced the philosophy of non-violent resistance. Recalling how it all started, Donald M. Chinula contends that,

On December 5th 1955, King was unanimously elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). The purpose of this organisation was to respond in a organised but non-violent manner to Montgomery's abuse of its black bus passengers. This abuse had been symbolised by the recent arrest of Mrs Rosa Parks, a tired black seamstress, who refused to yield her seat on the bus to a white male. A total bus boycott, which lasted 381 days, was MIA response. The violent response to MIA's action directed at King and his family by Montgomery's white leadership catapulted King and the nascent civil right movement onto the national and international scene (1997:XV).

According to King (1963:12) the only solution that could cure the society's evil and create a just society is non-violent resistance which is based on the power of love. He further realised that the Christian doctrine of love is in line with Gandhi's method of non-violence which is one of the most powerful weapons available to the oppressed people in their struggle for freedom (see King 1963a: 24; 1963b: 33; 1962:12). King (1963b: 55) argued that non-violence is a tool for working against injustice in the society and it is a weapon of proclaiming peace to the community. Because of the dehumanizing social context in which black people in America were living, King was compelled to formulate his philosophy of non-violence knowing that the use of violence could not have worked effectively. King (1986:86-87) asserts that this is because the black people lacked the physical and material resources to sustain a long term violent rebellion if they were to use it. Second, given the above situation, a violent rebellion could have seriously threatened the continued existence of black communities as part of the America society. However David L. Lewis explains:

Viewed critically, the origins of the philosophy of non-violence are traceable to the numerical determined and irreversible social fact that the American black cannot utilize violence on a collective scale for more than brief and infrequent periods without jeopardizing his (sic) existence as a member of American society, no matter

²³ By the time of his assassination on April 4th 1968, King had left a trail of stellar achievements and credits. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, on 15th January 1929, he entered Morehouse College at the tender age of 15 without first graduating from high school. A college entrance examination, which he had passed, made this transition possible. Before completing his Bachelor degree, King was licensed to preach and assist his father at the Ebenezer Baptist Church pastorate at the age of 18, and a year later he was ordained to the Baptist ministry. King was graduated from Morehouse College in 1948, at the age of 19 and entered Crozer Theological Seminary that fall in order to pursue graduate studies in religion. In 1951, King graduated from Crozer with a B.D degree and entered Boston University to study doctorate in systematic theology. He completed his PhD in June 1955 at the age of 26. He married on June 18th 1953 and was installed as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, on October 31st 1954, at the age of 25 (Chinula1997:xv).

how marginal that existence may be alleged to be. Such deterministic judgment is no way minimizes the catalytic and creative role of Martin Luther King, nor does it suggest that his unique interpretation of passive resistance was primarily a function of objectively assessed social limitations. Martin's deep Christian concern with the brotherhood (sic) of man (sic) and his abiding faith in the fundamental decency of his fellowman (sic) directed his philosophical speculations far more than cold realism (1998:86).

Lewis (1998:87) claims that King was drawn to non-violence out of religious concern rather than cold expediency or realism. Lewis (1998:87-88) further argue that because of religious pietism King was never convinced that the black people could achieve freedom through violent means for he believed that violence is inherently destructive and even if victory is achieved through it such victory would be short lived. Certainly, King's non-violent resistance model, emerged from the Montgomery struggle and was developed and refined by experience. In his book *Stride Toward Freedom*, King outlined six principles of Christian non-violence which shaped his life and message. Even though this book was written in the early days of King's engagement with non-violence and even though experience and an expanded ethical perspective continued to redefine King's main concerns, these six basic principles (1958:83-88) remained the fundamental, integrating, constituent elements of his non-violence philosophy.

3.4.2 Non-violent resistance model as the weapon of the strong

According to Martin Luther King Jr (1958:83), the first principle of non-violence is that it is the weapon of the strong. The assumption here is that a person who uses non-violent resistance approach of protest is not afraid, nor is he or she lacking any other tool to use but he or she is consciously using the non-violent resistance method as a weapon which is stronger than the use of violence (John 1982:33). As we have seen above, this principle was unquestionably formulated by Gandhi (cp 1951:6) who argued that non-violence was the method of the strong. According to William Fisher (1977:23) King and Gandhi were referring to inner, spiritual strength rather than outward, physical force when they talked of non-violence as a weapon of the strong. William Watley states that,

When one's inclination is to respond to violence with violence, a strong sense of purpose and commitment to the cause for which one is suffering, a great deal of discipline and self-restraint and strong self-image are essential for a non-violent response to acts of aggression without an accompanying feeling of defeat and powerlessness. Non-violence thus becomes a method of the strong. When one reflects upon the courage of an unarmed resister who faces an armed opponent, non-violence becomes a method of the brave, rather than the cowardly (1985:112).

When Gandhi first formulated this principle he knew that in his Indian context they had the numerical strength to stop the British from colonising them but instead they voluntarily opted for non-violent resistance as oppose to violence. William Watley (1985:112) outlines three reasons why non-violence is the weapon of the strong. First he notes that the numerical benefit in a struggle can strengthen the inner strength. Second, he highlights that the numerical advantage makes ones affirm that there is another alternative which can be used thus giving a realistic method which can be substituted as resistance tool. Third, he observes that since the British, who colonised India were foreigner oppressors, it was possible for them to be compelled to go back to Britain. Although they had no weaponry, their status as the local community and their numerical advantage could have “provided some kind of psychological leverage had Gandhi opted for violence” (Watley 1985:112).

However, in King’s context, it was the opposite of the above since the blacks in America were locally colonised by the Americans. Watley observes that,

Instead of the United States establishing a colonial empire in Africa, it brought the system home and established it in the antebellum South. From the view-point of the architect of the system, black Americans were not the “we” but “they.” The factor which differentiated the black American’s status from the traditional colonial being was that the black American resided in the “home” country in close proximity to the dominant oppressing group. American blacks as minority group oppressed by hostile majority home rule did not operate from a position of numerical advantage. The Indians outnumbered the British one thousand to one. There were enough bodies literally to form a wall against the imperialistic British and stop them from functioning if the Indian had so chosen. Black Americans, on the other hand were outnumbered nine to one. They could not tell the oppressor to “go home” since they were the one who were looked upon as outsider, or at least as troublesome appendages, by the majority group. Whenever American blacks protested or marched, although they were at home, they did so in an atmosphere of hostility, as aliens in an alien land, with whites assuming the role of domestic rulers (1985:112-113).

Seen from the above, it is not surprising that some people question King’s assertion that only those who have other choices and means of resistance that can be perceived as “truly non-violent” (Jim 1971:24). For instance they ask since black Americans did not have any realistic violent option available was there ever a true non-violence movement in America? This question was first posed by John Killens who argued that the non-violent Negro is a myth and that “the only reason black men have not long ago resorted to violence is that white men have more powerful weapons and the greater numbers” (Killens 1965:118). King (1964:116) argues that black Americans were free and had another alternative such as violence to use as their methodology for social transformation however he states that violence is a destructive, self-defeating, no-win strategy, morally wrong and unreasonable, and that violence thus only gives an appearance of success but it does not succeed. And drawing from the lessons learnt during the Second World War, King contends that,

The Hitler's and the Mussolini's have their day, and for a period they may wield great power, spreading themselves like a green bay tree, but soon they are cut down like the grass and wither as the green herb (King 1964:127).

Therefore it is clear that King sees violence as a negative tool for resisting the opponent for he believes violence cannot achieve a moral end. For him, non-violence should be seen as a credible, potent and effective method for social and political transformation (King 1964:166). This contradicts Reinhold Niebuhr's understanding of nonviolent resistance. Before King, Niebuhr had argued that non-violence is a methodology or instrument of the powerless people who are hopeless minority that has no possibility of developing sufficient power to set against their opponents or oppressor (Lerone 1965:14). It is in this connection that King responds to Niebuhr by saying that Niebuhr had misinterpreted the pacifist position for he sees it as a "sort of passive non-violence to evil expressing naive trust in the power of love" (King 1964:166) (Bennie 1976:140; Niebuhr 1956:60). King goes on to say that Niebuhr understands of non-violence as a serious distortion of pacifism (Bennie 1976:141). King's concept of non-violence is based on active engagement and in this case the resister is passive in the sense that he or she is not physically aggressive or violent toward the opponent, but is active in pushing towards his or her goal (King 1964:166). For King,

the emotions and the mind were activated as resisters sought to convince the opponent that he or she is wrong and in this sense it can be argued that the non-violent resister is spiritually active (King (1964:166).

Therefore, King's pacifism should never be perceived as passive non-violence to evil but as active non-violence resistance to evil. This compelled King to assert that Gandhi had resisted evil with as much passion and conviction as a person who could have used violence in his or her methodology (Lerone 1965:33-34) (King 1961:4). In other words, King and Gandhi's non-violent resistance should be interpreted as resisting with love instead of with hate. As King affirms,

True pacifism is not unrealistic submission to evil power, as Niebuhr contends. It is rather a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love in the faith that it is better to be the recipient of violence than the inflictor of it, since the latter only multiplies the existence of violence and bitterness in the universe, and thereby bring about a transformation and change of heart (cited in Lerone 1965:34).

Seen from this perspective non-violent resistance is therefore a just and powerful weapon to be used in fighting injustice.

3.4.3 Non-violent resistance as reconciliation model

The second principle of non-violent resistance that it provides a reconciliation model. This principle proposes that the goal of non-violent resistance is redemption and reconciliation (Jim 1971:45). This is because in the non-violent resistance approach the goal is not to humiliate or defeat the opponent but to befriend the opponent and reconcile with him or her (Jim 1971:45-46). King (1961:4) believed that there is a moral obligation to refuse to cooperate with an evil system, for to cooperate is to participate in one's own degradation (King 1961:4). Even though non-violence resistance through protest may not end an evil system, it will arouse the conscience of the opponent and reveal a sense of moral shame. Therefore bitterness, hatred and brokenness are the products of violence but the fruits of non-violent resistance are wholeness, healing and the creation of the beloved community which is reconciled (King 1961:4). Watley observes that,

If the Montgomery bus boycott and the Birmingham and Selma campaigns are to be credited as victories for King's non-violent ethic, then one must understand that reconciliation, redemption, and the creation of the beloved community were long-range ideals rather than immediately attained goals. After the Supreme Court issued the bus desegregation order, a number of churches and private homes were bombed in Montgomery's black community. Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church was bombed after the non-violence campaign there. A white woman from Detroit who was working within Selma voter registration drive was shot to death on the very night that the mammoth march to Montgomery ended. Although white moderates spoke out against the terrorist excess of white extremists, their pleas were for the restoration of order rather than for justice due to blacks (1985:115).

From the above one may think that reconciliation is immediate, but looking keenly reconciliation should be seen as a process in which the resister and opponent engage one another and this takes time. In fact Martin Luther King Jr was aware that the beloved community would not be an immediate creation, hence:

This method of non-violence will not work miracles overnight. Men are not easily moved from their mental ruts, their prejudiced and irrational feelings. When the underprivileged demand freedom, the privileged first react with bitterness and resistance. Even when the demands are couched in non-violence terms, the initial response is the same...In the South too, the initial white reaction to Negro resistance has been bitter. I do not predict that a similar happy ending will come to Montgomery in a few months, because integration is more complicated than independence (1958:80).

King thus acknowledged that though non-violence could facilitate the process, the reconciliation of broken communities takes time. King was of the opinion that reconciliation and redemption are costly for those who engage in non-violence resistance normally see themselves in situations of conflict perpetuated by those who resist change. Roger Shinn (2004:79-80) observes that the pain that change brings and the threat to security that comes with newness are prices too dear to pay and this is what precipitates pressure and coercion. He goes on to say that,

I do not mean that people in power are always brutal cynics. They may want to do right. But they see issues from their perspective. Naturally they want to preserve old values,

move cautiously, and avoid any damage in the changeover. They are not highly sensitive to the pain of those who suffer injustice and cannot enjoy the values of the dominant group. Loving parents are reluctant to give freedom to children without some pressure from below. Benevolent despots rarely grant rights to their subject without pressure. And moral white people, who do not themselves suffer the harshness of discrimination, are likely to act boldly until they feel pressure from those who do suffer (Shinn 2004:80).

Hence, while the non-violent resistance model is devoted to reconciliation nevertheless there are some elements of compulsion. This impelled Niebuhr (1956:60) to say that “non-violence is not as morally pure as many interpreted for it often resulted in the same social effects as violence.” The same sentiments are expressed by Hanes Walton (2007:82-83) who argues that all violence is not physical and that a kind of psychological violence, committed by non-physical as well as physical acts, does injury to the integrity and dignity of both individuals and groups. And because violence occurs in many forms for it may include economic, spiritual, psychological and physiological aspects Walton, like Niebuhr, questions how non-violence can be a reconciliation model. In fact King authenticated coerciveness of non-violence resistance model during his campaign. Because of the stubbornness of his opponent, coercion is a necessary component of the non-violent resistance model. In this sense King saw non-violent compulsion not as anti-reconciliatory, but as pressure needed to create the atmosphere in which the problem could be identified and dramatised and in which a solution could be sought, hence leading to reconciliation.

3.4.4 Non-violent resistance model: The opponent as the symbol of a greater evil

The third principle of King’s non-violent resistance model is based on the premise that the opponent is a symbol of a greater evil. King (1958:82) asserts that non-violent resistance is directed against the forces of evil rather than against the persons who committed the evil. In this sense, the evildoers are viewed as victims of evil the same way the individuals and communities that the evildoer oppressed (King 1958:82). The fundamental assumption here is that humanity’s problems are basically social institutions in which human beings finds themselves trapped in and when these social systems are changed, definitely humanity also changes. In other words, people’s conducts are determined primarily by the kind of social systems in the world.

According to King (1967:72), the primary strain in Montgomery was not between whites and blacks but between justice and injustice and between the forces of light and the forces of darkness and the victory was not simply a victory for Montgomery’s blacks but a triumph for justice and the forces of light. In addition to that, King conceptualised a defeat of injustice not as a defeat of the white persons who may have been unjust (King 1967:72). Therefore, the above understanding of human

being and evil systems later shaped the development of the non-violent resistance movement. However, the radical distinction that King makes between unjust system and human being leave us with many questions to answered and thus it needs to be critically evaluated. For instance, while institutions seem to be independent from human being and they operate within a set of rules and regulations, how can one disassociate human beings from them? Since institutions cannot survive on their own without human beings there must definitely be some connections between human beings and unjust systems and so it is very difficult to exonerate human beings from being responsible. It seems that King failed to deal with this problem adequately and as Walton argues,

How much of a person can actually be separated from his actions? And who, if not that person, is to be held responsible for those actions?... How is the evil perpetrated by one person to be distinguished from that bred by social institutions and their conditioning effects? (2007:82).

Indeed, it should be noted that even though King wanted to depersonalise his campaigns by concentrating on the issue rather than the personality involved, his non-violence resistance method worked best, in situations where a person was perceived as a living embodiment of the evil system.

3.4.5 Non-violence resistance model: creative suffering as redemptive suffering

The fourth principle of King's non-violent resistance model is based on the concept of creative suffering as redemptive suffering. Both Gandhi and King saw the non-violent resistance model as that which is based on the assumptions about the social and economic power in non-cooperation on the one side and the moral power in voluntary suffering by others on the other side (Gandhi 1951:1-4) (King 1958:81-84). In King's concept of redemptive suffering means,

..... There is power in withdrawing support from an evil or exploiting structure... that opponents are human beings..to be respected and not violated...and that the acceptance of suffering, rather than inflicting it in others is itself a form of power, demoralising to those who uses violence without experiencing it in return and troublesome to the consciences of those who do not have an obvious vested interest in the maintenance of the system under attack (cited by John Swomley 1990:172).

The above assumption convinced King (1958:82) that it is better to receive injury than to inflict it. He stressed the need for creative suffering as redemptive in which he proposes the unearned suffering thus like Gandhi he said:

We will match your capacity to inflict suffering without capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws. Do to us what you will and we will still love you. Bomb our home and threaten our children, send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities and drag us out on some wayside road, beating us and leaving us half dead... And in winning our freedom we will appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process (King 1958:194).

Looking at the above, we note that creative or redemptive suffering in King's understanding is an unearned suffering which does not need justification, for it is a suffering inflicted upon resister by an opponent. For King (1958:82) the suffering can be stopped only when it is endured rather than when it is increased through violence. In this way neither the personality of the oppressor nor that of the oppressed is violated. He urged people to accept the suffering that was intended for their degradation and wear it as a badge of honour (King 1958:82). When one had learned to use the suffering that was designed for destruction as a means for liberation, then one would have learned how to suffer creatively. Niebuhr (1956:62) argues that although non-violence involves coercion, its willingness to endure more pain than it inflicted made it a better method of producing moral good will than did violence. He goes on to say that "If non-violent resistance causes pain and suffering to the opposition, it mitigates the resentment which such suffering usually creates by enduring more pain than it inflicts" (Niebuhr 1956:60). John Oliver Killens disagrees with King and Niebuhr concerning human suffering as a model for pressurising the opponent and he argues,

There is no dignity for me in allowing another person to spit on me with impunity. There is no dignity for him or me. There is only sickness and it will beget an even greater sickness. It degrades me and brutalises him. Moreover it encourages him in his bestiality (1965:13).

Yet King insists that creative suffering appeals to the goodness in the opponent who is causing the injury. He asserts that,

When faced with this willingness to suffer, and this refusal to hit back, the oppressor has always found that he (sic) is glutted with his (sic) own barbarity. Force to stand before the world and his God spattered with the blood of his brother, he (sic) will call for an end to his (sic) self defeating massacre (King 1958:177).

Like Killens, Hanes Walton is also critical on this principle and he argues,

Dehumanisation can play more complex tricks with the psyche than a Christian ethics of love and redemption suffering can perhaps adequately deal with....Compassion from someone whom you consider beneath you or whom you have harmed is enraging only in situations where justice, compassion and humour are valued. If this is so, then there are only certain circumstances under which people can respond at all only less compassionately, to their fellow human's suffering (2007: 111).

King however maintains that unearned suffering used creatively can effectively bring social transformation. Of course he exhibited this principle with his own life and it is noted that, he was imprisoned in Alabama and Georgia twelve times, his home was bombed twice, and he was stabbed before finally assassinated. In all these tribulations he was convinced that he could have responded by being bitter but he opted to transform his society through creative suffering as a creative force.

King chose the latter course by attempting to make a virtue out of suffering. The approach personally convinced him of the value of creative suffering. Hence he affirms,

I have lived these last few years with the conviction that unearned suffering is redemptive. There are some who still find the Cross a stumbling block, others consider it foolishness, but I am more convinced than ever that it is the power of God unto social and individual salvation. So like the Apostle Paul I can now humbly, yet proudly say, "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus (King 1964:171-172).

3.4. 6 Non-violence resistance model and agape

The fifth principle of the non-violent resistance method is love (*agape*). This seems to be the centre of King's non-violent philosophy. This principle proposes that the non-violent resister must avoid both internal violence of spirit as well as external physical violence (King 1967:72). It also states that the non-violent resister should not only refuse to shoot his or her opponent but also refuse to hate him or her (King 1967:72). This is based on the love ethic which this principle claims should be projected to the centre of a person's life. For King, love produces love and hate:

The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the liar, but you cannot murder the lie, nor establish the truth. In fact, violence merely increases hate. So it goes. Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate: only love can do that (1967:72).

Certainly, King knows that it is difficult for the people who are oppressed to love the oppressor in an affectionate sense and he thus attempts to base his concept of love on the New Testament. Accordingly, this love is not based on romantic feelings (*eros*) or intimate affection for a friend (*philia*), but on the "redeeming good will of *agape*- the love of God operating in the human heart" (King 1998: 46). Early in his public life King wrote:

As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my scepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time its potency in the area of social reform. Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationship. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" philosophy were only valid, I felt, when individuals were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations were in conflict a more realistic approach seemed necessary. But after reading Gandhi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was. Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. For Gandhi, love was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months. The intellectual and moral satisfaction that I failed to gain from the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionary methods of Marx and Lenin, the social-contracts theory of Hobbes, the "back to nature" optimism of Rousseau, and the superman philosophy of Nietzsche, I found in the non-violent resistance philosophy of Gandhi. I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom (1959:78).

In view of this, King (1998:46-48) argued that through *agape* all human beings, even the opponents and oppressors can be transformed. For King (1964:47-52) only love can heal and restore the human family into a beloved interrelated community and only a person spiritually strong with love can break the cycle of hatred in the world. When receiving the 1963 Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, King once again upheld the way of non-violence as a way of love,

Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time--the need for people to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression....Nonviolence is not sterile passivity but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. Sooner or later, all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace.... If this is to be achieved, people must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression, and retaliation. The foundation for such a method is love (Washington 1986:224-225).

However Walton questions the capacity and the capacity of men and women to express *agape* as conceptualised by King having noted the weakness of fallen beings. He goes on to say,

It is questionable whether the ordinary person is capable of achieving the *agape* level of love. Can modern men, characteristically self-centred and aggressive, overcome the qualities and attain the transcendent love symbolised by Christ on the cross? How realistic is it to expect of people united for basically political purposes a standard of love normally out of reach of all but the most singular among men? (2007:45).

Undoubtedly, King was aware of the difficulty of practising *agape* and thus he understands *agape* as the power of God operating within the human heart. Hence, he affirms,

It is the power of God operating within the human heart. It is the power of God rather than human intuition that make *agape* conceivable, operable and potentially attainable for love transforms with redemptive power (King 1964:50).

3.4.7 Non-violent resistance model and the universe as a friend of justice

The last principle of King's non-violence model is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. This conviction gives the non-violent resister faith for the future and power to accept the present suffering without revenge (King 1954:88). While not everybody who embraces non-violent resistance method believes in personal God, King maintains that even these people believe in some kind of creative force which works for "universal wholeness" (1954:87-88).

Whether we call it an unconscious process, an impersonal Brahman or Personal Being of matchless power and infinite love, there is an a creative force in this universe that works to bring the disconnected aspect of reality into a harmonious whole (King 1954:88).

What King intended to communicate is that any person can be committed to non-violence both as a method for social change and as a way of life because non-violence can be grounded in the social or political struggle in which one is engaged. It is from this perspective that King (1954:88) argued

that the universe is on the side of justice. To implement the above six principles, King formulated the six steps (methods) of non-violent resistance which are summarised as follows:

Step one-Information Gathering- Information gathering is not simply a fact-finding process, but must relate to a specific context, people and place. *(King believes in listening and respecting the opinions of other people, whether they were poor people, uneducated or are of a different color)*. Step two- Education: Non-violence's use of all available communications and media to educate the public about the issue or injustice at hand. Education can mean helping people to realize their ability to effect change and to act on solving major social problems. *(Like holding a mirror up to the community, non-violent approaches to education reveal the unique situation and reflect the need for a better and just image)*. Step three- Personal Commitment: Self-examination of all the ways that one may have helped to perpetuate a problem or unjust situation or where one has failed to use the nonviolent approach. *(Developing spiritual and intellectual habits fosters non-violence by dealing with one's own emotions or lack of understanding the truth)*. Step four- Negotiation: Non-violent negotiation does not humiliate or defeat your opponent. To prepare for negotiation, *(King always stressed the importance of learning about your opponents: their religious traditions, personal traditions, personal or business histories, and educational background. Nonviolence always allows your opponents to save face and "winning your opponent over" allows for joint responsibility in correcting the problem)*. Step five- Direct Action: This step has two meanings: the first, to take responsibility for doing something about the situation and not waiting for someone else to do it; and the second, to take direct action when all attempts at education, personal commitment, and negotiation have failed to resolve the problem, and more dramatic measures are necessary. Step six-Reconciliation: The goal of nonviolence is a reconciled world so that we can move forward together to tackle the larger issues we confront as a community. *(This step grows naturally out of King's belief that we focus not on persons but on conditions and if the issues remain clear throughout the process, reconciliation will facilitate the feeling of joint accomplishment and enhance acceptance of the change)*.²⁴

We now turn our attention to Luwum's understanding of the non-violent resistance model.

3.5.1 Luwum's Non-violent resistance model: Introduction

Although he was living in a different time and context, Luwum's approach to non-violence resistance was similar to Kings and Gandhi models in many ways. The non-violence resistance model for Gandhi, King and Luwum are based in a spiritual dimension that involves a way of living according to Christ. Perhaps this is why King embraced Gandhi's principles of non-violence and perhaps this is why Luwum adopted King's model. The ultimate objective for Luwum seems to be more focused on reconciliation, peace and justice built on love, truth, suffering and sacrifice. We start with love which is a common in all three.

3.5.2 Luwum's non-violent resistance model: love (agape)

Luwum's approach to non-violence as a strategy of resistance was influenced by *Balokole* theology and his understanding of Christ's love. Luwum recognizes that love and reconciliation are intertwined and that reconciliation embodies the understanding of the shared dependence of persons

²⁴ <http://www.nyking.org/mlkbio.html>.

living as brothers and sisters. In other words, a person cannot be truly human without the others within the community. Therefore when the Amin government expelled the Asians in Uganda thinking that they could create a prosperous community without them, they were shocked that economic collapse followed. Katongole affirms that,

By 1977, even such essential commodities like sugar, salt, soap and paraffin become very rare or completely unavailable to many families. Hospital ran out of drugs and as the fuel situation became extreme, all public transportation was grounded (2005:17).

For Luwum only love can heal and restore the human family into a beloved interrelated community and only a person spiritually strong with love can break the cycle of hatred in the world. The suffering in Uganda taught Luwum the idea of *agape* as the ultimate means for confronting social and political injustice. Henry Okullu affirms that,

Janani Luwum had a role to play in the affairs of his nation. He refused to tremble before Idi Amin. He faced him. Archbishop Luwum was not seeking martyrdom: and the church leaders should not seek martyrdom. However, they must not run away from it. As the situation worsened during Luwum's last days, his wife, Mary pleaded with him continually to flee Uganda. The Archbishop refused, stating clearly that he had no guilty conscience concerning Amin's accusations. Sometimes, it is said, it is the privilege of the great to watch catastrophe from a terrace. Luwum refused to run away and watch catastrophe from a terrace. He laid down his life for the sheep. It is said that he kept telling his brother bishops "we must see the hand of God in this". He saw God's hand in everything that was happening in those few days before his murder (1999:3-6).

Like King's understanding of love, Luwum asserts that the objective is not to destroy the oppressor or humiliate him or her but to befriend through *agape*.

Furthermore, Luwum was heavily influenced by the *Balokole* theology which stresses love of one another, always walking in light by sharing with others in social and personal issues. And as we have seen in the previous chapter, *Balokole* theology also emphasises constantly ask for forgiveness from one's neighbours so as to enhance love. This is because, the Revival believes that as a forgiven sinner, a born again Christian, a person is under constant threat from the Devil who roams like a hungry lion looking for its prey (James 5:8) and so there is the need to team up with fellow human beings in order to defeat the Devil.

3.5.3 Luwum's non-violent resistance model: Justice, peace and reconciliation

Another basic principle in Luwum's model of non-violent resistance is justice. Though influenced by the Christian conviction of peace, it was also the enormous tribal, cultural and religious diversity in Uganda that compelled him to commit himself to a life of non-violence based on justice, peace and reconciliation. In this Ugandan context, to which was added the excesses of the Amin regime,

Luwum felt strongly that the only means of achieving social cohesion was through establishing this justice, peace and reconciliation. When his house was being looted by the army, Luwum was peaceful and remained calm. Concerning this incident Orombi affirms that,

The archbishop was pushed, punched, kicked and the golden cross he wore around his neck taken off. They slung it onto the floor, trampling angrily on it with their army boots. Then they picked it up and hit the wall with incredible emotion, while shouting abuse against Christianity. Janani Luwum remained composed saying: "I keep telling you I am innocent. I have not offended any person or plotted against any government. I am prepared to stand and die on this true concept." They answered: you claim you are the leader of the religion of Jesus, whatever his other name is. Now pray to him and let him remove you from this suffering of jail (2007:1).

Drawing from the discontent about the atrocities propelled by Amin's regime, Luwum remained at the forefront in organising mass protest and mobilising churches under the banner of God who liberates the oppressed and who also forgives the oppressor if they repent their sins. He believed that the root causes of injustice need to be confronted directly and immediately. In this case he used the non-violent approach as a strategy to convince the opponents directly. He could book appointments with them, preach against injustice and when denied access to the state house he could use any other means such as live broadcasts, writing a letter, or telephoning to communicate his message. For instance, when he was refused an appointment when his house was looted by the army, he issued a memorandum which was signed by all the 17 bishops to Amin. This memo condemned the raids and implicated the state in various atrocities. This document was copied to the government ministers, Amin, foreign missions, the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church and Muslim religious groups. In this letter Luwum lamented:

Your Excellency, you have said publicly on many occasions that religious leaders have a special place in this country and that you treat them with respect for what they stand for and represent. You have on many occasions demonstrated this and we are always grateful. But what happened to the archbishop in his house on the night we have referred to is a direct contradiction to what you have said in public. We are very disturbed. We feel that if it was necessary to search the archbishop's house, he should have been approached in broad daylight by responsible senior officers fully identified in conformity with his position in society, but to search him and his house at gun-point deep in the night leaves us without words....the gun whose muzzle has been pressed against the archbishop's stomach, the gun which has been used to search the house of the Bishop of Bukedi Diocese, is the gun being pointed at every Christian in the church (Letter to the President 1977:1).

In addition to that, Luwum could call the clergy and discuss the current socio-economic and political issues affecting their parishes and through a non-violent approach he could condemn the killings and general insecurity in Uganda. Orombi asserts that,

Luwum was brave and spoke the truth. He would not keep quiet when his people are suffering. Many people pleaded with him and he could only be the voice of the voiceless. He could only stand where many people feared and was not selfish. Luwum had been urged

several times to flee the country, but he often asked: “To whom will I leave the flock?” (2007:1-2).

When people did take part in peaceful demonstrations, Amin’s regime responded by using brutal force to prevent them from expressing their views. Nevertheless, Luwum used the non-violent resistance model to strongly oppose detention without trial, to call for the respect of the judiciary, and to confront corrupt military officers who were amassing wealth through corrupt means. Another issue that he addressed was tribalism, which he felt was destroying the political, social and economic fibre of the Ugandan society. As a voice to the voiceless, Luwum was using non-violent resistance to remind the oppressor of the need for justice.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire (1980) offers an analysis of the identity problems facing both oppressors and the oppressed. Both oppressor and the oppressed he claims, suffer loss of true sense of self through the dehumanisation process and the fear of freedom, though for different reasons. Freire (1980:28) argues that dehumanisation is a necessary and consequent result of oppression, that it distorts, “the vocation of becoming more fully human” which is the only true human vocation. So when Luwum engaged in socio-political and economic issues and became a voice to the voiceless it can be said that he was engaging in the process of humanisation so that those systems that dehumanise the people could be removed, allowing people to become fully human. In this sense, Luwum’s pursuit for a just society therefore became not only a religious conviction but a way of life (Ford 1978:40). Perhaps this is why Luwum perceived justice and reconciliation as both personal and social liberation and in Freire’s vocabulary, a process of “humanisation” which is the “true human vocation” (Freire 1980:28-29). Luwum’s understanding of the non-violent resistance model is a strategy for reconciling humanity and endeavours to bring about justice, peace and unity.

3.5.4 Luwum’s non-violent resistance model: Suffering and sacrifice.

Like Gandhi who grew in his deep religious conviction and understanding of sacrifice based on the teaching of Gita, so Luwum was socialised and influenced by the theology of *Balokole* with its emphasis on self denial and sacrifice for others. Because of this, Luwum committed his life to the service of God and humanity. When he started confronting the dictator Amin, he knew that it was possible for Amin to kill him because he had seen him killing others. Therefore for him to continue leading demonstrations and protests was risking his life. Even if he was not killed, it was a risk to confront Amin because of the chance of losing property or torture, imprisonment or the death of

one's family. Similarly, Luwum could have fled into exile, as some bishops did after his death, but he decided to stay. Therefore, continuing to confront Amin on behalf of the society was a great sacrifice. Orombi asserts that,

The scenarios surrounding Luwum's death were the gift of a great leader, who was willing to lay his life down for his people when he had every opportunity to escape. Between the time he was killed and the time troops went into his home, he could have escaped, but chose not to! He saw church leadership as a responsibility. In 1978, Amin's government got into trouble. He attacked Tanzania and they declared war against him. I believe if Luwum had not died, the political bondage on this country would have continued. His death also threatened some leaders. The only bishop who was willing to take over from him was Rt.Revd Bishop Silvano Wani who served from 1977 to 1984 (2007:1-2).

Orombi who later became an Archbishop of Uganda, was certainly able to understand the meaning of sacrifice and suffering in Luwum's approach to non-violence resistance. This understanding of sacrifice and suffering is in line with the views of Gandhi and King who saw non-violent resistance as a model which should include voluntary suffering for the sake of the others (Gandhi 1951:1-4 cp King 1958:81-84). Like King, Luwum saw suffering as something a person should tolerate at a personal level (Ford 1978:40). Therefore, when he was forced by Amin's government to sign a fake confession at gun point he categorically refused, even when he was beaten, abused and finally shot dead. Like King, Luwum learned to use the suffering that was intended to destroy him as a means for freedom, hence suffering creatively (cp King 1958:82). In regard to the death of Luwum, Gorreti, who was teaching at Kibuli when Luwum was killed, affirms that,

I had just begun teaching in Kibuli, but every time I left home to go to work, I was never sure I would see my family again. When the archbishop was murdered in cold blood..... He did not deserve to die...but today, we enjoy freedom ... anytime and in any place because Archbishop Luwum in a way paid for this freedom we are enjoying today (2007:1).

The broader community also felt that Luwum's death was a sacrifice and a demonstration of his teaching about self-sacrifice and suffering (Ankran 1999:17). Amin's regime was faced with this reality when they took Luwum's body away in a sealed coffin. The community demanded that before the soldiers could bury his remains, the coffin must be opened (Ankran 1999:17).

When this was done, the community discovered he had been shot, for his body was full of bullet holes. This provoked the community who gathered and demonstrated in Kampala hence declaring him a martyr (Ankran 1999:17 cp Kyemba 1997:180). The same happened in Nairobi, Kenya when

a group of over 10,000 people gathered, demanding justice to be done. The climax was reached when over 25,000 Ugandans came to Kampala to celebrate the centennial of the first preaching of the Gospel in their country. Among the participants were many who had abandoned Christianity, but who had returned to their faith as a result of seeing the courage and sacrifice of Archbishop Luwum and his companions in the face of death. Touched by Luwum's sacrifice and suffering, the Anglican Communion declared him a saint and prayers for him included in the Anglican Prayer Book, including the prayers of obedience, suffering and sacrifice as transcribed below;²⁵

(Obedience unto death: God, by whose providence the blood of the martyrs is the seed Of the Church: Grant that we who remember before you blessed Janani, Archbishop and Martyr in Uganda, may, like him, be steadfast in our faith in Jesus Christ, to whom he gave obedience, even to death, and by his sacrifice brought forth a plentiful harvest; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit, one God, forever and ever. Amen) (New version) (BCP 2006:8).

(Suffering in Christ: Almighty God, who gave to your servant Janani Luwum and his Companions boldness to confess the Name of our Savior Jesus Christ before the rulers of this world, and courage to die for this faith: Grant that we may always be ready to give a reason for the hope that is in us, and to suffer gladly for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ; who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit, one God, forever and ever. Amen) (New version) (BCP 2006:8).

These prayers thus contain the idea of suffering, sacrifice and obedience which are the core elements in Luwum's model of non-violent resistance. Luwum realised that human suffering and sacrifice reveals God's victorious demonstration in setting those who are oppressed free. For Luwum, all the Ugandans who had been victimised and oppressed would receive God's victory after the downfall of the autocratic regime (Kyemba 1997:182).

3.6. Luwum's non-violent resistance model: The similarities with King's model

As theologians of reconciliation, King and Luwum offer substantial insight into how the work of God in Jesus Christ goes beyond the sphere of individual moral reflection. Though emerging from different religious, cultural and social realities, King and Luwum were strikingly similar in life and thought. Both were pastors and committed church leaders. There was no clear distinction for King and Luwum between the ecclesia, as the church established by and for Christ, and the ways in which persons are to live together with their neighbours in the world. Similarly both asserted that the mission of the church is to show the world how God desires for humans to live together in a community.

²⁵ <http://justice.anglican.org/resources/101/html>.

What King and Luwum observed is that the Christian church, as with the wider social order, is integrated in a fallen sinful condition. Hence, the destiny of the Christian Church community was intertwined with the wider social, political and economic dimension of human life. There is an unavoidable relationship between the Christian community and socio-economic problems. Specifically, both see the task of the Christian church as to be God's agent of justice, peace, reconciliation and restoration. Like Gandhi and King, Luwum's theology emerged from the non-violent struggle for justice and peace. It sprang from the poverty and atrocities created by authoritarian governments of Obote and Amin aimed to search for justice, liberation, truth and peace. Like Gandhi and King, Luwum believed that non-violence is not just a tactic but a way of life, a way of living in God's reign here and now in this present world. Most significantly, although influenced by *Balokole* theology, Luwum like King realized that the practice of non-violence is modelled on the teaching of Jesus.

The love for and worth of humanity as divinely given is what informed both Luwum and King. For King, racial segregation opposed the reality and actualisation of the beloved community because it denied the possibility of human fellowship and for Luwum the autocracy and tribalism did the same. Both King and Luwum realised that the above vices militated against God's vision of justice and human dignity. Reconciliation for King involved integration and the creation of a society where barriers of separation are no longer present and for Luwum this was to be achieved by the removal of the oppressive, political and social systems. For King, his vision was not just desegregation, but full integration to create the beloved community:

Desegregation results in a condition where "elbows are together and hearts apart". It gives us social togetherness and spiritual apartness. It leaves us with a stagnant equality of sameness rather than a constructive equality of oneness (1963:4).

In the thought and life of King and Luwum we find that reconciliation ultimately means both personal and social liberation. King's conception of the beloved community which was also informed by his intellectual, spiritual and social quest for justice brought together reconciliation and liberation in a way genuine to the Christian faith. Both King and Luwum applied love, forgiveness and suffering in their method of non-violent resistance.

3.7. Luwum's non- violent resistance model: differences with King's model.

The differences between Luwum's and King's model are based on the differences in their socio-political contexts and not on the actual differences in content. While both Martin Luther King Jr and Archbishop Janani Luwum movement were characterised by public, conscientious non-violence,

and refusal to comply with law, the goals of the two movements were different. For instance, Luwum (1976:22) asked his followers not to recognise an unjust system and affirmed the need for replacing such regime with an entirely different system. An autocratic government, Luwum believed should be replaced by a legitimate government which is elected by people. Luwum and some other church leaders had come to conclude that Amin's regime had taken away the basic rights of the people. King and his followers, by contrast, did not question the legitimacy of the basic institution of American government, but they objected only to particular laws and social policies that they regarded as unjust-so unjust that they felt released from any obligation to obey them.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter we have provided the definition of non-violent resistance and we have seen that it is a strategy or strategies employed to compell the opponents to change their mind as a way of forcing them come to a compromise. The chapter has explored Gandhi, King and Luwums models of non-violent resistance. It has revealed that even though Gandhi was not a Christian, his model of non-violent resistance is based on *Satyagraha*, the principles of which are truth, love and suffering, which are compatible with the Christian teachings particularly those of the Sermon on the Mount. The chapter has noted that King was immensely influenced by the teaching of Gandhi while Luwum's model of non-violent resistance was in turn heavily influenced by the teachings of King. King's sympathy for Gandhi's principles of non-violent resistance was largely due to its compatibility with Christian ethical principles. Gandhi called Christ the "prince of *Satyagrahis*" (Cone 1996:9).

We have noted that Gandhi, King and Luwum were eliminated by the same system they tried to transform and this demonstrates how radical and forceful the non-violent resistance model is as the three men clearly posed a serious threat to their opponents. This has left us with a question: what are the implications of a non-violent pastoral ethic for persons who engage in life and death battles with principalities and powers. The church which upholds the principles of love, truth and suffering will find non-violence resistance model an important tool for fighting the above battles. Therefore, Luwum's model of non-violence resistance will be relevant to the church together with a contextual interpretation of the model. For this to be effective, a theology of non-violent resistance will need to be developed. In the next chapter this theology or pastoral ethic will be discussed in the light of *shalom*.

CHAPTER FOUR

NON-VIOLENCE RESISTENCE MODEL AND *SHALOM*

4.1 Introduction

Having explored and scrutinised the principles behind the philosophy of non-violent resistance and having traced how Gandhi, King and Luwum have used it in their context as an instrument of liberation, we shall in this chapter deal with non-violence from a theological perspective. The chapter will help us to discover whether the philosophy of non-violent resistance can still be used as a pastoral hermeneutical tool in the Anglican Church of Uganda in her prophetic ministry. This theological reflection will draw on the notion of *shalom*, which will help us understand on what grounds the Anglican church of Uganda can support non-violent resistance model from a theological perspective. In order to accomplish this, we shall first provide an overview of the definition of *shalom* and then look at how the non-violent resistance model is related to Christian understanding of *shalom*, which argues against injustice and oppression. In other words, the chapter

will show how non-violent resistance is in harmony with *shalom*, which demands transformation of unjust social and economic orders.

4.2 The definition of *Shalom*

The Kiswahili word for peace is *salama* which has its root in the Arabic word *salaam*. When the word is used as- *As-Salam* it simply refers to one of the ninety-nine names of *Allah* in the *Qur'an* while *As-Salamu Alaykum* is used by Muslims as a greeting. What is interesting with regard to *salama*, *salaam*, *As-Salam* and *As-salamu Alaykum* is that it corresponds with the Hebrew word *shalom* (שָׁלוֹם)²⁶ and the English word peace. At its core, *shalom* describes the experience of wholeness or completeness, often in the context of community. Swartley (2006:28) defines *shalom* as everything that is needed for healthy living and for everything to “be in order as it ought to be.” Nicholas Wolterstorff (1999:116) suggests that the essence of *shalom* is the fundamental condition of human flourishing in all its fullness. Similarly, Claus Westermann (2001:54) mirrors this definition of *shalom* when he states that “*Shalom* as wellness, as being intact, to be in order, signifies the well-being of the human in all imaginable aspects.” This is also in line with Perry Yoder (1989:12-13) who contends that the word *shalom* (שָׁלוֹם) in a narrow sense can be interpreted as the state of well being while in a broader way it involves social, political, moral or ethical and material dimensions.

4.3 The concept of *shalom* in the Bible

Walter Brueggemann (2001:35) notes two ways in which *shalom* is explicated in the Bible. He says that it is both a lived historical reality and a future vision. For Brueggemann (2001:35) this distinction reflects the difference in the experience of *shalom* by the rich and the experience of *shalom* by the poor. He further shows the difference between *shalom* that holds things together in the “here-and-now, that celebrates the stability and durability of the world, and *shalom* that disrupts things”, hence he asserts,

For the precarious, *shalom* can be understood as the assurance that there is a hearer for our cries, an intruder and intervener who comes to transform our lives. For the well-off, *shalom* can be understood as buoyant confidence that the world will hold together because there is a maintainer and embracer who abides and certifies our existence in the face of all its disintegration. *Shalom* is not what we have to do; it is a gift from the intruding transformer and the certifying maintainer. (Brueggemann 2001:34).

²⁶ There is a debate in the literature that considerably nuances these definitions: Is *shalom* primarily a state or condition, or is it a relationship? Is *shalom* focused on intra-group or inter-group relationships? Is the order of *shalom* a creation of the king or is the king judged by the vision of *shalom*? The discussion here is not significantly affected by the way that these questions are answered. See Willard M. Swartley (2006:27) *Covenant of Peace: The Missing Peace in New Testament Theology and Ethics*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company and Perry B. Yoder (2001:3) “Introductory Essay to the Old Testament Chapter: *Shalom* Revisited,” in *The Meaning of Peace: Biblical Studies*, 2nd ed., ed. Perry B. Yoder and Willard M. Swartley, Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies.

Nevertheless, Brueggemann (2001:34) observes that for both, *shalom* represents the possibility and the hope, if not the reality, of the fullness of human life. This is well explained in Isa 32:14-20 which offers a vision of *shalom*. In this text a series of images are used to show the flow from the current desolation to a future of *shalom*,

the palace will be forsaken, the populous city deserted; the hill and the watchtower will become dens forever, the joy of wild asses, a pasture for flocks; [...] the wilderness becomes a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is deemed a forest; [...] my people will abide in a peaceful habitation, in secure dwelling places, and in quiet resting places; [...] happy will you be who sow beside every stream, who let the ox and the donkey range freely (Isa 32:14-20).

Brueggemann (2001:34-35) argues that this picture of security is a future oriented vision of a time of *shalom* that is coming after the current time of desolation. He goes on to say that the city and the watchtower have become places of desolation, but there is a time coming when the desolate places will flourish, when homes will be places of security, and when the blessing of planting and of caring for livestock will not be affected by that which would otherwise be disaster (Brueggemann 2001:34-35). Brueggemann concludes that the desolation is symbolized by formerly productive places hence becoming the haunt of wandering livestock, while *shalom* is characterized by the freedom to let one's livestock roam freely. In notion of freedom, *shalom* is also explained by Nicholas Wolterstorff (1999:116) who asserts that *shalom* is the human being dwelling at peace in all his or her relationships with God, with self, with fellow humans and with nature. Isa 11:6-8 bring to us a clear picture of how this *shalom* should be, thus,

The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and when the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. The cow and the bear shall feed; their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like ox. The sucking child shall play put his hand on the adder's den. (Isa 11:6-8).

However, Wolterstorff (1999:116) is quick to warn that the peace which is *shalom* is not merely the absence of hostility or merely being in right relationship. He argues that even though *shalom* is at its highest when there is enjoyment in one's relationship, a nation may be at peace with all its neighbours and yet be miserable in its poverty. For Wolterstorff (1999:116), to dwell in *shalom* is to enjoy living before God, to enjoy living in one's physical surrounding, to enjoy living with human beings, to enjoy life with oneself. This is because *shalom* firstly incorporates right, harmonious relationship to God and delight in God's service. When the prophets speak of *shalom*, they speak of a day when they will no longer flee God down the corridors of time, a day when they will no longer turn in those corridors to defy their divine pursuer. For *shalom* is perfected when humanity

acknowledges that it is when they serve God and humanity that there is true delight. And as Isaiah says,

The mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; and all the nations shall flow to it, and many people shall come and say “come, let us go to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.” (Isa 2:2-3).

Secondly, Wolterstorff (1999:117) observes that, *shalom* incorporates right harmonious relationship to other human beings and delight in human community. In this sense, *shalom* is seen as absent when individuals are greedy and when they work on structures that deprive society of harmonious living. In other words, there is *shalom* in the community when justice reigns, but there is no *shalom* when human beings oppress one another. This is in line with Isaiah who says “justice shall make its home in the wilderness, and righteousness dwell in the grassland” and “righteousness shall yield *shalom* and its fruit will be quietness and confidence forever” (Isa 32:16-17). Likewise, the Psalmist sees *shalom* when,

Love and Fidelity now meet; justice and peace now embrace; Fidelity reaches up from earth and justice lean down from heaven. (Psalm 85:10).

Thirdly, Wolterstorff (1999:117) says that *shalom* incorporates right harmonious relationship to nature and delight in our physical surrounding. He says that *shalom* comes when we shape the world with our labour and find fulfilment in it. The Prophet Isaiah speaks of a day when the Lord will prepare,

A banquet of rich fare for all the people, a banquet of wines well matured and richest fare, well matured wine strained clear. (Isa 25:6).

He further talks of a day when the people “shall live in a tranquil country, dwelling in *shalom*, in the houses full of ease” (Isa 32:18). Isaiah also anticipates *shalom* in which harmonious existence is to be experienced thus,

Then a shoot shall grow from the stock of Jesse, and a branch shall spring from his roots. The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, a spirit of counsel and power spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord (Isa 11:1-2).

This shoot of which Isaiah speaks of is claimed to be Jesus, as the angel at his birth declared, “Glory to God in highest heaven and on earth his peace for men on whom his favour rest” (Luke 2:24). Zechariah also affirms that Jesus “will guide our feet into the way of peace” (Luke 1:79 cf Isaiah 9:6). To his disciples Jesus says, “The words that I say to you I do not speak on my own authority” but the authority of God (John 14:10-11). And he goes on to say, “I say to you, he who believes in me will also do the work that I do and greater than these will he do” (John 14:12). Jacob Kremer (2001:30) argues that Jesus proclaimed the *shalom* promised by the prophets. Thus, in the story of

Jesus as given by Luke, Mary's response to the Annunciation, in a song that has become known as the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:50ff), describes how the mighty are humbled and how good things will come to the hungry. "With these words, Mary links the promised child to the *shalom* vision of a God who intervenes on behalf of those who suffer". Similarly, in Luke 4:18-19, Jesus explicitly takes up the *shalom* vision of Isaiah 61, saying that he has been anointed,

To bring good news to the poor ... to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor (Luke 4:18-19).

Thus he claimed to have come to fulfill this scripture. In Matthew 11, John the Baptist, who is in prison, sends his disciples to ask Jesus if he is "the one who is to come." Jesus instructs them to report that "the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear the dead are raised, and the poor have good news brought to them" (Matt 11:5). So, John will know that Jesus is the expected one because he is producing *shalom*. *Shalom* is thus virtually impossible to understand apart from *tsedeq* and *mishpat*. Isaiah 32:17 says: "The effect of righteousness (*tsedeq*) will be peace (*shalom*); the result of righteousness (*tsedeq*) will be quietness and trust forever." Psalm 72 links *shalom* and *tsedeq* as the tasks of the king. In this case, God is asked to give the king *mishpat* and *tsedeq* so that he can dispense them to the people, particularly to those who suffer, bringing prosperity to the people, vindicating the needy, and crushing the oppressor, and from this role flows the king's own flourishing. In other words, the king creates the conditions for a peaceful and prosperous life and for the flourishing of the righteous.

Other kings and peoples will serve the king, and this too is *shalom*, since the bringing of tribute means that the people can continue to flourish without fear. Deliverance, compassion, and salvation from need, from death, from oppression, and from violence all flow from the righteous king. Prosperity and the flourishing of crops are connected with the righteous king, yet all this is from the hand of God. *Shalom*, *tsedeq* and *mishpat* each produce the conditions for the other, each reinforces the other, and all are the work of God done through the king who acts in accordance with *mishpat* and *tsedeq*. Perry Yoder makes this point through the use of the term "*shalom-justice*." Since justice is primarily oriented toward the oppressed, its purpose is creating *shalom* where it is absent,

Since material want, oppression, and lack of moral integrity are the opposites of *shalom*, God's acts of justice reverse a non-*shalom* situation. God's justice makes things right by transforming the status quo of need and oppression into a situation where things are as they should be. This transformation forms the basis of *shalom*. Given this connection between God's justice and *shalom*, we shall call this *shalom justice*. And where *shalom justice* is missing, there *shalom* is missing. *Peacemaking means working for the realization of shalom justice which is necessary for the realization of shalom* (Yoder 2001:24).

Nicholas Wolterstorff equally argues that God's love of *tsedeq* flows from God's desire of *shalom* for everyone, hence,

God's love for justice is grounded in God's love for each and every one of God's human creatures. God's love for a human being consists of God desiring *the good* of that being – the good for a human being in turn being understood as the *shalom*, the flourishing, of that human being. Justice consists of enjoying those goods – those components of one's *shalom* – to which one has a legitimate claim. So of course God loves justice – and hates injustice [...]. God's love of justice is grounded in God's longing for the *shalom* of God's creatures and in God's sorrow over its absence (1983:35).

The Old Testament understanding of *shalom* influenced the New Testament understanding of *eirene* (peace) as Brueggmann (2001:35) has tried to show. This view is also validated by Erich Dinkler (2001:95). Dinkler (2001:35-40) agreeing with Brueggmann argues that Paul used the Old Testament and used the Shalom word in a variety of ways: as a virtue, as security, as the opposite to disorder, and as the saving element of the kingdom of God. However, Dinkler (2001:40) differs with Brueggmann when he says that *eirene* is mainly to be understood as the ending of antagonism:

Peace as the abolition of enmity carries two dimensions of meaning, though with no clear separation between them; the reconciliation affects the God-human relationship, giving the reconciled person free access to God; and it leads to the unity in the church of those separated, thus tearing down the walls of enmity. This joining together of peace as gift of God in Jesus Christ to believers, which grants them access to God, with peace as humanity's unity of racially separated peoples in the body of Christ, is constitutive, that is, foundational to the understanding of *eirene* (2001:95).

Seen from the above, we can deduce that the New Testament writers chose to use the word *shalom* to indicate the well-being of humanity and to show the importance of peaceful living, as in the Old Testament. The New Testament writers take an “essentially sociological term and give it a fundamental theological interweave for *eirene* conveys all that *shalom* conveys but it becomes the *shalom* of God” as it is seen in the phrases “the God of peace,” “the peace of God” and “the peace of Christ” which liberally appear in the New Testament (Dinkler 2001:95). Of particular note is Ephesians 2:14-17, where *eirene* occurs four times in four verses. In this regard, Paul uses *eirene* on the issue of the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles as a result of the “blood of Christ” (Eph2:13). Dinkler (2001:95-100) reminds us that the first century Jews considered non-Jews to be something less than truly human but, Paul here argues that the *eirene* brought by Jesus Christ who is our peace,

has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us ... that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two, thus making peace ... putting to death that hostility through [the cross] (Eph 2:14).

In this case the two entirely opposing groups and who were openly hostile were reconciled and made one through the actions of the “God of peace”-*shalom*. Jesus now as the “Prince of *shalom*” is depicted in the New Testament as the one who fulfils God's promise to establish *shalom* (peace) with justice and righteousness. Further, Jesus, the Prince of *Shalom*, is “both the witness to the

coming of God's reign and the one in whom that reign is taking place." If *shalom* is the presence of God's saving grace allowing us to practice righteousness (right relating), then we might consider the "kingdom," "reign," or "household" of God as the space in time where that *shalom* appears. Jesus is revealed in the Gospels as the mediator of the household of God, the one who proclaims, initiates, and embodies the *shalom* of God. Therefore, God's saving work is much more than individual soul-saving; it is also more than social justice programs. The *shalom* of God is mediated through Jesus Christ to every part of creation, every relation, every soul. The vision of the household of God is one of a creation and people transformed and living in mutuality, justice, peace, and love all initiated, grown, and sustained by openness to relationship with God through Jesus in the power of the Holy Spirit. The goal is a future in which the world and the household of God are one and the same.

Having seen Brueggemann (2001) and Dinkler's (2001) understanding of *shalom* and having explored the Old and New Testament concepts of *shalom* we can now look at the broader concept of *shalom* as exhibited by Nicholas Wolterstorff and Perry Yoder. Both agree that the notion *shalom* contains the idea of a human being dwelling at peace in all his or her relationships with God, with self, with fellow human beings and with nature. For Perry Yoder (1989:12-13) the concept of *shalom* entails: *shalom* as material well-being and prosperity; *shalom* as justice; and *shalom* as straightforwardness. These three perspectives are important to our study because they will show us how the Christian understanding of *shalom* is related with the philosophy of non-violent resistance which is against injustice and oppression. In this case Yoder (1989:5) maintains that *shalom* acts against oppressors for the sake of victims and it demand a transformation of unjust social and economic orders. He insists that in the Bible, *Shalom* is a vision of what ought to be and a call to transform society (Yoder 1989:5). As such, Yoder's understanding of *shalom* will help to shed more light on a theology of non-violent resistance in Ugandan context.

4.4 *Shalom*, non-violence and material well-being

According to Yoder (1989:5) the narrative stories in the Old Testament portray *shalom* as material well-being and prosperity as evidenced in Genesis 43:27-28, Jeremiah 33:6 and Psalm 73:6. Exploring Genesis, Yoder (1989:5-6) observes that the word *shalom* appears in the three passages which focus on the state of someone's physical well-being: his or her physical, emotional, psychological and material state of affairs. In other words the material dimension of *shalom* encompasses the concept of prosperity and physical welfare (cf Genesis 43:27-28; Jeremiah 33:6;

Psalm 73: 3) and as Yoder (1989:12-13) argues, it indicates the state of peace or absence of war, disease and famine. This understanding indicates that *shalom* is against dehumanisation and deprivation and as such *shalom* makers are called to be in solidarity with those who are struggling to achieve their freedom from such conditions.

Viewed from this perspective, one immediately realizes that *shalom* is in line with the principles of non-violent resistance as exhibited by Gandhi, King and Luwum. King (1958:28) argued that a human being is a biological being with a physical body and the body is not a prison for the soul as assumed by Hellenistic Greeks. In this case anything which threatens human existence through dehumanization is against *shalom*. In other words, the absence of physical threats like war, disease, and famine therefore are signs of the presence of *shalom*. This is in line with Psalm 73:3 which shows *shalom* as conveying a sense of abundance, where the word is usually translated as prosperity. Additionally, *shalom* in the Old Testament is also said to be present when all families are given their share of land and resources and are said to have the ability to enjoy it in peace. Perhaps this is why prophet Micah says that, “in the last days every person will sit under his or her own vine and under his or her own fig tree and no one will make them afraid” (Micah 4:4). This vision is also enunciated by Zechariah (Zec3:10) when the ancient Israel was restored. As from the above we can therefore deduce that *shalom* involves a state where material and security needs are met, a sustainable situation that enables socio-economic and political prosperity.

4.5 *Shalom*, non-violent resistance and justice

The second element of *shalom* that Yoder explores involves justice. Justice in the Old Testament, like *shalom*, is a “dense and multi-layered” concept (Scullion 1992: 724-736). Scullion (1992:724) observes that the Hebrew word *tsedeq* includes connotations of acquittal, deliverance, judgment, justice, saving help, vindication, order in creation, and community loyalty, while *mishpat* is understood as vindication of the oppressed, requital, vengeance, or the retributive justice of God. If *tsedeq* is used in a possessive form (i.e. David’s *tsedeq* or Israel’s *tsedeq*) the word can be described as the response to God’s *tsedeq*, in the sense of acting according to God’s order in all areas of life (Scullion 1992: 724-736). Scullion (1992:724) observes that *shalom* in the Old Testament poetic and the prophetic literature is closely tied to justice. In this respect we note that the synergy and synthesis of justice and *shalom* is a theme that is sustained by the biblical prophets and becomes all the more relevant as they reflect on the predicament of Israel’s exile and prophecy of a hope for deliverance and restoration to Yahweh’s peaceable kingdom. “Then justice will dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness abides in the fruitful field. The effect of righteousness will be peace

and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust forever. My people will abide in a peaceful habitation, in secure dwellings, and in quiet resting places” (Is 32:16-18).

In this case the presence of *shalom*, enables each person to enjoy justice and also his or her rights. Therefore it can be argued that there is no *shalom* without justice although the *shalom* goes beyond justice. Scullion (1992:725) reminds us that covenant frames the basic relational nature of *tsedeq* and *shalom*. The two notions function in a “relational context”, and are not “abstract principles governing society”. He also notes that *tsedeq*, rather than being a set of rules that govern behavior, is rooted in the commitment of God to ensure that human life can flourish as *shalom* would have it. (Scullion 1992: 725). Swartley (2006:90) like Scullion, asserts that God’s action is in support of the oppressed who, as God’s covenant partners, are the beneficiaries of *hesed* which means justice. His argument is based on the understanding that *tsedeq* is rooted in *hesed* and “Generally, the righteous person in Israel is the one who preserves the peace and wholeness of the community by fulfilling the demands of communal living” (Swartley 2006:90).

Howard Zehr (1989:21) asserts that the covenantal framing of justice is not restricted to the Old Testament and that Jesus’ ministry involved the constant expression of *tsedeq* combined with an expansion of the scope of the covenant, such that God’s *hesed* extended well beyond the confines of Israel. The parable of the Good Samaritan (Luk 10:25-37) would have been shocking to its hearers because those characters in the parable who would have been expected to be *tsaddiq* (showing behavior that is *tsedeq*) were not, and the Samaritan, one clearly outside the covenant for the hearers, is the one person who is *tsaddiq* (Toews 2004:101). In this case, the parable thus opens the way to reflection on who is *tsaddiq* and who is part of the covenant. Mark’s Gospel describes Jesus’ movement between the Jewish and the Gentile sides of the Sea of Galilee, in a way that seems to be bringing or knitting the two sides together (Myers 1988:44). The healing of the *Gerasene* demoniac, as well as other healings, take place on the Gentile side of the Sea (Mark 5:1-20, Mark 6: 53-56). Jesus feeds large crowds on both sides of the Sea, 5,000 on the Jewish side¹⁰² and 4,000 on the Gentile side (Mark 6:30-44). In each case these acts are signs that extend *tsedeq* as expressions of God’s *hesed* to those thought to be outside the covenant. Paul, in writing to the Romans, describes the righteousness of God as rooted in covenant, a covenant that is expanded to include the Gentiles. This parallels the English word for peace and the Biblical understanding of *shalom*, as the absence of peace between nations and social relationships of justice. On many occasion the Old Testament the word *shalom* is interweaved with justice and righteousness. For instance, the Psalmist

cries to God for vindication and liberation from his foes or oppressors. For Yoder, Psalm 35 centres on *shalom*,

Vindicate me, O LORD, my God, according to your righteousness, and do not let [my oppressors] rejoice over me ... Let all those who rejoice at my calamity be put to shame and confusion; let those who exalt themselves against me be clothed with shame and dishonour. Let those who desire my vindication shout for joy and be glad, and say evermore ... Great is the LORD, who delights in the welfare of his servant (Psalm 35:24-27).

The Psalmist does not only petition God for deliverance from oppression for self, but also appeals for the oppressors to be made accountable for their actions and be subject to the verdict of the righteous judge, in other words justice is achieved and *shalom* is established thus “the oppressed are not only liberated but also brought to an experience of well-being and prosperity, and oppressors are restrained from, condemned by and held to account for their repressive acts” (Yoder 1989:30-31)). For Yoder “(1989:30), the divine justice, regulated by *shalom*, is about making right a situation of wrong, rather than the modern judicial connotations of retribution and punishment”. In Psalm 85:10 in which the steadfast love and faithfulness will meet righteousness and peace, and peoples’ well-being are restored. Various words are used in connection with biblical justice. As we have seen above, *tsedeq* is the Hebrew word most frequently translated as “righteousness,” and *mishpat* is usually translated as “justice,” while *shalom* comes into English as “peace.” In the New Testament, *eirene* is the Greek word for “peace,” while *dikaioisune* is usually translated as “righteousness,” though it can also be translated as “justice.” In fact these clusters of words are related to forgiveness. In Hebrew *salach* is translated as “forgive,” while the primary Greek words are *aphiemi* (to forgive, especially a debt), *charis* (gift, grace), and *charizomai* (to grace, to forgive). In addition, *hesed*, best understood as “covenant faithfulness,” though usually translated as “mercy,” provides a large part of the context within which the other Hebrew words are to be understood, as well as shaping New Testament understanding of the Greek words.

The above discussion is complicated by the fact that the Old Testament words, in particular, keep shading into one another. This compels Yoder (1989:23-24) to say that the word *shalom* encompasses much more than peace, and he describes *shalom* as “the Bible’s word for Salvation, Justice and Peace” (Yoder 1989:23). On the other hand the translation of *mishpat* and *tsedeq* as “justice” and “righteousness” collide with the modern tendency to correlate “justice” with current notions of court administered justice. Further, Yoder (1989:23) notes that the translation of *tsedeq* and *dikaioisune* as “righteousness” can also serve an ideological purpose that masks the social relational aspects of the Greek and Hebrew words. In this case he argues that *tsedeq* and *mishpat* tend toward a much larger set of concepts than the English “righteousness” and “justice,” including

vindication of the oppressed, acting in accordance with God's order and in response to God's acts of justice, saving action, deliverance, vengeance, and the preservation of *shalom* (Yoder 1989:23). The table below shows the understanding of justice in the Bible and in our contemporary world.

Concepts of Justice (shalom) in the Biblical and in the Modern world (Zehr 1989:25)

Contemporary Justice	Biblical Justice
1. Justice divided into areas, each with different rules	1. Justice seen as integrated whole
2. Administration of justice as an inquiry into guilt	2. Administration of justice as search for solutions
3. Justice tested by rules, procedures	3. Justice defined by outcome, substance
4. Focus on infliction of pain	4. Focus on making right
5. Punishment as an end	5. Punishment in context of redemption, shalom
6. Rewards based on just deserts, "deserved"	6. Justice based on need, undeserved
7. Justice opposed to mercy	7. Justice based on mercy and love
8. Justice neutral, claiming to treat all equally	8. Justice both fair and partial
9. Justice as maintenance of the status quo	9. Justice as active, progressive, seeking to transform the status quo
10. Focus on guilt and abstract principles	10. Focus on harm done
11. Wrong as violation of rules	11. Wrong as violation of people, relationships, shalom
12. Guilt as forgivable	12. Guilt forgivable through an obligation exists
13. Differentiation between "offenders" and others	13. Recognition that we are all offenders
14. Individual solely responsible, social and political contexts unimportant	14. Individual responsibility, but in holistic context
15. Action as free choice	15. Action as choice, but with recognition of the power of evil
16. Law as prohibition	16. Law as "wise indicator", teacher, point for discussion
17. Focus on letter of law	17. Spirit of law as most important
18. The state as victim	18. People, <i>shalom</i>, as victim

19. Justice serves to divide	19. Justice aims at bringing together

Accordingly, Yoder (1989:30) contends that God’s justice is a “universal justice” to “set things right” and liberate the deprived (Yoder 1989:33). The above understanding of justice is in agreement with the non-violent resistance model which is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. Thomas Aquinas played a major role in shaping the Christian understanding of justice. In his medieval world, Aquinas stressed justice and mercy as two sides of the same coin. He argued that communicative justice is isolated solely to the process of buying and selling while distributive justice may be likened to the human experience of rulers and stewards. In this case he contends,

Whereby a ruler or a steward gives to each what his rank deserves. As then, the proper order displayed in ruling a family or any kind of multitude evinces (sic) justice of this kind in the ruler, so the order of the universe, which is seen both in effects of nature and in effects of will, shows forth the justice of God. Hence Dionysius says: We must...see that God is truly (sic) just, in seeing how God gives to all existing things what is proper to the condition of each; preserves the nature of each one in the order and with the powers that properly belong to it (Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Q.21, a.1, as cited by Hankey 1987:23).

Aquinas’ conception of communicative and distributive justice is very similar to the idea of restorative and retributive justice developed by King and preached by Luwum. This is also the idea that influenced Luwum to construct his non-violent resistance model which addresses socio-economic justice. Someone who takes non-violent resistance as a way of life approaches a person who is trapped in systemic poverty with compassion and commitment to economic justice. In this way, Luwum can be said to be working for shalom when he engaged in non-violence resistance approach. This is because in the economic justice a society is obligated to provide the material resources necessary for human being to flourish. Since *shalom* is against injustice it is therefore part of freedom and since Luwum was working for freedom it can be said that he was working for *shalom-peace with justice*. Hence Luwum’s method of non-violence resistance can be interpreted to be a model of fight for Freedom from injustice, oppression and marginalisation and freedom from slavery. And as we have seen from the above, it is God’s intention that humanity live with joy, in harmony with self, with others and with environment. Therefore, when Luwum engaged himself in active participation in non-violent resistance he was engaging himself in a process of creating a harmonious environment for humanity in Uganda.

Certainly, there can be no peace when people are systematically shut out from participation in economic life sufficient to meet their basic needs as in the case with Amin's regime. A person engaged in an approach of non-violent resistance will ensure that there is work that pays a living wage, access to medical care, education and housing these are some basic ingredients of a just society. At the same time, he or she will empathetically address the spiritual, emotional and physical needs of those who cannot work due to their vulnerabilities or brokenness such as old age, drug or alcohol addictions and physical and mental disabilities. We cannot forget that Christ himself affirmed that he is present even "in the least of these."

Of importance to the non-violent resistance philosophy is how we treat the poor, for the philosophy argues that, the way we treat the poor is the way we treat Christ. In fact the same can be said of how we treat women, the unborn, people of other races, our enemies and the sick and dying. As God loves us so we are to love others. This understanding is fundamental to philosophy of non-violence resistance. Our dignity as human beings is from God, as are our vulnerability and our connectedness with one another.

Respect for these aspects of humanity is essential for right relationship with God and with each other. *Shalom* (human wholeness and wellbeing) will come only when recognition of our shared human dignity leads us to include all in our compassion and our solidarity. It is from this background that King and Luwum affirmed both justice and mercy as entrenched in the character of God. Conversely they acknowledged that God's justice and mercy should be made visible in authentic human suffering. King in America and Luwum in Uganda during Amin's time, demonstrated that justice and mercy cannot be downgraded to the narrow individual morality, but that it must seek to transform socio-economic and political systems that perpetuate human suffering. Robert McAfee Brown (1978:72-73) insists that to know God is not to engage in private piety or subscribe to certain orthodox statements or worship correctly on the Sabbath because to know God is to do justice. Conversely, the sign of not knowing God is to do injustice (Brown 1978:73). The same was observed by prophet Amos, who proclaims that,

Yes, I know how many are your crimes, how grievous your sins: oppressing the just, accepting bribes, repelling the needy at the gate!...Seek good and not evil, that you may live; then truly will the Lord, the God of hosts, be with you as you claim! Hate evil and love good, and let justice prevail at the gate, then it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will have pity on the remnant of Joseph...I hate, I spurn your feasts, I take no pleasure in your solemnities; your cereal offerings I will not accept, nor consider your stall-fed peace offerings. Away with your noisy songs! I will not listen to the melodies of your harps. But if you would offer me holocausts, then let justice roll down like waters and goodness like an unfailing stream (Amos 5:12-15, 21-24).

Justice is therefore seen as the enjoyment of one's rights, which seems to be indispensable to the notion of *shalom*. In this case, when one engages in non-violence resistance to transform the injustice socio-economic systems it can be said that he or she is working for justice. In other words, non-violence in the context of *shalom* is working for justice. When the faith community engages in the work of addressing poverty, autocratic leadership, and health among others, it can be said that they are doing the work of justice.

4.6 *Shalom*, the non-violent resistance model and straightforwardness

The final aspect of *shalom* that Yoder discusses is *shalom* as straightforwardness. Yoder (1989:31) argues that *shalom* should also be understood from the integrity, moral and ethical dimension. He goes on to say that *shalom* from moral and ethical dimension can best be understood in 2 Kings 5 (Yoder 1989:31). In this passage Naaman, who was cured of his leprosy, guaranteed only to adore Yahweh and this put him in a dilemma because as an army general he was bowing to his master. Having realised this dilemma he asked Elisha to pray for him so that Yahweh might pardon him. This is where Elisha told him to "Go in peace"-*shalom* (2 Kings 5:19). From this understanding we realise that *shalom* in such a context entails moral blamelessness and innocence for Naaman did not incur guilt by supporting his master's arm as he worships his God (Yoder 1989:31).

A second element in the moral aspect of *shalom* is illustrated in Psalm 34:13, 14 where the people are exhorted to "Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips from speaking deceit. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it." In this verse the word *shalom* is marked as the opposite of deception, and could be read as equivalent to honesty. Equally, in Zechariah 8:16 Israel is told to pronounce "judgments" which are true and that will enable them to work for peace (Wolterstorff 1993:32). A trader making a business dealing in Psalm 34:13 should depart from evil and trade with *shalom* (integrity and –honesty). This understanding indicates that *shalom* is against immoral behaviour such as dehumanisation and deprivation and as such the church is called to be in solidarity with those who are struggling to achieve their liberation.

Wolterstorff (1993:70) observes that the political dimension of *shalom* is well demonstrated in the Exodus events when God worked in partnership with Israelites to free them from the bondage of slavery. In the same way he notes that the social aspect of *shalom* implies the harmonious relationships which should be maintained in society (Wolterstorff 1993:70). Therefore as a society,

the Israelites were to observe honesty, integrity, righteousness and justice which is the moral and ethical demission of *shalom* (Yoder 1989:15-16). Thus, when the church sides with the poor, and the oppressed and enhances their integrity, honesty, justice, accountability, she is working for *shalom* (peace) with justice. In line with the above, the non-violent resistance championed by Luwum, in a broader sense, is a form of embodied social change that actively and persistently challenges violent and unjust conditions, structures or policies through non-injurious means. It is the process in which “people power”, the power of ordinary people, is mobilized to withdraw support from unjust policies and to create the moral and political conditions for change by leading the leaders.

Therefore as a tool for social transformation, Luwum’s non-violent resistance is an inward and outward journey of transformation of violent patterns, policies and practices. What we learn from Luwum’s non-violence resistance method in the context of *shalom* is that as a moral principle, the non-violent resistance method should be used to challenge dehumanising systems or structures that cause economic exploitation, cultural destruction, racism, sexism, homophobia, militarism and ecological devastation. This is because the above vices are rooted in hate and greed and this endangers both community survival and creates profound hunger for wholeness and integrity. Therefore the non-violent resistance method should be seen as a crucially important way to respond to the above vices. Seen from this perspective we can agree with Breuggemann who affirms that,

Shalom at its most critical can function as a theology of hope, a large-scale promissory vision of what will one day surely be. As a vision of an assured future, the substance of *shalom* is crucial, for it can be a resource against both despair and an overly eager settlement for an unfinished system (2001:20).

4:7 *Shalom*, the non-violent resistance model and redemption

Since life is created by God and God desires to ensure that it is protected and enjoyed, it is therefore important to point out that it is at the centre of *shalom* (de Gruchy 2005:31). De Gruchy (2005:31) affirms that “health is a vital guide to measure development.” Since the principles of the non-violent resistance model advocates the equality of humanity and the empowerment of the underprivileged, then its basic orientation is in agreement with the Christian categories of human dignity, justice, liberation, prosperity, love and redemption which is *shalom*. For redemption involves the re-establishment of human beings in the right relationship with God, each other, and the environment. Therefore in the work of redemption the church emulates Jesus in reversing indignity, injustice, enslavement and poverty in our society. Thus, when the church involves herself in non-violent

resistance she is reversing the indignity, injustice and enslavement which augment enslavement and poverty in the society (de Gruchy 2005:33).

4.8 *Shalom*, the non-violent resistance model and love

From a Christian perspective, people were created to live in communion with God. This communion leads to a sense of well-being and wholeness. This *shalom* sense of well-being is experienced by a person who lives in caring, sharing, joyous life in community (Brueggemann 1976:20). Thus, a community of *shalom* will have a shared sense of life and will work for justice and peace through non-violent ways. Brueggemann maintains that,

Shalom is the end of coercion. *Shalom* is the end of fragmentation. *Shalom* is the freedom to rejoice. *Shalom* is the courage to live an integrated life in a community of coherence. Unity is having it all of us sharing in an act of celebrating what we have in common (1976:50).

Michael Walzer (1983: 31) argues that just as people without membership in communities are lost, so a community without love is lost. What this implies is that community needs stable, ongoing associations of people with special commitments to one another, common purpose and a common sense of life and love. Jesus' ministry was centred on establishing community between people and God, and between people and people. His acts of healing the sick, forgiving sinners, raising the dead and feeding the hungry are all actions which re-established God's will for *shalom* in a world which was and is marked by the injustice of self-seeking.

As we have seen above, love and justice are present within the notion of *shalom* as well as being a result of the common communal identity. *Shalom* faces our deepest divisions and counters them with a vision. Where our world is characterised by chaos, *shalom* speaks of an orderly fruitfulness. Where injustice and exploitation are a daily reality, *shalom* issues in a vision of responsibility, equitability and justice. Our driven, anxious and self-seeking individualism is transformed into a generous caring spirit. Brueggemann (1976:23) claims that God's *shalom* is known only by those in an inclusive, caring community. Hence *shalom* goes beyond justice and it is not only the absence of hostility but it is also help us to enjoy relationship hence the beloved community. As we follow Christ and become people of non-violence, we need to begin among the poor and oppressed, as Jesus did, in their journey of non-violence resistance and transformation. As we join the victim of the world's institutionalized violence, we will be undertaking a true non-violence based on love (*agape*), the non-violence of God who sided with the poor by becoming incarnate among the poor and oppressed. Gutierrez affirms that,

The universality of Christian love is only an abstraction unless it becomes concrete history, process, conflict; it is arrived at only through particularity. To love all men and women does not mean avoiding confrontations; it does not mean preserving a fictitious harmony. Universal love is that which in solidarity with the oppressed seeks also to liberate the oppressors from their own power, from their ambition, and from their selfishness...One loves the oppressors by liberating them from themselves. But this cannot be achieved except by resolutely opting for the oppressed, that is, by combating the oppressive class. It must be a real and effective combat, not hate. This is the challenge, as new as the Gospel: to love our enemies....It is not a question of having no enemies, but rather of not excluding them from our love. But love does not mean that the oppressors are no longer enemies, nor does it eliminate the radicalness of the combat against them. "Love of enemies" does not ease tensions; rather it challenges the whole system and becomes a subversive formula (1990:289).

In this context Gutierrez was asserting the need for a liberation theology which is also in line with the theology of non-violent resistance. Therefore from the above, it is clear that both theologies (the theology of liberation and the theology of non-violence) will need to listen to the experiences of the poor and to those who struggle to become the people who embrace the non-violent resistance model in the world dominated by violence (Gutierrez 1990:289). This listening will therefore spark a deeper faith and new directions for both; it will lead to a deeper liberation, a deeper non-violence resistance, a global transformation for justice and peace. In this deepening, liberation theology and a theology of non-violence will lead Christians to protest and resist every form of violence, oppression and injustice, from institutionalized violence, repressive violence and revolutionary violence, from systemic injustice, hunger, disease, and every form of poverty. Gutierrez asserts that,

The poor, our friends, will convert our hearts, fill us with love, and help us to know the forgiveness of God through their forgiveness of us. As we change our lives and our lifestyles, we will be converted because we will begin to understand the depth with which many poor people love their enemies and practice non-violence; we will experience this love first hand. This solidarity will help us risk civil disobedience to imperial violence and willingly take on suffering without retaliation because our hearts will be on fire for the liberation of those we love, those oppressed by the system. As we join in the struggle for liberation, our nonviolence will become more provocative, more creative, more public--more nonviolent, because it will be grounded in the suffering peoples of the earth. Finally, as we enter into greater solidarity with the poor and oppressed, we will be given the gift of hope. The poor have great hope in God, and hope is granted to those who believe and place all their trust in God and God's way of non-violent action for justice. The poor can liberate us from our first world despair and teach us to hope (1990:300).

King and Luwum claim that Christ is the exemplary revelation of God to humanity and as he worked against the above vices, he demonstrated love to humanity. However, King's understanding of Christ's love focuses on the ethical dimensions of Christ while Luwum's understanding of Christ is informed by *Balokole* theology and Anglican spirituality in the liturgical practices, and hence focuses on the community. Of course King and Luwum are not alone. For many years the Christians

have engaged in non-violent resistance rooted in the love and practice of Jesus who comprehensively and lovingly resisted violence in its innumerable manifestations.

Nancy Schreck (1999:54-55), in her study *"The faithful nonviolence of Jesus,"* identifies three foundational dimensions of Jesus' ministry that grounded his non-violent resistance to violence. First, the inclusive love of God that deems any exclusion as a form of violence. Second, a vision of universal healing. Third, an understanding that God is not a God of vengeance but of radical love who calls us to spirituality purified of violence at its very roots. Jesus' engaged teaching, practices, and willingness to offer his life were powerful dimensions of his active, creative and deeply nonviolent resistance to all that violates and separates. Calling this nonviolent resistance may strike some as odd, given that Jesus says in the Gospel of Matthew, "Do not resist an evildoer" (Matt. 5:38-42). But Wink has documented that the meaning of the original Greek is quite different. While the verb *antistenai* has been almost universally translated as "resist," it is a military term that actually means "resist violently or lethally." Rather than exhorting us to passivity, Jesus urges us to repudiate violence in our response to the evildoer. This helps make sense of the three teachings which immediately follow this text: the call to turn the other cheek, to give our cloak if someone takes our coat, and to go the extra mile. Instead of enunciating a doctrine of submission, these admonitions exhibit the fundamental dynamic of loving, nonviolent resistance. In a context where his audience would have had firsthand experience with being degraded and treated as an inferior, including being cuffed with the backhand by a master or social superior, to stand one's ground and offer one's left cheek creates in the cultural and political context a dilemma for the perpetrator. As Wink argues that,

By turning the cheek, the servant makes it impossible for the master to use the backhand: his nose is in the way... The left cheek now offers a perfect target for a blow with the right fist; but only equals fought with fists, as we know from Jewish sources, and the last thing the master wishes to do is to establish this underling's equality. This act of defiance renders the master incapable of asserting his dominance in this relationship... By turning the cheek, then, the 'inferior' is saying, 'I'm a human being, just like you. I refuse to be humiliated any longer. I am your equal. I am a child of God. I won't take it anymore (1999:102).

Wink (1999:98-111) reveals how the other saying, about the cloak and going the extra mile also demonstrate this "third way" between passivity on the one hand and counter-violence on the other. As he suggests, Jesus calls us to practice a non-violence resistance that is active, not passive; creative, not choreographed (Wink 1999: 98-111). It seizes the moral initiative and explores a creative alternative to violence. It also asserts the dignity and humanity of all parties and it seeks to

break the cycle of dehumanization and faces the consequences of one's action, hence, in proclaiming the love of enemies, it longs to transform "us versus them" thinking (Wink 1999: 98). He goes on to say that it works tirelessly for the mutual transformation of the oppressed and the oppressor and by remaining nonviolent, even in the face of severe provocation, intimidation, and threat; such resistance contributes to social transformation in a profound way (Wink 1999: 98). In contrast to the coercive and dominative power of violence, non-violence resistance can unleash the power of truth, love, compassion, justice, and creative collaboration to change lives and whole societies.

4.9 *Shalom*, the non-violent resistance model and ecclesiology as politics

Fundamental to Yoder's (1994:244-255) understanding of Christian politics is his ecclesiological vision. Yoder (1994:244) contends that the church is a polis, a gathering community which through its "practices analogically anticipates the kingdom." He goes on to say that the church's primary form of political witness, then, should be the embodiment of a new, non-violence way of life within the world (Yoder 1994:246). Further he affirms that the task of the church is to live as the "first fruits" of the kingdom: "the people of God." For Yoder (1994:245) the church is called to be "today what the world is called to be ultimately."

Yoder is of the opinion that the ecclesiological politics enable the church to set an example to the state and to speak for the voiceless. It is therefore clear why Yoder called the church to be involved in non-violent resistance. Yoder's treatise on "the Christian witness to the state" contains his first formulation on how the church's internal practice serves as its primary form of political witness (Yoder 1994:245). In this he says that "the church is herself a society and her very existence, the fraternal relationships of her members, their ways of dealing with their differences and their needs are, or rather should be, a demonstration of what love means in social relations" (Yoder 1994:245). He contends that the "church" in Hebrew (*qahal*) and Greek (*ekklesia*) originally referred to political deliberative assemblies. In this sense, Yoder claims that,

The church is more truly political, a more properly ordered community, than is the state and the deference between church and state or between a faithful and an unfaithful church is not that one is political and the other not, but that they are political in different ways (1994:245).

The most fundamental way, then, for the church to be political as well as to be missionary is for it to embody a particular way of life structured around central practice which might serve as model for the wider society. Yoder asserts:

Christians should share goods with each other, and this economic solidarity should be enacted in communion. The church should be a place where ethnic divisions are relativised. All Christians should be empowered to claim a particular ministry within the church. That too often in Christian history ministry has been relegated to a professionally trained elite, that churches have mirrored ethnic, racial and class divisions that Christians stand guilty of hoarding their possession rather than placing them within the economics of God's jubilee: these facts of history should be interpreted not as shortcoming of the particular practice the church is called but as moral failings which demand repentance, reformation and renewal (1994:255).

Adolfo Perez-Esquivel of Argentina, the founder of Latin America's SERPAJ movement (Service for Peace and Justice), a movement of active non-violence for the fight against poverty and war, argues that the poor of the Latin America and the third world must be engage in a non-violent resistance approach. When accepting the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize, he said:

For this continent where I live, the choice of the evangelical power of nonviolence presents itself; I am convinced, as a challenge that opens up new and radical perspectives. It is a choice that gives priority to a value essentially and profoundly Christian, the dignity of the human being, the sacred, transcendent, and irrevocable dignity that belongs to the human being by reason of being a child of God and a brother or sister in Christ, and therefore our own brother or sister. In these long years of struggle for our organization, the Service for Peace and Justice in Latin America, we have walked by the side of the poorest and most disadvantaged....We have much to share in order to achieve, by means of the nonviolent struggle, the abolition of injustices and the attainment of a more just and humane society for all. It is a walking side by side with our brothers and sisters, with those who are persecuted, those who hunger and thirst for justice, those who suffer because of oppression, those who are anguished by the prospect of war, those who suffer the cruel impact of violence or see constantly postponed the achievement of their basic rights...Despite so much suffering and pain, I live in hope because I feel that Latin America has risen to its feet. Its liberation can be delayed but never denied. We live in hope because we believe, like St. Paul, that love never dies. Human beings in the historical process have created enclaves of love by their active practice of solidarity throughout the world, and with a view to the full-orbed liberation of peoples and all humanity. For me it is essential to have the inward peace and serenity of prayer in order to listen to the silence of God, which speaks to us, in our personal lives and in the history of our times, about power of love. Because of our faith in Christ and humankind, we must apply our humble efforts to the construction of a more just and human world. And I want to declare emphatically: Such a world is possible (1983:136-137).

Perez-Esquivel (1983:137) goes on to say that peace is only possible when it is the fruit of justice and true peace is the result of the profound transformation affected by non-violent resistance which is, indeed, the power of love. This is in line with the Sermon on the Mount, where all the strength and power of the non-violent resistance message is concentrated and synthesized. In this Sermon Jesus is said to have taught that if someone strikes you on one cheek, turn the other. According to Perez-Esquivel (1983:137) Jesus is calling humanity "to change the situation, to act in a different manner, to change bad into good, to return good for evil, to respond to injustice in a new way." He

affirms that the church is called to break the structures of dominance in the society through the force of non-violent resistance and through a personal commitment to Christ.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a theological reflection on the non-violent resistance model. It has shown that the principles of the non-violent resistance model advocates the equality of humanity and empowerment of the underprivileged and because of this its basic orientation is in harmony with the Christian categories of human dignity, justice, liberation, prosperity, love and redemption which is *shalom*. The chapter has argued that the non-violent resistance model is a process for challenging violent, autocratic, and unjust systems. The chapter has revealed the social, cultural, moral and political aspects of *shalom* and has shown that *shalom* is dwelling at peace in all our relationships: with God, with creation, with other people and with ourselves. This is what the oppressed people need from the society for Jesus proclaimed the gospel of peace or *shalom* as central to his mission on earth (Luke 4:18-19) and God is involved in the well-being of the world God has created.

As such, the church which claims to be involved in the work of *shalom* making in the context of undemocratic structures and dehumanizing socio-economic systems will find the non-violent resistance approach to be an important pastoral tool for liberation, democratization, and transformation of the structures and institutions of injustice and oppression which hurt and kill the poor, the marginalised and the oppressed in the society. This therefore invites the church into a life struggle for justice (*shalom*), a struggle which will require a deep change of lifestyle, conversion of heart and solidarity. This then is the theological basis of a model of non violent resistance. King and Luwum have demonstrated on how to apply a non-violence resistance model in practice. This chapter has thus prepared us to explore the contextual interpretation of Luwum's non-violent resistance model and its implications for church-state relations in Uganda, which is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

A CONTEXTUAL INTERPRETATION OF LUWUM'S MODEL OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE AND CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY UGANDA

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we discovered that the non-violent resistance model is in line with Christian theology and is compatible with the concept of *shalom*. Similarly we noted that the principles of non-violent resistance exemplify the ideas of love, justice, liberation, equality, human dignity, reconciliation, sacrifice, responsibility and this makes it a very important tool for addressing the challenges posed by malfunctioning undemocratic socio-economic and political systems. This chapter will therefore attempt to explore a contextual interpretation of Luwum's model of non-violent resistance and church –state relations in contemporary Uganda. The chapter will attempt to identify the legacy of Amin's actions in contemporary Uganda and show how the Anglican Church can use Luwum's model of non-violent resistance to confront this legacy. The chapter will also show how the Anglican Church of Uganda can develop a contextual model for church–state relations and demonstrate how the church should maintain autonomy hence resisting being co-opted by the state. Based on the socio-political context that has transpired in Uganda, the chapter will finally show how the Anglican Church of Uganda should broadly contextualise and interpret Luwum's theology of non-violent resistance as a response to present and future challenges.

5.2.1 The Need for a contextual interpretation of Luwum's non-violent resistance model

Since the atrocities perpetuated by Amin's regime continues to haunt our contemporary Uganda, there is a need to give a contextual interpretation of Luwum's non-violence resistance model. In this case we need to look on how the past has continued to affect the present and how this challenge can be confronted. In his book, *A future for Africa*, Emmanuel M. Katongole (2005:130) explores three aspects of life in Uganda during Amin's time and has shown how these aspects have affected the life of the people in contemporary Uganda. These aspects include corruption and brutal violence, while others such as embezzlement, greed, and politics of dominance, religious conflicts and church silence can be added to the list.

However, Katongole failed to address how each of the above problems can be solved. Indeed, any person who is familiar with the South African situation during and after Apartheid will argue that there is need to address the above as was done by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in that country. In short, the post- Amin leadership of Uganda and in particular, President Yoweri Kaguta

Museveni, have done much to make peace with the past, but Museveni has failed to conduct a ritual process aimed at exorcising the Obote-Amin ghosts.²⁷ South Africa laid the ghosts of the apartheid era to rest when Nelson Mandela formed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which was chaired by Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu (1999:1-4). Effective transformation in Uganda is predicated on acknowledgement of each “ghost” being identified and called by its name thus, engaging with it to deal with it and lay it to rest.

Therefore there is need for the Anglican Church of Uganda to tackle this task, and in doing so to contextualise and interpret Luwum’s model of non-violent resistance. This will help the church to confront and address the challenges posed by these ghosts for by so doing the church will be working for *shalom* or justice which is in line with the principles of non-violent resistance. We therefore turn to identify and name each, “ghost” subsequently exploring how it has continued to affect the Ugandan community.

5.2.2 The ghosts of brutal violence

The history of Amin as a ruthless and brutal dictator has been covered in the first chapter. By the time he was ousted in 1979, Katongole (2005:13) affirms that between 250 and 500,000 Ugandans had lost their lives, many of them through torture and disappearance. The climax of his fierce rule was marked by the murder of Archbishop Luwum, the ministers and Kay, one of Amin’s wives, whose badly mutilated body was shown by Amin to his children and his other wives as an example of what would happen to anyone who dared to cross, cheat on or stand up to him (Kyemba 1977: 152-158). In fact, the killing of Luwum as a church leader and the murder of his wife is particularly important because it demonstrates how Amin’s regime was maintained by brutal killing and violence. Additionally, this killing also shows how Amin was able to make the violence visible to the Ugandan community as a threat to any other dissidents by exposing the victims to the public. This was done through public executions or through Amin’s special agents would carelessly dump their victims on the roadsides, in swamps, forests and rivers. As a result Amin’s violence was pervasive, and was internalised by the community. Katongole affirms that,

...this routine display of violence did, I am sure, achieved the desired effect of instilling grave and ominous fear of Amin in all of us. This fact alone might explain the “culture of silence” and the apparent lack of popular resistance to Amin’s otherwise unpopular regime (2005:13).

²⁷ In many African culture, ghost are said to haunt people if they are not laid to rest. The distinction between ghosts and ancestors appear to stem from the nature of the relationship between the living and the dead. Troubled spirits roam as furious ghost and they can only be laid to rest by calling them by name. Spirit at peace on the other hand, are protective ancestors. In the Christian faith they are known as Saints. In this case Luwum was declared a saint by the church (See J.S. Mbiti 1969, African philosophy and Religion, London: Heineman).

From above we note that the culture of silence which was created by widespread brutal murder helped Amin to stay in power even though majority of Ugandans were uncomfortable with his government. Katongole (2005:13) notes that this “culture of silence” masks its true character which is the gradual naturalisation of terror and violence as part of the “normal” way of life in Uganda. In her analysis titled *Religion in Uganda under Amin* Louise Pirouet (1980:16) observes that some church denominations did very little when the security forces harassed the people and threatened their civil liberties. She goes on to say that one reason for this reserve on the part of the church is that “it was easy to take for granted a certain amount of violence because it was part of the pattern of life in Uganda” (Pirouet 1980:16). In other words, Katongole and Pirouet affirm that the culture of brutal murder committed by the state became perceived as something normal. What is surprising is that after the demise of Amin and after fifteen years since Yoweri Museveni came to power, this brutal pattern of violence is still evidenced in Ugandan community. For instance the *New Vision* newspaper of 4th February 2003 carried a story with a headline: “60% of Ugandans are Violent.” The story quoted the vice chairperson of the Uganda Red Cross Society, Robert Ssebunnya, who had noted with concern the physical harm frequently inflicted on people and animals in Uganda. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, Ssebunnya noted, the majority of Ugandans preferred listening to or reading stories of disasters like bomb blast and acid attacks to news of peaceful acts.

Local newspapers as the Luganda daily *Bukedde*, regularly carries, on its front page, graphic pictures of dismembered bodies of victims of auto accidents, acid attacks, murder or domestic violence. Furthermore, it is observed that the more graphic and gruesome the pictures are, the more *Bukedde* sells. What this implies is that these graphic images not only reflect the foundation of violence on which Ugandan society is built, but it also shows how the society has become used to violence. Concerning the above Yoweri Museveni asserts that,

Some soldiers had attacked a village and abducted some women. When they were crossing River Itoha, some babies were making too much noise. The soldiers took one baby and bashed him on the ground, telling the woman not to worry since she was going to produce more babies fathered by the soldiers themselves. Another incident in Semuto, Makulaubita sub-country, involved the grandchild of a man called Kalibala. This man, whom I knew well, was about seventy years old. They arrested Kalibala with his grandchild. As they were driving them toward Luwero town, the child started crying. They bashed the child on the head for causing a disturbance. Kalibala was so heartbroken that he could not move. They cut him with a panga and left the pieces there (2000:10).

Perhaps the above culture of violence can be traced back to 1972 when public executions were introduced by Amin in Uganda. In his book, *I love Idi Amin*, Festo Kivengere who was an Anglican Bishop of Kigezi Diocese narrates how he confronted Amin concerning the brutal violence and executions. He states,

Early in 1973, the president announced over the radio that a number of men had been arrested for subversive activities. The military tribunal had decided to hold public executions in different parts of the country, each man to be shot in his home community as a warning to others. Three of these were men of my diocese, whose families I knew well. I was in Kampala when this announcement was made, so I telephoned the president on his private line to ask for an interview....After formalities, I said, "Your Excellency, I am troubled about the announcement of the public execution of the men who have been arrested. We appreciate very much that you have never introduced martial law, but have allowed the courts of Uganda to function as usual. You have often said that you fear God and God created human life in His (sic) own image and therefore, I plead that these men be given a chance to defend themselves. You graciously gave a chance to one of your army officers who shot a Kenyan soldier, to defend himself in court and now that he is proven guilty, none can complain. You see this little boy of yours, sir? God will give him as long as he (sic) needs, to grow into a man. So when you think of taking away life, first give it as long as possible before you take it away (1982:25).

While Amin listened to Bishop Kivengere, very little was changed because the army went ahead with various executions. Kivengere (1982:25) reminds us that during these executions, Amin would command the whole village to come to witness and his soldiers could display the victims to the community as a way of warning them that it can also happen to them. Kivengere affirms:

February 10 began as a sad day for us in Kabale. People were commanded to come to the stadium and witness the execution by firing squad of three young men of our area. Death permeated the atmosphere in that stadium. A silent crowd of about three thousand was there to watch the spectacle. I had permission from the authorities to speak to the men before they died, and two of my fellow ministers were with me. They brought the men in a truck and unloaded them. They were handcuffed and their feet were chained. The firing squad stood at attention. As we walked into the centre of the stadium, I was wondering what to say to these men in the few minutes we had before their death. How do you give the gospel to doomed men who are probably seething with rage? We approached them from behind and as they turned around to look at us, what a sight! Their faces were all alight with an unmistakable glow and radiance. Before we could say anything, one of them burst out: Bishop thank you for coming! I wanted to tell you the day I was arrested, in my prison cell I asked the Lord Jesus to come into my heart. He came in and forgave me all my sins! Heaven is now open and there is nothing between me and my God! Please tell my wife and children that I am going to be with Jesus. Ask them to accept him into their lives as I did....The soldiers were so dumbfounded at the faces and words of the men they were about to execute that they even forgot to put the hoods over their faces! The three men faced the firing squad standing close together. They looked toward the people and began to wave, handcuffs and all. The people waved back. Then shot were fired and the three were with Jesus (1982:25-26).

Because of seeing many such types of scenery of brutal murders and executions the Ugandan community became psychologically conditioned in such a way that they started perceiving violence as part of life to the degree of admiring it. Therefore after many years post Amin, Ssebunnya (2003:2) was able to observe that the community has become used to violence in such a way that "....now we do not have to be forced to watch the violence, we demand and crave to see the violence." This explains the reason why the Ministry of Ethics and Integrity in Uganda has ignored the issue of violence in Ugandan society and has not even commented on it in the local papers

hence, authenticating that violence and its display has become part of life in Uganda (Ssebunnya *New Vision* 4th February 2003:2). This ghost of violence is also haunting the church. The Christian church denominations like Ministry of Ethics and Integrity, have also failed to draw attention to the issue of everyday violence in their preaching (Gifford 1995: 124). This is perhaps not surprising, since the Christian churches themselves have learned to take violence for granted, which is clear from the way the churches too are now resorting to violence as a way of resolving conflicts. For instance, the crises of the Anglican Diocese of Bosoga and Muhabura in Kisoro are an illustration of how the violence has penetrated the church (Gifford 1995: 124-130). In the case of the Anglican Diocese of Muhabura, the bishops elected David Sebuinja to be the bishop according to the constitution of their Synod and without consulting the laity.

Immediately, after the announcement of his election, the majority of Christians rejected him. Several attempts by the house of bishops to consecrate him have not yielded any fruits because the laity has threatened to kill him if he is made a bishop (Gifford 1995: 124). On the other hand, some Christians started accusing the Archbishop of refusing to enthrone him and they have taken the matter to the court of law (Gifford 1995: 125). As a result, the two groups of Christian, who comes from the same Anglican diocese, have decided to solve their problems through violently fighting each other. The repeat of such wrangles was also witnessed in Bosonga where the Christians have rejected Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze and want a clergy from their tribe to be appointed as bishop. The issue here is not about the disagreement, but the brutal violence used by Christians in both incidents. In short, the above is a clear indication of how the violence in Uganda has taken many forms, which range from outright military brutality to civil unrest; from ethnic violence that was recently witnessed in Western Uganda to the brutality in the Northern Uganda where rebels routinely attack villages and cut off people's limbs, lips, noses, and genitals. The violence also takes the form of carnage on public roads, and frequent cases of domestic violence and abuse (Museveni 2000:11-18).

5.2.3 The ghosts of corruption

Amin was able to stay in power through an elaborate network of partnerships and associations within the country. It is these alliances that provided the fortification because these collaborators were able to directly benefit from him and in return, they were able to support his stay in power. Those who benefited particularly were his friends who were members of the armed forces and those who were among his secret service agents. Both of these groups were generously rewarded by Amin

with a lot of money, good new cars, and big houses among other assets (Museveni 2000:27). Katongole (2005:13) observes that,

It is perhaps not surprising that one of the reasons that the Tanzanian forces that ousted Amin did not find much resistance was the fact that Amin's generals and commanders, who by now were used to a comfortable life, could no longer stand the discipline and hardship of a conventional war. During the war, they drove around in jeeps and armored personnel carriers at a safe distance from the front line and then returned to their mansions in the capital. Amin's secret service agents were also very well-rewarded for their loyalty. One could always tell them from the dark glasses, the well-tailored bell-bottomed Kaunda suits, the high heeled Bongo shoes and by the brand-new white Honda Civic cars they drove. In their distinctive style, Amin's secret agents were thus as much popular trendsetters as they were loathed and feared. Moreover, since many of these were young men, it was clear that their part of Amin's inner circle owed less to their long years in training or hard work, and more to their belonging to a particular inner ethnic background or to their having the right connection in the government (2005:13).

Such corruption also took place with those who were allocated the property and business of the departing Asians in 1972. In this sense many poor people were immediately turned into millionaires without working hard. Katongole affirms that this kind of transformation was reflected in,

Their new trade mark: a potbelly, the result of instance weight gain. They became members of the new class of *mafuta mengi* (Literally meaning plenty of oil-a reference to the oil within their new rich diet). Even as they were both loathed and envied, the *mafuta mengi* soon became a cultural icon, with many hoping if not to become one, at least to have some kind of connection with one another. For only with such a connection could one stand a chance of being appointed headmaster, District Veterinary Officer, or a local agent for essential commodities. In this case *Mafuta mengi* culture embodied the fact that becoming rich was not only possible, the journey to success was either instant or a very quick one. All it took was luck and the right connection (2005:15).

Of course, the above mentioned cultural pattern is not only unethical and immoral but also against the required formation of character and virtue, through a process of gradual progress. This cultural pattern was later to affect many key institutions, in particular education. This compelled Katongole to say that,

For in as much as education is grounded on an assumption of success through hard work and gradual achievement, this was greatly at odds not only with the logic of instant success, but also with the life experience of many of the *Mafuta mengi* who, like Ami himself, were themselves primary school dropouts. In fact a popular expression of the *Mafuta mengi* was *Kwanini ni some? or in* Luganda equivalent, *Nze atasoma sirya?* – which translated literally come to the same: there is no need to go to school to be successful (to eat well) (2005:15).

The result was visible through the collapse of Uganda's hitherto well-organized and competitive education system, and by the many young people who abandoned education and the pursuit of a career on the street in search for "connections" that would assure them quick success, whether this was through a black market trade (*Magendo*) or through some other form of shady deals popularly

known in Uganda as *Mipango* (Katongole 2005:13). Just like with the *Mafuta mengi*, these deals were built on a dream of instant success and were then formatted into a cultural pattern that does not believe on patient, enduring and hard work, but on luck. A good example of *Mafuta mengi* or *Mipango* is the recent corruption within the HIV and AIDS Global Fund in Uganda.

In 2004, the Geneva-based Global Fund awarded Uganda \$367 million in grants over two years to fight HIV and AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria.²⁸ These grants were equivalent to 20 percent of the Uganda's annual government spending.²⁹ But on August 2005, an audit by Pricewaterhouse Coopers revealed how the money was actually used. After an investigation was conducted it was discovered that the Minister of Health, Jim Muhwezi, and two assistant ministers had siphoned large sums of the money into their own pockets.³⁰ Additionally, the inquiry revealed that they were able to steal this money through the formation of fake Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) inflating the cost of workshops for non-existing staff and through the forgery of official documents. Finally, the health ministers were held accountable and all those who were found guilty were asked to refund it or face financial or legal consequences. In many ways, the above culture of corruption has developed in such a way that the expectation of instant success has become a part of Uganda popular culture. The majority of Ugandans still believe that they can become rich quickly if they are well connected with those in powers (Katongole 2005:15). Sometimes they hope this will come to them if they are lucky and chance on money (*kuteeba*) at other times they hope they will get a benefactor (*Muzungu wange*) as was the case of many servants who inherited the property and businesses of their departing Asians or European bosses in 1972.

One only needs to watch Ugandans in their desperate search for “connections” or the number of times words like *Kupanga* (dealing), *Kulya* (eating) and *Kugwa mu bintu* (falling into things) come up in any given conversation to realize how well-entrenched the cultural patterns of instant success are (Katongole 2005:13). Needless to say, the expectation of effortless success, success not based on enduring hard work and gradual transformation, helps to make corruption and embezzlement an ever-constant reality in Uganda business and government circles.³¹

5.2.4 The ghosts of greed and economic embezzlement

²⁸ <http://www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2006/UGANDA/notebook.cfm>

²⁹ <http://www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2006/UGANDA/notebook.cfm>

³⁰ <http://www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2006/UGANDA/notebook.cfm>

³¹ See <http://www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2006/UGANDA/notebook.cfm>

From the time that the dictator Amin expelled the Asians and European who were living in Uganda in 1972, the economy of the country has been a disaster. Museveni (2000:26) argues that while the Ugandan economy was buoyant immediately after the colonial era, by 1970 it had started dilapidating because of illogical economic policies. He goes on to lament that,

Amin's accession to power in 1971, and his subsequent declaration of an economic war, hastened capital flight from Uganda and accelerated the rate of economic decline. His appropriation of Western capital without proper compensation exacerbated Uganda's economic decline. By the time of his political demise in 1979, Uganda's productive sectors had declined so considerably that coffee was the only export commodity. The decline in the production of exported commodities together with that of the domestic production of consumer goods led to severe shortages in essential consumers goods. This led to a lot of *Magendo (smuggling)* activities, which eroded the country's tax base (2000:26-27).

These dysfunctional economic policies had severe effects on Ugandan society. The soldier from the barracks found themselves running companies while they had no training in business practice, and who were semi-illiterate (Museveni 2000:26). In addition to that, the elites were marginalized in Amin's economy and the majority of them, particularly those who were critical of Amin's governing system were hunted down and killed. Women were not also spared from this greed. They were reduced to the level of commodities and the soldiers assumed that they owned women as material goods. To this effect Phares Mutibwa observes that,

Officers and their sons parked their Jeeps, Benzes and Hondas in broad daylight at the school gates with secondary school girls, took them off for sex and brought them back any time they so wished. If they headmaster or even a parent said a word that would be his last ever. Women were won over by either money or the gun and marriages were at stake because married women were easily attracted to soldiers who had money or were sexually assaulted at gun point (1991:60).

He goes on to say that even the university became the possession of Amin and his soldiers thus,

Makerere University became a laughing stock since officer's children walked into lectures without any qualification. In fact Amin at one time instructed the vice-chancellor to enroll his son who had never been to secondary school and was awarded a degree. Amin himself was the chancellor of Makerere University. Many lecturers, doctors and other academics and professional left the country (1991:60).

From the above we note that knowledge or skills was not considered to be the priority, for what mattered was only money and power. The regimes that succeeded Amin did nothing to reverse the above economic catastrophe. Museveni (2000:27) argues that instead of rectifying the economic situation, these regimes worsened it. He observes that,

By 1986, GDP was declining at a rate of 5.5 percent per annum, while per capita GDP was declining at 8.0 percent per annum. This was in spite of the fact that in 1981, the Obote government ran a recovery program that purported to revive the economy. This program, which was supported by most international institutions, had by 1986 mobilised external fund amounting to US \$2,013million (2000:27).

What is important to note here is that while the international communities were ready to support in the re-construction of Uganda, the culture of greed and economic embezzlement has continued to hinder Ugandan economic growth. For instance, even though list below is not exhaustive, it is observed that the following institutions and groups of people perpetuate greed and embezzlement in Uganda with impunity:

Large international business corporations and their representatives who monopolise and control world trade and are interested in making quick and large profits from their investments irrespective of the effect their actions. They pay bribes to procure contracts for the supply of goods and services. Senior government officials and politicians who are in charge of decision making and implementation of policies in their countries. They are for instance responsible for contracting for loans and privatisation of public enterprises, procurements for goods (e.g purchase of vehicles and equipment, uniforms, helicopters etc) and services (police, judiciary, tax collectors, health workers etc). Thus they bend all the rules to ensure that they serve their personal interests to the detriment of the economic and social development of their countries (Gariyo: 2001:5).

According to Zie Gariyo (2001:1-2) of the International Transparency organization, greed as a vice is the embodiment of many civil servants in Uganda. He notes that donors and foreign governments have also been trapped in this game of greed and embezzlement for they prefer to close their eyes even when they know that senior officials in government are not capable of ensuring proper accountability for the money they spend (Gariyo 2001:1-2). Some foreign governments have even justified their support of senior government members involved in corruption (Gariyo 2001:1-2).

Of course for many years the West was supporting rogue governments such as those of Marcos, Mobutu and Suharto among others with weak excuses that they were fighting communism or (today) terrorism (Gariyo 2001:1-2). In fact they do this even when they know that such leaders are siphoning off large chunks of borrowed money. As a result, the poor people in the Uganda have become victims of such greed by unaccountable government officials, through the taxes these people are compelled to pay them. Greed and embezzlement perpetuates their poverty and makes them more vulnerable to the individual interests of greedy and poorly paid public officials.

The above embezzlement and greed has been almost institutionalised in the Ugandan community. This is because the government officials involved in perpetuating these vices are senior officers who are also very influential.³² Large-scale corruption has taken place in government departments and the perpetrators have either been promoted or have been retired with full benefits, without causing

³² <http://www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2006/UGANDA/notebook.cfm>

an investigation to establish the facts.³³ This has tended to send a wrong signal that the government lacks the political will to punish corrupt officials. It is also noted that even where reports by the Auditor General and Commissions of Inquiry have implicated public officials, in most cases no action has been taken against them thus making such institutions appear useless. In some cases they have been publicly vilified by sections or influential organs of government such as Members of Parliament when they try to do their job.³⁴ Yet Museveni shows the need for curbing the above when he says,

My worry however is in connection with embezzlement of our public officials. Originally when we came into government, there was rampant embezzlement in the Civil service. I am now, however, beginning to get persistent reports that there is corruption among our political leaders, who are supposed to be the mobilisers in the vanguard of our reformist, revolutionary movement. You will recall, no doubt, that the elimination of corruption and misuse of public office is point number seven in ten-point program of the NRM. How can we hope to convince anyone of the rightness of our cause if our own people are violating our own stated goals, thereby undermining our political, economic and social programs? (2000:75).

Therefore the church which believes in *shalom* and wants to embrace Luwum's non-violent resistance method should understand the ghost of corruption and formulate programmes on how to curb it or lay it to rest.

5.2.5 The ghosts of tribalism

As early as in 1974 Bishop Henry Okullu, who was a friend of Lumum, had written about tribalism in his book, *Church and politics in East Africa*. Okullu (1974:43) declared tribalism as the second devil after corruption which is destroying the East African countries. He argued that in East Africa, notably Kenya and Uganda, tribal loyalties have taken over from Christian loyalties and the evidence is well exhibited by the tribal party politics, and denied promotions or appointments because one comes from a certain tribe (1974:43-47). For Okullu (1974: 47), the problem of tribalism is that it "creates jealousy and jealousy gives birth to subversion and in combating subversion a whole group of people, the guilty and not guilty, are massacred." Yoweri Museveni in his book *What is Africa's problem?* also identifies tribalism as a major problem. He contends that, "one of the biggest weakening factors in Africa is tribalism and other forms of sectarianism" (Museveni 2000:145). While tribalism and sectarianism in Uganda are destroying the socio-economic and political structures, it is very clear that this vice started with the colonialists, and that Obote improved it while Amin perfected it. Okullu observes that,

³³ <http://www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2006/UGANDA/notebook.cfm>

³⁴ <http://www.globalintegrity.org/reports/2006/UGANDA/notebook.cfm>

During the Uganda Protectorate, the Bagandas were made to believe that they were a super-tribe because of their social advantage over the rest of Uganda. They claimed privileges and got them from the British and although there were other kings in Uganda, Kabaka was –to the Baganda- the kings of kings. On the eve of Uganda's independence in October 1962 many Baganda held it to be a betrayal of the first order for the British to hand over government to Obote rather than to Mutesa (1974:49).

As pointed out earlier in chapter one, the ascension of Obote to power was made possible through the tribal alliance of Uganda Peoples Party (UPC) and the Kabaka Yekka party (KY) which was a Buganda political party (Mudoola 1996:93). To maintain himself in the power, Obote recruited men of his tribe into the armed forces and surrounded himself with his tribal men and women. Okullu affirms that,

Obote protected by men from his own ethnic group, the Acholi and Langi, appeared to be the least vulnerable leader in East Africa. He was reported to have said that he was the only leader in Africa who was never afraid of being toppled by the army (1974:48).

Similarly, Mudoola (1996:103) observes that there were tensions which were developing within the military because of tribal polarization. In fact Obote feared Amin and as a result he formed a special Force and General Service Unit into paramilitary forces to serve as a counter surveillance force to the military. However, this antagonized the army and culminated in the January 1971 coup d'état, which was led by Amin. After taking over, Amin tried to wipe out Obote's village and in particular, the Acholi and Langi community for they were perceived to be the enemy. By the time when Amin was overthrown tribalism had taken a deep root in Uganda. It is not surprising that Luwum attempted to fight this vice among the others because he believed in equality of humanity as created in the image of God. After the fall of Amin, tribalism has continued to flourish in the Ugandan community and yet Uganda is more homogenous than Tanzania (Museveni 2000:145).

The Anglican Church was not spared from the above vice and this is evidenced in the incidences in the Anglican Diocese of Bosoga and Muhabura in Kisoro where the election of the Bishop was determined by the tribe to which he belonged. This was a repeat, as we have seen, of the case of Archbishop Sabiiti who was rejected by the Baganda. It is argued that besides feeling angry with Luwum's criticism of his autocracy and human rights abuses, Amin killed Luwum because he was a Christian and also belonged to the Acholi tribe on which Amin took revenge following Obote's discriminatory actions. The Anglican Church has not been unaffected by tribalism as evidenced in the election of Luwum's successor. The Anglican bishops appointed the Archbishop from Amin's tribe, with the excuse that it would please the president. In fact this was in line with the Anglican

Church's legacy, though not official, that the Archbishop must come from the president's tribe so that they may work in harmony. Indeed Amin was a Muslim but due to the fact that Archbishop Silvanus Wani (Luwum's successor) was his fellow tribesman it was assumed that the relationship would be good. Wani continued as Archbishop after the fall of Amin. However, the Obote II regime did not get very well with him because it was assumed that he was from the wrong tribe. When he retired in 1982, he was replaced by Obote's choice Yona Okoth. Archbishop Okoth had fled Amin's regime with Bishop Kivengere when Luwum was killed.

As a person who comes from his tribe, Obote provided Archbishop Yona Okoth with bodyguards, something bizarre in the church, and the Archbishop himself wore a pistol at his side. It was also noted that he could carry this pistol when preaching, confirming and during his pastoral work. Again, when Okoth retired in 1994, the Anglican Church appointed Livingstone Mpalanyi from Southern Uganda because President Museveni comes from that area. The above history shows how tribalism has penetrated the Anglican Church of Uganda and how it has shaped her leadership. Because the principles of non-violent resistance are against racism and tribalism, the church should therefore embark on programmes which can address this "ghost". This is in line with Simanga Kumalo's contentions that,

Ethnicity is one of the African's time bombs that can go off anytime in any of our countries. There is need for the church to take it seriously as a threat to peace, democracy and stability (2007:227).

5.2.6 The ghosts of the militaristic tradition and the culture of guns

Another ghost that has continued to penetrate the Ugandan community is the ghost of the militaristic tradition and culture of guns to solve the problems. Uganda is known for settling political issues militaristically. For instance, from the time Uganda gained her independence from the British, civil war has continued to dominate the political scene. During the time of President Milton Obote (1962-1971) many people were killed and the climax was reached during Amin's reign (1971-1979). Wilson Muyinda Mande (1999:202) observes that, besides killing people, "on September, 27 1977, Amin squashed the right to religion, and the freedom of worship was curtailed for all religious group except the Anglican church, the Roman Catholic Church and Muslims." Likewise, the above killings were repeated during the time of Presidents: Paul Muwanga (a military commission 1979-1980), Prof Yusuf Lule, Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa, Muwanga and General Tito Okello (1985-1986). Certainly, President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, who came to power through the power of arms, has continuously experienced the pressure of civil war in Northern Uganda where the former president Milton Obote's army seems to be in control under the leadership of Joseph Kony.

As Museveni's National Resistance Army was seizing power in Kampala in January 1986, the bulk of the Ugandan National Liberation Army, predominantly made up of people from the Lango and Acholi districts of Uganda, retreated northwards. When the NRA reached these areas, the defeated UNLA attempted to stage a come-back. Ruddy Doom and Koen Vlassenroot (1999:22) argue that between 1988 and 1990, the NRA had already been able to defeat the following rebel groups: the Uganda People's Defence Army; the Holy Spirit Movement I and II; and, the Uganda People's Army (UPA). However, from the ashes of the UPDA, HSM I and II, rose the Lord's Resistance Army. The LRA was started by Kony, after the defeat of Alice Lakwena's HSM II in 1988. Kony is a nephew of Alice Lakwena, who herself is a daughter of Severino Lukoya, once the leader of the HSM I. According to Ruddy Doom and Koen Vlassenroot (1999:23), it was during this time that Kony proclaimed himself as a messianic prophet, and stated that he "aimed at overthrowing the Museveni government and ruling Uganda according to the Biblical Ten Commandments." However, Doom and Vlassenroot (1999:22) assert that from the start, Kony's programme was "a mixture of political entrepreneurship, personal frustration and war-lordism." Doom and Vlassenroot (1999:22) go on to say that the LRA found a fertile ground to operate from Southern Sudan because the area has been wracked by war since the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) has been fighting the Khartoum government from May 1983. The Sudanese government allied with the LRA, as the government of Uganda openly supported the SPLA. As a result, Kony was able to get bases and the much needed supplies of weapons to continue fighting the Ugandan army.

In March 2002, the Uganda People's Defence Force launched "Operation Iron Fist", aimed at routing the LRA from its bases in Southern Sudan (Human Rights Watch 2005:13). This operation followed an agreement between the governments of Uganda and Sudan, allowing the former to send her troops onto the territory of the latter, in order to deal with the LRA insurgents (Human Rights Watch 2005:13). The results of the operation have been mixed. The government and the UPDF have claimed success by the fact that Kony no longer has permanent bases in the areas of Southern Sudan near the Uganda border where he can launch attacks onto the territory of Uganda. However civil society groups have noted that "the operation was the biggest mistake of the government as it has doubled the numbers of the displaced and security worsen than ever" (Human Right Watch 2005:13). "Operation Iron Fist" along with others resulted in the expansion of the LRA's operational area from Gulu, Pader and Kitgum districts to the districts of Lira, Apac, Katakwi and

Soroti (Human Rights Watch 2005:13). Similarly, the United Nations dealing with the humanitarian affairs in Northern Uganda observes that the situation has caused,

The number of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) to rise from 800.000 to at least 1.2 million, a figure that was revised upwards to 1.9 million in 2005. The massive displacement in terms of percentage is as follows: Acholi (92%); Langi (30%) and Itesot (33%). The IDPs who are largely composed of malnourished children, live in squalid make-shift camps called "protected villages." These camps are devoid of food or clean water, and sanitation and medicine are nonexistent. The concentration of people in IDPs camps gives the LRA a chance to attack, kill and abduct many people (2007:4).

There are a number of reasons as to why Joseph Kony took arms, although many people tend to ignore these factors. Firstly, Uganda was and (still is) divided into North-South in terms of the economic imbalance caused by the colonialists. The North was seen as a reservoir of labour mainly to be recruited into the army. At the same time, the British deliberately reserved the introduction of industry and cash crops to the South, for which the North became a reservoir of cheap (manual) labour (ICG 2004:2). This marginalization was accelerated in post-independence Uganda, where armies were continuously heavily recruited from the North, with the South enjoying relative economic prosperity (ICG 2004:2).

Secondly, whilst the northerners in general (the Langi and Acholi in particular) were seen as a martial tribe fit for the military because of their strong physical, tall and athletic attributes, the southerners were deemed fit for clerical and office jobs.³⁵ Thus for many, the LRA rebellion is merely a continuation of the ethnic competition that has typified Uganda's politics.

Thirdly, the immediate cause of the rebellion against the Museveni government that started in 1986 can be found in the way the NRA soldiers behaved when they reached the northern region of Uganda. Heike Behrend contends that,

Soon afterwards, the 35th battalion of the NRA was sent to Kitgum. This included remnants of Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) who had surrendered, and ex-Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEMO) troops who being mainly Baganda, had been formed to fight Obote. They took the opportunity to loot and torture. To escape this, some of the Acholi ex-soldiers took up their weapons again and went into the bush to join the newly founded Uganda Peoples Defence Army (UPDA) (1991:165).

³⁵ <http://latrobe.edu.au/african/ARImageFile/ocholaaddress.html>

So, while it can be argued that the underlying cause of the LRA uprising is an attempt by the defeated Northern forces to regain power, the immediate cause of the rebellion was the unbecoming and un-disciplined behaviour of the 35th battalion of the NRA who were deployed in North of the country (Behrend 1991:165).

However, Joseph Kony and the LRA did a lot of havoc when they started engaging in rape, looting and murdering innocent people. For instance, the LRA was involved in the abduction of the Aboke girls from the neighbouring Apac district, hence forcing the civilians there to engage in war by forming an organization called the “Concerned Parents Association” to protect themselves (ICG 2004:12). This made some people draw critical comparisons about the lack of organized parental response to ongoing abductions in the Gulu and Kitgum districts. However, given the considerably greater levels of disruption experienced in Gulu and Kitgum, and the degree of control exercised over information flows, it is perhaps more striking the extent to which people in these districts have been able to organize (ICG 2004:12).

In fact they were able to resist some of the pressures put on them by the warlords. For instance they were able assist those who were displaced, provide food and money through collections and to employ defenses to protect their loved ones. In other words, there have been numerous initiatives taken by members of the local population which seek to address the broader issues of the problem affecting them (ICG 2004:12). In fact, apart from the first president, Sir Edward Mutesa II (1963-1966) and Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (1996-2006), Ugandan presidents have captured power or were placed in power by extra constitutional means or through the massive rigging of votes as in the case of the Obote II government in 1980.

Certainly, the ghosts of the militaristic tradition and the culture of guns as opposed to dialogue in Uganda is explosive and has retarded the socio-political and economic development of the country. For instance, besides the National Resistance Army (NRA), there is the Local Defence Units (LDU), a reserve army, the police, commercial security organs (all armed with assault weapon and not pistols). (Gertzel 2007:1-9). The ordinary criminals and various warlords who are heavily armed make the problem worse. Today the country contains five armed struggle groups which include: the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF), the United Rescue Front (URF), the Lords’ Resistance Army (LRA), the Freedom Democratic Army in Kasese, the Tabliq group, the Uganda National Liberation

Army (UNLA) and the Allied Democratic Force (ADF). Before she died, Alice Lukwena led the Lord's Resistance Army which Joseph Kony inherited.

Because of this militaristic logic, since October 1986, Uganda has continued to experience endless civil war (Gertzel 2007:4). According to Nutshell Creation, with regard to the atrocities caused by civil war:

So much anger and violence have been sown for over 20 years, where over 30,000 children were abducted from villages and schools. Where children abducted were brainwashed to kill, rape, torture, even their own families, where rage and fear ruled for many years, where two and a half million people were refugees in their own country, living in squalid camps, cramped housing, lack of subsistence farming space, lack of hospitals, doctors and so much more. Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army, signed a truce some two years ago, but refused to sign the peace agreement at the end of the day in Juba, South Sudan because of fears that he be arrested because of a warrant from the International Criminal Court in De Hague, Netherlands. Now his troops of are causing havoc in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic where over 300 Children were abducted recently and still in Southern Sudan. The feelings about Joseph Kony amongst his own Acholi people are mixed, some who lost family members and friends see him as a villain while others see him as a type of Robin Hood, as a man who stood up to what is perceived as an anti-northern government in Kampala. There are many solutions offered, from outright amnesty to hanging them.³⁶

As a result, there is serious internal displacement of persons and millions of people in Uganda have lost their lives, while many were arrested and even tortured. The longest war is in Acholi which has persisted for twenty years now and majority of the people there live in protected camps. Furthermore, war has since spread to the north, east and west and beyond the borders to the DRC and Rwanda, while Joseph Kony's group is operating from Sudan and DRC. This means that the war is crossing beyond the Ugandan boader. The extent to which Northern Uganda is situated in the middle of a web of conflicts in the region is clear from the way in which the dynamics of conflicts in neighbouring Rwanda, Sudan and DRC have impinged on Northern Uganda. Therefore, let us look at how each of the above countries has been affecting Northern Uganda. Firstly, with regard to Rwanda, during the early years of the war, the NRA in Northern Uganda had a large Rwandan contingent, largely made up of Rwandan refugees who had suffered at the hands of Obote's UPC, and some of whom were undoubtedly involved in the atrocities described in chapter one. Indeed, Museveni's Army Chief of Staff, Fred Rwigyema, is described by Prunier as having been "the chief architect of the war in the North between 1986 and 1988" before being removed from that position in 1989 and leading the RPF attack on Rwanda in 1990 (Prunier 1998: 126-128). It is not surprising that people in Gulu talk of 1990 as the year "the NRA marched to attack or

³⁶ www.invisiblechildren.com

invade Rwanda and overthrow its government', rather than the RPF.³⁷ In this case there is a clear link between RPF and UPDF and it should be remembered that 1994 is the year in which the "Rwanda Patriotic Front and the UPDF overthrew the Rwandan Government" (Prunier 1998:130).

The second country affecting Northern Uganda is Sudan. In terms of the links with Sudan, it is evidenced that for many years Uganda's government has been supporting the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), while the Sudanese government has been supporting Joseph Kony and his LRA. As a result, the Sudanese government bombed Moyo in 1990 and there have been sporadic repeats throughout the period 1990-2000. John Garang who was the leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, was operating from Nairobi, Kenya, but he would come to North Uganda at North View Hotel in Gulu where the SPLA training camps were situated. The opportunities for information flows between Sudanese refugees and Ugandan Acholi are multiple, with Sudanese refugee camps in Adjumani, Moyo and Kitgum districts, and further Sudanese populations living alongside Acholi's internally displaced people (IDPs) in Masindi district immediately south of the river Nile. During the break-down on the ground of Sudan-Uganda relations in 1995-1996, President Rafsanjani of Iran was mediating a peace deal between the two countries which was signed by the Foreign Affairs Minister in September 1996. In an interview with *The Monitor* (1997:1-2), Museveni and US Secretary of State, acknowledged the United States' assistance to Uganda in the war against "Sudanese backed rebels." What is surprising is that even after the death of John Garang and the liberation of Southern Sudan, many people from this region are still in Uganda and are still continuing their military activities.

The third country which is posing a challenge to Northern Uganda is the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The impact of the war in DRC has also been felt in Gulu district. In 1999 there was widespread recruitment into the UPDF and into the home guard and there were many allegations that these recruits were being taken off to fight in the DRC. It was also argued that the reason the UPDF appeared unable to stop the advance of Joseph Kony and his LRA to Gulu town, was that it had moved so many troops to the DRC. Since the start of the LRA rebellion, the government of Uganda has always maintained that this is an internal matter, which has to be solved by Uganda.³⁸

³⁷ This interpretation is supported by Gerard Prunier's account of the RPF's 1 October 1990 invasion of Rwanda, in which he argues that "the RPF had about 2,000 men. Most of them were NRA soldiers, although there was a small civilian contingent" (Prunier: 1998:130)

³⁸ This is in accordance with Article 2(7) of the UN Charter.

The government has persistently argued that the LRA rebels are fighting the constitutionally elected government of Uganda and hence have to be dealt with under the domestic law. In fact President Museveni calls Joseph Kony and his LRA “bandits” and “terrorists” yet his government has failed to control them for over twenty two years.

The Anglican clergy who have been working in the Northern area have only been encouraged to provide humanitarian assistance to the internally displaced peoples (IDPs). The government has always discouraged them to make contact with the LRA. However, as the situation in the conflict area has worsened, particularly in regard to the living conditions in the IDPs camps, new calls have been made to end the conflict, even if by non-violent means. The government has heard these calls, albeit reluctantly. In 2004, it set up a negotiating team, comprised of government officials and some elements of the civil society to explore possibilities of talking with the LRA. Whilst the team continues to exist, no meaningful breakthrough with the LRA has been achieved for Joseph Kony has refused to sign a peace deal, fearing that the government wants to arrest him. Therefore the church has a huge responsibility to confront the above mentioned “ghosts” and this study assumes that it is only through non-violent means that they can be laid to rest.

5.2.7 The ghosts of politics of dominance

Another “ghost” that the Anglican Church of Uganda needs to confront is the ghost of the politics of dominance. Uganda’s political history as we have seen in previous chapters seems to be overwhelmingly clouded by the politics of dominance. Among other factors, the politics of dominance is a political reality that seems to have been the major factor behind the present civil war in the Northern Uganda and the failure of the peace accord that Joseph Kony refused to sign, as well as the instrument utilized to vanquish, the Ugandan people politically. President Yoweri Museveni and the NRM government have become a one-man show, with Museveni calling all the shots. He appoints and removes cabinet ministers at will, controls the army and directly intervenes in both administrative and economic policies of the country.

Despite the above there is no way Museveni’s regime can be compared with the previous regimes. Many people agree that President Museveni as an intelligent and charismatic man has made a tremendous contribution to the stability of the country (Gertzel 2007:6). His impeccable military track record is acknowledged, but while he has been ruling the country as a civilian (since 1996),

nevertheless, his military background is still prominent hence making him uncompromising and commandeering and this has forced various armed groups to oppose his government. To stay in power, Museveni has devised various methods, which his critics say are returning the country back to dark eras hence undermining the democratic process gained since 1996 (Karugire 2006:120). For instance, severe criticism has been raised of the National Resistance Movement and the personality cult surrounding Museveni because of the revelation that the army generals declared their allegiance to him and said that they cannot be loyal to any other person elected as president (Karugire 2006:120).

According to S.R. Karugire (2006:114) the politicising of the army to the point of using it in his presidential campaigns is “threatening the democracy Museveni claims to have fought for.” Of course, this is not something new in his leadership because the army has been central to his politics right from the time he took power using the gun in 1986. And from that time the army has continued maintaining the political ideology and leadership of National Resistance Army (NRA), the guerrilla military wing of the NRM. As noted above, Museveni and the NRM virtually run the country single-handedly. Haroub and Nassali (2007:66-67) note that the Ugandan army was sent to fight in Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and Rwanda and the Parliament was only notified one year later. In view of this Haroub and Nassali (2007:66-67) affirm that the army consumed 115 billion shillings, which constitute about 19 percent of the country’s budget, comparing this to the 8 billion shillings spent on agriculture.

It has further been argued that Western and Northern Uganda are turning to guns because of Museveni’s leadership style. Of concern is the lack of independence in the Electoral Commission of Uganda (Kastfelt 2005:22). More profoundly, it suffers from a great deal of political interference and financial constraints, hence failing to objectively handle the increasing vote rigging and electoral violence. Of course this is a substantial move away from the constitutional provision that NRM adopted when it came to power. Other issues include; interference with the power of the legislature and the judiciary, nepotism, favouritism, ethnicity, abolishing of political parties and outlawing civil rights. In fact, the figure of Museveni is a dominant feature in the current politics of Uganda. This is because Museveni is the embodiment of the state, such that no meaningful discussion can be made without reference to him as an individual. To circumvent the preoccupation with Museveni, the militaristic tradition and culture of guns, there is a need to build sound institutions that uphold democracy and a constitutional culture rather than relying on a “great

president.” As a result of the above situation several donors, including the European Union, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK, have cut their budgetary support to Uganda over concerns about, dominance, democracy and governance.

5.2.8 The ghosts of religious conflict and church silence

The religious groups in Uganda have a long history of conflicts and the most notable ones involved the Anglicans, Catholics and Muslims. Perhaps the major failing of the Christian church in the democratization process in Uganda has been the maintenance of the quasi-establishment stance of the Anglican Church on one hand and the ambiguity of the Catholic Church on the question of democracy, on the other. The Protestant Church has viewed itself as the church of the establishment. Indeed, all past Presidents apart from Idi Amin have been Protestants. This precludes and influences any vigorous condemnation or denunciation of the erosion of human rights and democratisation on the part of the Catholic Church. The ambiguity in the Catholic Church is exemplified by the wavering positions of the Church leadership on the question of democracy. As seen earlier, various religious groups and ethnic groups were politically active during the time of colonialism and at the eve of the independence, the political parties were formed according to denominational alliances. Mudoola observes that,

The struggle for power on the eve of independence was more or less a replay of the struggle for power during 1880 and early 1890s which had seen the ascendancy of the Anglican Church political establishment and the relative political marginalization of the Catholic and Muslims. This struggle for power at that time and thereafter has negative consequences for institution-building processes. Among such consequences was that supposedly national institutions were too easily identified with particular socio-political force. This in itself constrained such supposedly national institutions to freely mediate positively among difficult social forces. A second consequence was for the political incumbents or actors to look on these institutions as bargaining arenas, sometimes, at the extreme expense of the marginalized groups. Ultimately, in the event of national institutional crises, the supposedly national institutions did not have strong enough socio-political bases to sustain them (1996:27).

Since the days of fighting between Catholics and Protestants in 1892 relations between the two largest churches have been strained. But a positive step was taken in 1963 with the establishment of the Uganda Joint Christian Council, which included the tiny Orthodox Church in Uganda. But relations with newer more Pentecostal churches have not seen any effective mechanism in Uganda and tensions remain a fact of church life. The interplay in the above politics has not only weakened the prophetic ministry of the church but it also weakens the political systems in Uganda. It is because of this weakness that the Obote and Aimee regimes were able to manipulate the religious groups for their own selfish gain. Amin even banned some religious denominations while he championed the Muslim interests (Kastfelt 2005:22). In the contemporary Ugandan context, the

Museveni's politics of dominance has been extended to the church and because of this many church denominations in contemporary Uganda have lost their voices and their prophetic role has thus been jeopardized. The ghosts of religious conflict and direct political involvement of some church denominations, especially the Anglican Church has left the church voiceless when a crisis occurs. As we have seen in the case of the Anglican church, after the death of Luwum, the church remained silent. It seems that it has been co-opted by the state hence becoming blind even when the democratic rights of the citizens are violated. The Catholic Church, which used to be vocal, has also fallen into the same trap (Otiso 2006:15).

In 1986, the Catholic Bishops were notably the voice of the community while their fellow counterparts, the Anglican Church resolved to remain silent (Otiso 2006:20). In this case, the Catholic Church was in the forefront of calling for a multi-party system of government, and it reminded the community that fundamental freedom of assembly and association is guaranteed in the National Constitution. However, after 1986, all the church denominations in Uganda have succumbed to the power of the state and they have supported the state or kept silent even when it continues to declare that multiparty politics as illegal, hence prohibiting all the political parties from functioning (Otiso 2006:14). Both the Anglican and the Catholic Church claimed that "as to the concrete question of what form of government Uganda should adopt, we must state clearly that the church does not advocate one form" (Kassimir, 1998:77). Perhaps, the increasingly declining sources of donor funds have resulted in Church leaders and even Muslim leaders to succumb to patronage from the state. And this can be supported by the fact that all religious leaders, Christian and Muslim have received donations of four-wheel drive vehicles from the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government through President Yoweri Museveni (Otiso 2006:14). As a result, the Church in Uganda has more often than not blessed the wishes of the power holders. This is clearly illustrated by the stand of the church on the so called no-party, party system of governance. As J. Kassimir (1998:61) correctly notes,

clearly the current political system under the NRM falls short of the definition of democracy commonly accepted by civil society approaches, with critics pointing not only to the unfair electoral advantages of the NRM in a no-party system, but also to restrictions on associational rights in civil society itself.

In spite of this, the church has largely endorsed these infringements on inalienable fundamental human rights at the altar of patronage from the state. The elevation of the NRM, which is in reality a political party, to a "system" and then subjecting the population to a referendum, on "political systems" in June 2000, was perhaps one of the most open abuses of civil rights in Uganda. Yet the

church, which should have acted as the voice of the voiceless, has largely endorsed the process. The Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC), in a joint pastoral letter of 24 May 1999, was very supportive of the Referendum. It affirms,

The referendum on political systems scheduled to be held in the year 2000 offers to the people of Uganda the opportunity to make a choice of the political system that best promotes the interests of the country (UJCC, 1999a: 1).

Six weeks later, on 2 July 1999, a law to regulate the process, *The Referendum Act (1999)* was fraudulently passed in parliament without a quorum. Yet three months later, the same joint church council was urging people, using the usual state arguments, to participate in the exercise essentially aimed at entrenching a one party monolithic state. The UJCC (1999b:8) argued that the referendum is a constitutional issue and so it recommended that in the spirit of constitutionalism all citizens should participate. This stand of the church on democratisation in Uganda is in stark contrast to that of the Kenyan churches that in the 1980s and 1990s took upon themselves the role of advocating for democratisation effectively as they command massive respect. Due to a combination of unresolved regional questions, religious and civil conflicts and submission to patronage, the Ugandan church has been less effective in the process of democratization and so there is need for the church to adopt Luwum's concepts of non-violent resistance and church-state relations. This is in line with the Carnegie Commission which observed in 1997 that:

Religious leaders and institutions are well-suited for promoting peace for a variety of reasons; a clear message that resonates with their followers; a long standing and pervasive presence on the ground; a well developed infrastructure that often includes a sophisticated communications network connecting local, national and international offices; a legitimacy for speaking out on crisis issues; and a traditional orientation to peace and goodwill (*The Sunday Monitor*, 27 April 2003:8)

5.2.9 Other ghosts that affect the social life of contemporary Uganda

As a result of many years of war in Uganda, the society is filled with innumerable human and social indicators that need to be addressed. According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the conflict in Northern Uganda has forced some 1.7 million people, which is about 90 percent of the region's population, to flee their homes to the relative safety of camps. Today the country has 200 camps for internally displaced persons which are scattered around the region. This impedes the development in the region because almost all the people now are dependent on humanitarian support for their survival. To make the matter worse, by January 2008, Uganda had more than, 150,000 refugees, mainly from Sudan, Rwanda, DRC and some from Kenya.

In addition, as a result of the civil war many people are amputees caused by land-mines related accidents. For instance, the wife of the Bishop of Kitgum Anglican Diocese, Mrs Winifred Ochola, was killed by a landmine. Moreover, Nutshell Creation³⁹ indicates that the war has disrupted family units as many people have simply lost contact with their family members as a result of abrupt scattering that the war often caused. Other social problems include HIV and AIDS and poverty which are accelerated by the above conditions. To its international credit Uganda has been open about this problem and has been fighting to reverse the HIV and AIDS trends. While the Anglican Church of Uganda has played a distinctive and significant role in this, it seems to have ignored the other social problems of the country. Yet the church has an obligation to formulate programmes which can address these. This study will therefore call on the church to develop an understanding of the theology of non-violence resistance.

5.3 Towards a contextual interpretation of Luwum's model of non- violent resistance

The previous section has engaged with Uganda's socio-economic and political past and present and the major challenges that this past poses to the present and future. Such challenges have been identified as: the "ghosts" of brutal violence, corruption, embezzlement and greed, the politics of dominance and religious conflicts and church silence which have continued to haunt Uganda. We have also seen that the church has an obligation to lay them to rest. Therefore, in this section we are going to explore the relevance of Luwum's model of non-violent resistance in contemporary Uganda. Since theology refers to discourse about God and His will then, the Anglican Church of Uganda will be compelled to be relevant and contextual so as to adequately address the above stated ghosts haunting contemporary Uganda. Therefore, the church is required to understand that her theology will only be credible, intelligible, and real in Ugandan context if she first grapples with the systemic violence perpetuated by the militaristic tradition and culture of guns. Since the Anglican Church is familiar with the non-violent resistance model as championed by Archbishop Luwum, what will therefore be required is to contextualise and interpret it according to the contemporary Ugandan context. This will only be possible if the Anglican Church starts reflecting on a theology of non-violence as articulated by Luwum.

Luwum practiced his non-violent resistance approach among the poor, the rich and the politician and consistently voiced a strong rejection of autocracy, brutal violent killing, corruption, militarism

³⁹ www.invisiblechildren.com

and tribalism in favour of justice, peace and reconciliation.⁴⁰ As an Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda he called for Amin's regime to use its resources to serve the needs of suffering humanity rather than for buying expensive weapon from the Arab world. His reflections, reported monthly in the *New Day* Anglican newspaper and Radio Uganda, grew from his day to day experiences of life among the poor in Northern Uganda.⁴¹ His theological reflections sprung from a lifelong immersion in the systemic injustice posed by colonialism, and the Obote and Amin autocratic regimes. He argues,

As you encounter the environment characterised by atrocities, tribalism and poverty in Uganda you definitely realise that it cannot be changed by mere words but actions. In this case it is a question of risking your life. It's a question of sacrifice; it is a question of living your life differently.⁴²

From this starting point, he applied the non-violence of Jesus and went forth to serve the poor, walk with the poor, defend the poor, and proclaim the Gospel vision of justice and peace. In his theology of non-violence, Luwum asserts that he met Christ in the poor and in the enemy for we are called to love Christ present in every human being, especially in the poor and in the enemy. Such active love he suggests, is the one thing which can transform the world.⁴³ Even though Luwum was violently murdered, nevertheless he demonstrated that even in the environment dominated by hatred, violence, and autocracy, a theology of non-violence can be practiced to non-violently transform the world. This is because a theology of non-violent resistance seeks to identify God's response and way out of the violence, and enters into a human struggle to bring peace, freedom and *shalom*, hence becoming God's transformation. In light of the Ugandan context, a theology of non-violent resistance will demonstrate Gods' love, peace and reconciliation as opposed to violence, militarism and guns. Of course, as we have seen in the previous chapters, Luwum was not the first to demonstrate this. Before him Gandhi and King theologically reflected on non-violent resistance and active participation in a non-violent way as they struggled for justice and peace in their world. Consequently, Gandhi, King and Luwum highlighted this way of supporting God's activity in the world in a peaceful and non-violent way. They pointed to a new way of doing practical theology and inspired a pastoral praxis based on non-violence as seen in the establishment of the beloved community.

⁴⁰ <http://www.acu.luwum/justice/inlet.htm>

⁴¹ <http://www.acu.luwum/justice/inlet.htm>

⁴² <http://www.acu.luwum/justice/inlet.htm>

⁴³ <http://www.acu.luwum/justice/inlet.htm>

To practice this theology of non-violence in the Ugandan context, the church will need to participate in the non-violent struggle for love, peace, reconciliation and justice. As such the Anglican Church will be compelled to shift from traditional pastoral practice to a contextual pastoral praxis which is liberative. This is in line with Denise Ackermann (1996:38) contention that pastoral praxis that is based on a liberating model is an important tool for it encourages reflection and active participation of people who are oppressed and marginalised for “it works in the interest of justice, liberation and wellbeing.” This model does not fall into the trap of separating theory from praxis or “of understanding the relationship between theory and praxis as one way movement from theory to praxis” as in other models (Ackermann 1996:38). For this reason, Luwum’s non-violent resistance model is a useful model especially when working with those who are oppressed and marginalized. This model does not separate theory from praxis. A contextual pastoral praxis based on a theology of non-violence resistance will allow the Anglican Church to theologically reflect on the liberation of the people of Uganda. As such, the active non-violent resistance based on love, reconciliation and peacemaking will assist the church to implement programmes that can uplift the Ugandan communities. Furthermore, this model will enable the Anglican Church to humanise both the victors and the victims hence giving hope in the midst of pain, brokenness and suffering. Therefore, church will be rediscovering Archbishop Luwum’s call for non-violent resistance as a tool to engage the state. Indeed, this new theology of non-violence will enable the church to participate in the matters that affect lives without turning to violence. This is because a theology of non-violence emerges from the broad public Christian peacemaking activity in the world and its violence.

Since this theology is rooted in the living witness and daily practice of *shalom*, it becomes a theology that can literally make peace in the Ugandan context which is characterised by war. And as we have seen above, a theology of non-violent resistance is necessary because it articulates a theology of justice, peace that seeks justice and makes peace in the process. In other words, it is a theology of non-violence which challenges the systems of violence, oppression and death that plague humanity and help us to understand who God is, what it means to be human, what it means to be a Christian, and how we can more faithfully serve humanity in its struggle for justice and peace. Just as liberation theology relates the liberating struggle from oppression to the traditional Christian theology of human salvation, so too a theology of nonviolence relates the non-violent transformation of the world's violence into justice and peace with the traditional Christian theology of human salvation. Using the perspective of non-violent resistance model articulated by

Luwum, the Anglican Church of Uganda will therefore approach theology practically with the eyes of non-violence and gain new insights into God, humanity, and environment.

In that case the Anglican Church will be obligated to use a hermeneutic of non-violence towards the scriptures. The church will then be forced to question the traditional theology that sees God as a violent spiritual being and focus on theology that sees God as a non-violent God. This approach will enable the church to re-read the Bible, hence leading to new ways of doing practical theology. In other words, it will be a new way of understanding God, Christ, the church, human life, the world, and what the future of humanity might be through the perspective of *shalom*, or peace with justice. Again, the above hermeneutical approach will enable the church to examine the legitimacy of any government and explore the appropriateness of its socio-economic and political structures through the perspective of *shalom*.

Therefore, if the Anglican Church of Uganda adopts this theology of non-violence, it can release the gospel's power to liberate the poor from systemic structures of poverty, corruption, injustice and war. For the people of Uganda, living in a culture of dominated by violence, this new way of doing theology will lead them to actively resist the violence, the militarist tradition and the culture of guns which kills and dehumanises humanity. King like Luwum, personally envisioned the process of dismantling structures of injustice as a crucial dimension of the contemporary life of faith:

There is nothing wrong with a traffic law which says you have to stop for a red light. But when a fire is raging, the fire truck goes right through that red light... Or when a (person) is bleeding to death, the ambulance goes through those red lights at top speed... Disinherited people all over the world are bleeding to death from deep social and economic wounds. They need brigades of ambulance drivers who will have to ignore the red lights of the present system until the emergency is solved." (King 1967: 28)

Whatever process the Anglican Church chooses to use, she is called at this critical time to join with other church denominations to pray, reflect, act and support one another in the ways of peace and justice. Addressing the issue of peace and Justice Walter Wink argues that,

Violence is the ethos of our times. It is the spirituality of the modern world. It has been accorded the status of religion, demanding from its devotees an absolute obedience to death. Its followers are not aware, however, that the devotion they pay to violence is a form of religious piety. Violence is as successful as a myth precisely because it does not seem to be mythic in the least. Violence simply appears to be the nature of things. It is what works. It is inevitable, the last, and often, the first resort to conflicts. It is embraced with equal alacrity by people on the left and on the right, by religious liberals as well as religious conservatives. The threat of violence, it is believed, is alone able to deter aggressors. It secured us forty-five years of a balance of terror. We learned to trust the Bomb to grant us peace. "An eye for an eye" sums up this worldwide philosophy of retaliation. The nonviolence of Jesus and Gandhi, on the other hand, teaches that an eye for an eye only makes the whole world blind (1992: 26).

The Non-violent resistance model maintains that violence only leads to further violence, and that violence never ever solves anything. When the church comes together, following Luwum's non-violent resistance approach, this will help to create a more humane environment in Uganda.

5.4.1 Church and State: revisiting Luwum's non-violent resistance model

Having seen the contextual interpretation of Luwum's concept of non-violence in the contemporary Uganda and having seen how the ghosts of the militaristic tradition and the culture guns has led to the prolonged civil war in Uganda, we now look at the relevance of Luwum's concept of church and state in the contemporary Uganda. This calls for careful correlations and assessments in the quest for an authentic model that can effectively address the issue of church and state engagement. As such, this section will attempt to formulate a contextual interpretation of Archbishop Luwum's model of church and state engagement and show its implication for the contemporary Uganda. This study acknowledges that while Obote and Amin's regimes were extremely oppressive and violent, Museveni's era was different. For as we have seen from the above, Museveni's government has overseen a remarkable economic, social and political recovery since 1986 and this is recognised even by the international community.

However the politics of dominance, corruption, the militaristic tradition and culture of guns among others, as we have examined above, is a characteristic of the past regimes as well as of Museveni's regime, hence compelling us to revisit Archbishop Luwum's concept of church and state. In other words, it has been noted that the past and present regimes have imposed their political aspiration and agendas over those of Ugandan people. Therefore revisiting Luwum's concept of church-state relations will enable the Anglican Church of Uganda to recover its lost prophetic voice. For as S. Kiwanuka (2000:34) and P. Mutibwa (1991:103) remind us, the Anglican Church of Uganda has failed to create political awareness amongst its members, thus failing to be the conscience of the society. For this reason, there is a need for the Anglican Church to develop a model that can enable her to be the conscience of the society so as to address the above challenges. This is because, while the Anglican Church remains silent, the country continues to experience political instability. Philomena Njeri Mwaura (1999:57) contends that the role of the church should be to provide the example in the society, taking into consideration that "they are the demographically the majority in most Christian denominations." This position of neutrality taken by the Anglican Church has failed to confront the challenges being experienced in Uganda.

Therefore revisiting Archbishop Luwum's understanding of non-violent resistance and church and state relations will help the Ugandan Anglican Church to resist the forces of the present and future state's oppression. For Luwum's concepts of non-violence resistance to be viable in contemporary Uganda, it is pivotal that the church advocate for "multi-party" democracy as opposed to the one party system. Therefore the church will be compelled to understand the meaning and, the value of democracy and the significance of democratisation in Uganda.

5.4.2 Church-State relations: The role of the church in the democratization of Uganda.

Democracy is a very broad term and it is difficult to define it with thoroughness. This is because it is not monolithic, and it is described as a concept and system of governance that has been applied in various ways from one context to another. In the discipline of philosophy and political science, democracy is seen as part of political discourse and it has been traced from the classical Greece of 5th century B.C.E. On the ancient understanding of democracy, Miller explains that it concerned participation by representation rather than actual and equal participation of every citizen in the affairs of the state. This is because such a system would accrue to "mob rule." In fact Miller (1992:192) affirms that in Plato's view, the ideal system was "aristocracy," hence the rule by philosophers. He believed that those who are enlightened with regard to "reality, truth and goodness and have emerged from the darkness of the cave and beheld the god" (Miller 1992:192). On the other hand, while Aristotle rejected the "mob rule", he believed that an adequate form of governance must accommodate "the rank and file of the citizenry with its collective experience of good sense" (Miller 1992:153).

Denis (1991:16) contends that the classic meaning of democracy is different from the present understanding. This is because it is understood from a communal perspective rather than from an individual sense of human or personal rights. The government exists for the well-being of the nation, and seeking common good was perceived as good governance. Denis (1991:164) notes that though it was believed to be applicable only in small states like Athens, and that compared to monarchy or aristocracy, democracy (*politeia*) was believed to have the advantage of providing "stability by giving power to a greater number of citizens." For Denis (1991:164) democratic government has become particularly necessary in order to ensure everyone's right, since the only limit to individual freedom now is non-infringement of another person's right. As such democratic government is therefore an affirmation of the rule of the people, by the people, and for the people, which for "practical reasons" is exerted through representation rather than actual direct participation

of every citizen in government (Denis 1991:164). Denis (1991:164) concludes that democracy today is considered to be the political system with best tools to promote and preserve the ideal of freedom, equality and justice, whereas in the classic age it was just one among other options. Fareed Zakaria, who argues, that civil society and its organizations are essential in underpinning democratic rule:

Democracy is more than a set of constitutional rules and procedures that determine how a government functions. In a democracy, government is only one element coexisting in a social fabric of many and varied institutions, political parties, organizations, and associations. This diversity is called pluralism, and it assumes that the many organized groups and institutions in a democratic society do not depend upon government for their existence, legitimacy, or authority. Thousands of private organizations operate in a democratic society, some local, some national. Many of them serve a mediating role between individuals and the complex social and governmental institutions of which they are a part, filling roles not given to the government and offering individuals opportunities to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens of a democracy. These groups represent the interests of their members in a variety of ways--by supporting candidates for public office, debating issues, and trying to influence policy decisions. Through such groups, individuals have an avenue for meaningful participation both in government and in their own communities. The examples are many and varied: charitable organizations and churches, environmental and neighborhood groups, business associations and labor unions (2003:27).

Zakaria (2003:1-27) observes that in an authoritarian society, nearly all organizations would be controlled, licensed, watched, or otherwise accountable to the government. He goes on to say that the pillars of democracy include, sovereignty of the people, government based upon consent of the governed, majority rule, minority rights, guarantee of basic human rights, free and fair elections, equality before the law, due process of law, constitutional limits on government, social, economic and political pluralism, value of tolerance, pragmatism, cooperation and compromise (Zakaria 2003:27). In other words, in a democratic country the powers of the government are, by law, clearly defined and sharply limited. As a result, private organizations are free of government control and many may also lobby the government and seek to hold it accountable for its actions. The role of the church in the process of democratisation is very important as evidence in the 1991 *Papal* encyclical, *Catesimus Annus*:

The church values the democratic system in as much as it ensures the participation of citizens in making political choices, guarantees to the governed the possibility both of electing and holding accountable those who govern them and of replacing them through peaceful means when appropriate (Ranger 1995:23).

Since Museveni's ascendancy to power, the impact of the Anglican Church has been mostly felt in humanitarian and social upliftment work. It has worked in liaison with international humanitarian bodies, such as the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) distributing food to those who are displaced. It has also continued to work with various relief and development projects in Northern Uganda, particularly in projects which were destroyed by war. While humanitarianism is important, the major weakness of the Anglican Church of Uganda in the context of democratisation of Uganda

is that it has stayed on the periphery. This is because ever since Museveni came to power the Anglican church has not had an influence on any constitutional and institutional change that have taken place; rather the church has been supporting the Museveni's regime blindly (UJCC 1999b:8).

Jesse Mugambi laments that,

Imperialism and colonial rule imposed on Africans an asymmetrical relationship between the rulers and the governed, so that the imperial citizens were entitled to "democracy" while the colonial subjects were not. Whereas the imperial citizens in the colony could enjoy "democratic rights" imperial subjects could not enjoy any right, freedom, privileges or prerogatives. Subjects could not vote to choose their leaders; they could not debate on how much to pay in taxes, or on how the tax revenue could be used. Forced labour was taken for granted, and the colonial Governor was the supreme authority, ruling without the mandate of the governed. Strikes and labour boycotts were illegal and any criticism of the colonial regime was treason (2004:22).

The above is the context in which the post- colonial states were formed and continued to develop and as a result the church could not critique the state. The church leaders who dared to be critical, found themselves either detained or killed, as in the case of Archbishop Luwum. Yet the church is called to proclaim *shalom*—peace with justice. Furthermore, church leaders have constantly been reminded by the politicians that religion and politics do not mix. It would be the wish of politicians to amass political power without involving the common person is not involved hence the call for religious leaders to keep off. However, in spite of this call Luwum asked all the people to join him in non-violent resistance to fight for a just society for he felt that he was mandated by the prophetic role to press for the democracy. This is in line with Ndungane (2004:161) who argues that, "at all times the church carries the responsibility of reading the signs of the time, and interpreting them in the light of the gospel, if it is to carry out its task." There is need for the Anglican Church to fully educate the society on how to be responsible citizens and fight for democracy. A responsible society is one that creates a conducive environment and provides opportunities for individual and societal development. In such an environment, a constitution will help the people to willingly obey the law, respect the rights of others, and forgo the temptation of private enrichment at the expense of public wealth. Such a society takes responsibility for breaking the laws and good governance leads to true democracy, where people have the power to govern themselves.

Therefore working for democracy in its full sense should be the focus of the Anglican Church of Uganda and the church should be concerned with not only electoral matters, but also with the socio-economic and political conditions of the majority of the people. Furthermore, the church should stress good governance and democracy that considers the unnecessary suffering of the people as being morally wrong and therefore unacceptable. This is because the church has a major social responsibility in bringing about true democracy which includes freedom, equality, justice, and

fullness of life. Certainly, a citizenry which is able and willing to engage the government and serve as a “watchdog” of the decision making machinery, is a true party to the democratisation process. The church which keeps silent and refuses to participate in the democratic process can therefore be said to be ignoring her prophetic role. Steve de Gruchy (2001:34) cautions that when the church concerns herself with the ultimate, that is, the coming of the kingdom (eternal life) and ignores to participate in God’s *shalom* in this world, she is not understanding her purpose on earth. He also contends that, when the church just concerns herself with the things of this present world and assumes that she is called to institute the kingdom of God on this earth and ignores the things of ultimate value then she is missing her goal (de Gruchy: 2001:34). The above is also observed by David Bosch (1991: 389-390) when he says that the mission of the church should be understood as that which comes from the very nature of God in which God-Head, Son and Holy Spirit sends the church into the world. The mission of the church is thus above all, the work of the Triune God (God the creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier) who gives the church an opportunity or a privilege to participate in mission in the world (Bosch 1991: 389). For Bosch (1991:115) the mission of the church is a multifaceted ministry which includes many activities for instance, witness, service, justice, healing, reconciliation, liberation, peace, evangelism, fellowship, church planting and contextualisation. This theological understanding of the work of the church is central to this study.

In view of this mission of the church and realizing that democracy enhances freedom, equality and justice, it becomes clear that the needs church to engage with the state to claim their social rights and ultimately exercise political rights and contribute to the development of the society. The role of the church in the democratisation of Uganda is therefore to be involved in the democratic process in all its facets as described above. As such, the church will be required to be concerned with the issues of justice (*shalom*), human dignity, freedom of association, freedom of speech and the rule of law, which are some of the elements of the principles of democracy and good governance. The most productive way to ensure this is through the praxis of the Non-violent resistance model.

5.4.3 Church-state relations: The colonial model

Having seen the role of the church in democratisation and having studied Archbishop Luwum’s concept of non-violent resistance model, we can now turn to explore a contextual model of church and state relation. In the previous chapters, we have seen the impact of the relationship between the Anglican church and the state and how Luwum tried to use the church machineries to engage the state into a democratic process. What is evident is that the two institutions, from colonial times up to

the Museveni's time, have been operating side by side, hence giving an impression that the Anglican Church was an established Church in Uganda. This model of church-state relations was imported from Britain by the early missionaries. During colonial times, the Anglican Church in Uganda participated actively in the enthronement and dethronement of traditional kings. In this case, it shared the political wishes of its partners, the colonialists. In other words, the Anglican Church was technically orchestrating the sub-imperialism which had seriously affected the traditional political systems inside and outside the Buganda kingdom. An illustration: in 1953, the Anglican Archbishop, Leslie Brown schemed with the colonialists to orchestrate the deportation of King Muteesa II. The above scenario is well articulated by Frank Kurschner-Pelkmann, who affirms that,

In order to administer their new colonies effectively and with as little effort as possible on their part, the new European colonial rulers used the existing political structures of power and adopted them according to their needs. Many "chiefs" and "kings" were used as henchmen to collect taxes and to provide forced labour for plantations and the construction of railways and road. Local chieftains who refused to collaborate were arbitrarily killed or exiled and replaced by new appointee. Traditional mechanisms for controlling the politically powerful were undermined (2004:4).

In this respect King Muteesa II was deported because he did not side with the colonialists and the Anglican Church contributed in this by refusing to support him. Another incident, in 1961, when the Anglican Church of Uganda conspired with the colonial regime to cancel the first democratic election because it was won by a Catholic dominated party (the Democratic Party). Subsequently, both the Anglican Church and the colonialist organised for fresh elections in which the Anglican dominated party (Uganda People's Congress) won. What this means is that, the Anglican Church, instead of being the champion of democracy and good governance, had become an instrument of rigging the elections, and upholding the system that was undemocratic and unjust. Frank Kurschner-Pelkmann (2004:4) argues that forming the democratic state was not the "intention of the colonial rulers for they were neither concerned with, nor interested in the participation of their subjects in governance":

Their main concern was about subduing the people and exploiting their labour and resources. One of the methods of achieving this goal was to intensify the differences between regions and ethnic communities in order to bring about conflicts. Divide and rule" is the name of the game. Thus the seeds of every ethnic and regional conflict were sown through the promotion of difference and undermining of social harmony (2004:4).

As a result, the church was co-opted by the state and Obote was prepared to pay the salaries of the clergy. The Anglican Church of Uganda adopted the model of church-state relations introduced to them by CMS missionaries (Richardson 1973:5), the "Constantinian model" which allows the state to control the church. When the Anglican Church was breaking from Roman Catholic Church, the

king of England, King Henry the VIII, through an act of parliament, nationalised the church (Richardson 1973:5). The state also had an influence on the way the liturgy is used, as is the case with the Anglican prayer book (BCP) which was sanctioned by an act of Parliament and not the Church of England (Richardson 1973:5).

In this model, the Church had the responsibility of anointing and blessing the Crown (State). The Archbishop of Canterbury and York and twenty four senior Bishops in the United Kingdom have their seats on the right hand of the House of Lords (Richardson 1973:5). This shows how these two institutions have had a tradition of embracing one another since Reformation. While the Anglican Church in Uganda was not officially declared as “official church” nevertheless, Bishop Tucker perfected the above model when he was given by the colonial regime the role of a consultancy and political negotiator. Therefore when the missionaries left the African Church leaders in Uganda continued with this model. The church was thus left with no voice because it was part and parcel of the state. Thus the emergence of Archbishop Luwum with his new model of working with the state was seen by the state and his church as something alien, hence he become a lonely voice in the wilderness.

5.4.4 Church-state relations: Strengths and Weaknesses of the colonial model

This model was effective in the formative period of Uganda for the government was able to support the programmes initiated by the church. The government also provided funds for teacher’s salaries while the church provided teachers. On the other hand the state, benefited from the church’s influence on people and so administration was made easier for them. The weakness of this model is that the Anglican Church of Uganda was able to marginalise other church denominations and the Muslims thus accelerating religious conflicts. This model enables the church to support a tyranny as in the case where the Anglican Church was supporting Obote simply because he was an Anglican. Furthermore, the church has had a more complex and ambiguous relationship to the state since independence for it has clung to whatever regime happens to be in power. The same can be seen in South African context where the Dutch Reformed Church supported the apartheid policies even when the church was aware that the government was marginalising the black community and depriving them of their socio-economic and political rights. Therefore the credibility and effectiveness of the church in democratisation of the state depends on the model the church decides to choose.

5.4.5 Church-state relations: A contextual model

Because of the weakness of the colonial model, where the Anglican Church embraced the state with uncritical acceptance, there is need for a contextual model that can be used by the church. Mugambi traces the separation of the church and state from the fifth century. He affirms that,

Separation of religion and politics can be traced from the fifth century, when St Augustine published his famous book, *City of God*. In that book he contrasted divine reign with human regimes. In his view, divine reign was the ideal against which human regimes could be evaluated. Rome, with its entire splendor, was corrupt, exploitative and oppressive. The City of God would be free from all shortcomings and many times more glamorous (2004:26).

He goes on to say that the notion of the separation of church and state can also be seen in Luther's doctrine of God's two kingdoms and two reigns (Mugambi 2004:26-27). Luther did not separate church and state but clearly distinguished them. Mugambi (2004:27) observes that political leaders would be very comfortable with the church not questioning the state on matters of justice, and would wish for a separation between church and state. Hence he says,

Luther's two kingdom doctrine was convenient for political leaders, because it legitimized political leadership and made political leaders unaccountable to religious authority. Modern North Atlantic nationalism, since the seventeenth century, has been based on this two kingdom dichotomy. Africa nationalism took cue from European imperial rule. The so called "separation of church and state made it possible for political leaders to practice two sets of norms, one in the religious domain and the other in the political arena. Ideally, there should be no contradistinction between politics and religion, considering that religion and politics are complementary pillars of culture (Mugambi 2004:27).

We agree with Mugambi because the church and the state serve the same people and so they can complement one another. However, the church and state each has its own area of competence and responsibility. For this reason, the state should not interfere with the proclamation of the gospel and the church must not use the agency of the state to promote the gospel or Christianize the society. Arguing that the church should not be involved in matters of political and economic affairs is not acceptable in a country like Uganda and African in general. This is because, the church is mandated to be involved in socio-political and economic affairs and it has a mandate to exercise its prophetic role or risk being ignored completely. For the church to be effective in addressing socio-economic and political issues she should embrace a wholistic model of church and state relations. In this model, the church addresses the socio-economic, political and spiritual problems. This model has its roots in the ancient Africa, where leaders used to exercise both political as well as religious influence irrespective of whether they were priests or not. According to Mugambi (2004:13) traditionally, "at the local community level, there is hardly any distinction between religious and political leadership." What this means is that the African leaders used to integrate religion and

politics and there were no separation. This is because African religion transcends spiritual boundaries. This is well articulated by John S. Mbiti (1969:1) when he says that, “Africans are notoriously religious.” Mbiti goes on to affirm that this religiosity is forceful because,

Wherever the African is, there is his religion: he carries it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop; he takes it with him to the beer party or to attend a funeral ceremony; and if he is educated, he takes religion with him to the examination room at school or in the university; if he is a politician he takes it to the house of parliament. Although many African languages do not have a word for religion as such, it nevertheless accompanies the individual from long before his birth to long after his physical death (1969:2).

The point we are trying to make here is that, the separation of religion and politics is something foreign to Africa. Therefore as is traditional in Africa, the church should engage with the state for it to be contextual and relevant. Mugambi reminds us that,

The artificial demarcation of political and religious domains in the governance of nation is derived from a trend in the schooling of the African elite that can be traced to the European Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The contemporary African elite, alienated from the African norms of governance through schooling, has tended to take secularization too literally, with the consequence that social harmony has been breached by conflict between secularism and sacralism and also between various brands of institutionalized religion (2004:13-14)

The natural state of affairs is for the church (religion) to saturate the secular domain. Therefore, this wholistic model of church-state relation will enable the church to challenge the state when there are injustices and at the same time support the government in development programmes that humanise the life of the people. In promoting the above model, the dilemmas that face the church leadership in Uganda can be confronted. This is because many church denominations have not formulated a theology of church and state relations and so they are confused on how to confront the abuse of power without appearing to be disloyal to the state authority. This is where a theological interpretation on non-violent resistance can assist the church in Uganda to reflect on how to relate with the state. Based on the notion of *shalom*, the church leaders will realize that the non-violent resistance model and theology does not entertain tyrants and cannot support autocratic regimes. For according to the principles of non-violent resistance, disobedience of tyranny is an appeal to a higher moral authority - justice. Perhaps that is why Kumalo disagrees with Luther's concept of church separation from state when he says,

Luther's approach is limited and handicapped by not recognising the need for the church to make a contribution to the promotion of participatory democracy and good governance. The church in Africa, a continent faced with poverty, underdevelopment and bad governance cannot stand aloof from the kingdom of the world and leave everything in the hands of politicians without being protective of the citizenry and broader civil society including the church (Kumalo 2007:223).

Kumalo (2007:223) further argues that “the church needs to make a contribution both through its members individually and as an institution” for the democratisation of the country requires the church to adopt a good model and in this case a “critical solidarity” becomes a relevant model. This is because,

It encourages the church to assist government in initiatives that seek to empower people, whilst maintaining a critical distance that allows it to criticise and condemn government where it violates people’s right. Would critical solidarity have worked differently in the Rwandan situation? Would maintaining a critical distance have prevented the church from being absorbed by the state? There is a need for all stakeholders in a country, the church included, to help the state to consolidate its systems of governance and development. Such collaboration must be guided by informed methods and strategies which are rooted in a sound theology of church and state relations and whose mandate and agenda of that theology must be to enact fundamental principles of the kingdom of God such as equality, justice and security for all (Kumalo 2007:224).

Mugambi and Kumalo’s view is also reflected by Samuel Kobia (2004:44). For him, five elements are important in the democratisation of Africa: “integrity and wholeness”, the “relational dimension of democracy”, the “moral dimension” and “consensus building and equality” (Kobia 2004:45). His argument is based on the assumption that these elements of democracy are ignored and overlooked and yet they are very crucial for contextual, home-grown, genuine democracy in contemporary Africa (Kobia 2004:45-46). He goes on to say that to establish genuine democracy in Africa it is necessary to deal with “the content and relational character of democracy, that is, democracy for life” (Kobia 2004:44). In addition to the above, he affirms that,

the idea of inclusiveness and holistic participation is essential to the quality of prophetic witness to the political elite by church because such witness goes beyond structure changes in governance and manifest a deep commitment and ethical responsibility on the part of the church leaders (Kobia 2004:44).

This is in line with the wholistic church-state model. This is because it is wholistic, inclusive and transcends the structural barriers. John de Gruchy proposes five models based on theological foundations which he argues that the church can use to democratise the society. These models include *prophetic trajectory*, *personalist trajectory*, *covenantal trajectory*, *liberal trajectory* and *socialist trajectory*. The first model is the *prophetic trajectory model*. He argues that this model arises out of the “experience of liberation” and it focuses on “human equality” and “social justice” (de Gruchy 1995:53). The second model is *personalist trajectory*. He affirms that this model reflects on the understanding of human beings as created in the image of God and it also focuses on human sociality (de Gruchy 1995:53). The third model is the *covenantal trajectory*. He contends that this model focuses on the need for human responsibility before God and towards others on the basis of God’s reign in Jesus Christ. This corresponds “with the doctrine of the social contract, yet unlike the

social contract, its binding force is not just a sense of obligation but a commitment to others within the body politic under the authority of God” (de Gruchy 1995:53).

The fourth model is the *liberal trajectory*. He view this model as the one which puts strong emphasis on the “dignity of an individual” and is concerned with the “promotion of human rights” (1995:54). The final model is the *socialist trajectory*. De Gruchy notes that this model is embodied within the broad Christian socialist tradition and is expressed in various forms in liberation theology. In other words, this model is concerned with economic justice and democracy:

At the end of the day the criterion by which a society will be judged is how it responds to the plight of the poor. Hence there can be no democracy without a just economic order. Key concerns are therefore human solidarity, participation in the democratic process and, with regard to democracy transition, restitution and reparation (de Gruchy 1995:54).

The above contextual models will enable the Anglican Church of Uganda to be the conscience of the society. The church as the light and salt of the world acts as a catalyst in the process of transforming the conscience of individual and society. Aquiline Tarimo (2004:67) argues that the state is created to defend social structures that stand for the common good and the church on the other hand is instituted by God to contribute to the building of value systems upon which a sound human society may be built. For Tarimo (2004:67) the interaction between the church and state is where religious beliefs find their rightful expression in political life. In other words, participation of the church in the process of democratization is the fulfillment of a church as the light and salt to the world and therefore a wholistic church-state model is not only contextual but also theological.

5.4.6 Church-state relations: the call for ecumenism

One of the challenges facing the church is to learn how to partner with other faith based groups and non governmental organisations. Luwum realised that to overcome the challenges posed by authoritarian government there is need for ecumenism. This is also observed by Kumalo who contends that,

One of the strengths of ecumenism is that it makes the church strong and helps it to engage the state from a position of power and privilege. This is absent when it is divided. One of the factors that led to the Rwandan church’s failure to resist the temptation to be absorbed by a critical distance. This is possible where the ecumenical movement is not strong. The state too close to the Catholic Church and left other churches aside, thus dividing the body of Christ. Where the church is divided it is easy for the government to make use of its weakness (2007: 225).

And because unity is strength the church which endeavours to work alone cannot succeed to confront the excessive power of the state. The church has the capacity to mobilize the community,

NGOs and civil society so as to work against undemocratic systems and enhance democratisation. This is in line with Samuel Kobia's assertion that,

Peaceful non-violence action is part of the prophetic mandate of the churches. This approach demands dialogue in addition to ecumenical engagement even with non-Christian agencies. Putting in place systems that would guarantee free and fair elections, establishment of monitoring mechanism and creating an environment of peaceful transfer of power is all part of this mandate. The churches together must openly denounce corruption and educate the electorate on participatory democracy in addition to social justice. Very often church leaders have to come to terms with their denominational and ethnic identity before they can act ecumenically or nationally. The tendency is to tilt conveniently towards ethnicity in time of crisis (2004:48).

According to David Gitari (1991:20) the Christians and non-Christians are supposed to be responsible for their own lives and to work for democratization in their own country. Gitari is of the opinion that the church should involve itself in politics and politics should not be left to politicians alone because it involves the "life of the people" (Gitari 1991:24). This view is supported by John W. de Gruchy, who argues that,

Democratisation cannot be left to the politicians because it is dependent upon the participation of the people and therefore on the development of a people who are able to participate. There is no democracy without democrats, and that requires the value-formation of people within civil as well as political society (1995:49-50).

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed a contextual interpretation of Archbishop Luwum's model of non-violent resistance and church-state relations in contemporary Uganda. The chapter has identified and diagnosed Amin's ghosts in the in the present Ugandan context and has shown how the Anglican Church can use Luwum's model of non-violent resistance to confront them. It has also shown how the Anglican Church of Uganda can theologically reflect on Luwum's concept of non-violent resistance and has demonstrated how the Anglican Church can develop a contextual model for church-state relations. The chapter argued that for this to be successful the Anglican Church of Uganda should embrace a church-state model that can enable her to maintain autonomy hence resisting being co-opted by the state. Based on the socio-political context that has transpired in Uganda, the chapter has explored the role of the church in the democratisation of Uganda and has given a definition of democracy and its value to the society. The chapter has argued that the church which believes in the principle of non-violent resistance and *shalom* should involve herself in the democratisation process in Uganda. As a conscience of the society and with pastoral hermeneutics based on non-violent theology, the chapter argues that the Anglican Church of Uganda can now face the challenges posed by the politics of dominance, corruption, the militaristic tradition and the

culture of guns among others. The chapter has expressed the need for the church to engage in ecumenicalism and teamwork the NGOs and other faith based organisations. To this end, the chapter has prepared us to conclude the whole study, to which we now turn.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMEDATION

6.1 Introduction

Throughout the course of this study and we have sought to examine a contextual interpretation of the Luwum's concept of the non-violent resistance model and church-state relations in contemporary Uganda. This concern has arisen as a result of the need for the Anglican Church of Uganda to participate effectively in the socio-economic and political transformation of Uganda. The study found that Archbishop Luwum did not only change the understanding of church-state relations in Uganda but also provided a model that the Anglican Church of Uganda can use today. Therefore, this final chapter will provide a summary of the research findings before giving some suggestions and recommendations.

6.2 Summary of the research findings

This study has investigated the methods and approaches used by Archbishop Janani Luwum in the fight for democratic governance. Employing a non-empirical method of research (a qualitative research) based on a conceptual analysis, as we have seen in chapter one, and using practical theology to dialogue with social events and cultural, political and historical events the study has explored critically the role of the Church during the time of Idi Amin and how Archbishop Luwum applied the method of non-violence and his understanding of church-state relationship. The study

has attempted to unveil the statement problem: What lessons can we learn from Archbishop Luwum's concept of the non-violence resistance method and church state relations and how can these concepts help the contemporary Anglican Church in her attempt to engage in the democratisation of Uganda?

In the second chapter, the study has attempted to reconstruct the life and works of Archbishop Luwum. It has explored the roots and the formative factors that shaped Archbishop Luwum's thoughts and actions. The study found that his early encounters and struggles, his educational background locally and abroad, his inspiration from his parents and his conversion to *Balokole* are some of the factors that compelled him to engage in social transformation. In particular, the study found that, the writings and the works of Martin Luther King Jr made contribution to Luwum's engagement with the state. Furthermore the study located his place in socio-economic and political transformation within the Ugandan context in which he worked. In addition to that the study has revealed that the emergence of the two world wars influenced Luwum in many ways for as an inquisitive child, Luwum was able to understand human suffering at a very young age this was later augmented by the stories and the teachings of his parents. Other factors such as, the Acholi culture, early school life, early martyrs, *Balokole* theology, his theological studies in Uganda and in United Kingdom, the study has revealed that it has shaped and refined his worldview. Similarly, his ecclesiastical positions (leadership) such as being an Anglican clergy, Provincial Secretary, bishop and as an Archbishop placed him in a strategic position which positively exposed him to critical thinking thereby providing a good grounding for his political and theological articulations of the non-violent resistance approach that dominated his life.

In the third chapter, the study has provided a theoretical framework of the non-violent resistance model. The study found that, the non-violence resistance model is a strategy employed to compel the opponents or oppressors to change their mind as a way of forcing him or her come to a compromise. The study has explored Gandhi, King and Luwum's model of non-violence resistance and has revealed that even though Gandhi was not a Christian, his understanding of non-violence resistance as in *Satyagraha* (the principles of truth, love and suffering) is compatible with Christianity. The chapter also ascertained that King was immensely influenced by the teaching of Gandhi while Luwum's model of non-violence resistance was heavily influenced by the teaching of King. The study noted that King's embrace of Gandhi's principle of non-violent resistance was largely due to his understanding of the Christian ethical principles. It revealed that Gandhi, King

and Luwum were eliminated by the same system they tried to transform and we were left wondering: why should the people who proclaim a non-violent resistance model die violently? This enabled us to speculate that non-violence is very radical and forceful so that few autocratic governments tolerate it. As such, the study noted that the church which upholds the principle of love, truth and suffering will find the non-violent resistance model an important tool for fighting injustices.

The fourth chapter has highlighted a theology of non-violent resistance. It found that the principles of the non-violence resistance model advocate the equality of humanity and the empowerment of the underprivileged and that its basic orientation is in harmony with the Christian understanding of human dignity, justice, liberation, prosperity, love and redemption which is *shalom*. It outlined the social, cultural, moral and political aspects of *shalom* and argued that the church which claims to be involved in the work of *shalom* making in the context of undemocratic structures and dehumanizing socio-economic systems will find the non-violent resistance approach as an important pastoral tool for liberation, democratization, and transformation of the structures and institutions of injustice and oppression which kill the poor, the marginalised and the oppressed in the society.

The fifth chapter discussed a contextual interpretation of Luwum's model of non-violent resistance and church state relations in contemporary Uganda. Amin's ghosts such as, the politics of dominance, corruption, the militaristic tradition culture of guns, religious conflicts among others were identified and examined. The study found that these stubborn ghosts have continued to haunt contemporary Uganda. The study argued that the Anglican Church can use Luwum's model of non-violence resistance to confront these issues. The study notes that for this to be effective the Anglican Church of Uganda would require to theologically reflect on Luwum's concept of the non-violence resistance model and develop a contextual model for church –state relations. The study has explored various church and state engagement models showing their strength and weakness and argued that the Anglican Church of Uganda should embrace a Church-State model that can enable her to maintain autonomy thus resisting to be co-opted by the state. The study found that the church needs to understand democracy and the values of an ecumenical community if Luwum's non-violent resistance is going to succeed in Uganda.

6.3.1 Suggestions and recommendations

Having discussed the summary of the research findings, we can now give suggestions and recommendations which can enhance the democratization in Uganda. While it is true that the Anglican Church of Uganda like any other church denomination in the world-is faced with many challenges that hinder it to adequately address the challenge facing it, nevertheless, there is need for it to attempt the following: First, is that the Anglican Church of Uganda should explore ways of how the non-violent resistance model can be used by women groups in the church and in the society. This is because everybody needs to be included in democratization process and the church and various regimes tend to ignore women in the democratic participation process. This is why Philomena Njeri Mwaura (1999:54) laments that women have been ignored during the process of democracy. She argues that women need to be included in democratisation in order to address and redress their problems and their unequal treatment in matters concerning “various sections of the law, in the economy, education, leadership at the public level and reproductive rights.” Mwaura’s view cannot be ignored because for many years women in Africa have been subjected to cultural conditioning which makes it difficult for them to accede to the legislature even though they constitute more than half of the electorate. Therefore, the role of the Anglican church of Uganda in the empowering of women to participate in democratization process is very important. Mwaura reminds us that,

The role of the church should be to provide exemplary leadership roles for women in all aspects of the church, taking into consideration that they are the demographically majority in most Christian denominations. Such exemplary action on the part of the church would contribute significantly towards improving the public image of women and would pave the way for the appointment and election of more women in leadership positions within the secular sector of society (1999:57).

Secondly, in terms of practical engagement, the primary value that Luwum’s non-violent resistance model can offer to the Anglican Church of Uganda and to the democratization process of the country is the recognition that now is the time to put Amin’s ghosts to rest and to work for the transformation of Uganda. This is chance to confront problems that continue to haunt their country through non-violence method and to intensify reconciliation between the warring groups without conditions for the principles of non-violence resistance demands that the opponent be loved unconditionally. While the past of Uganda and the present was and is characterized by the shedding of people’s blood, it is now possible to work for peace and engage in dialogue as opposed to guns. This is because the fire cannot be put off with fire, we need water and the non-violent resistance model can offer water.

Thirdly, since the post-independence Anglican Church of Uganda has remained at the periphery and even supported supporting various regimes blindly the understanding of a theology of non-violence and a contextual interpretation of Luwum's concept of non-violent resistance and church state relations will enable the church to be proactive. In other words the church will need to recuperate her lost prophetic ministry and rediscover Luwum's concepts of non-violent resistance and church-state relations. In this case the church will have to claim a more decisive role in establishing a structural and institutional democracy which has been declining in contemporary Uganda. Through these processes that a new Uganda can be constructed. As such the Anglican Church will now need to adopt a wholistic church – state model so as to address the above stated vices.

Fourthly, if the Anglican Church of Uganda would embrace Luwum's concepts of non-violence resistance, it will therefore be required to wisely engage in the public sphere collaborating with ecumenical bodies. This will enable the Anglican Church not to conflict with other religious groups but rather to engage in team-work to address the above challenge.

Fifthly, in the spirit of reconciliation, the church will need to advocate for the establishment of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as was created in South Africa, so as to unite the country through the process of healing and reconciliation. This include confessing the past atrocities, identification of victims and their fate, recommendations of possible reparation, and processing the application for amnesty and indemnity so as to prevent the future human rights violations. This will be the beginning of fostering reconciliation in Uganda. Finally, since the pastoral hermeneutic based on non-violent resistance compels the church to be involved in social transformation, the Anglican Church should therefore be compelled to always have a sound theoretical basis. The foundation of Christian action (praxis) is always theory (scripture). The church has therefore the responsibility to translate doctrine/scripture to real-life situations so that the transformation can be experienced. In other words it should shape the ecclesiastical praxis of the Anglican Church to aim at critically reflecting on the praxis of the Christian community's life and work in its various dimensions. This hermeneutical emphasis is not an innovation on Jesus Christ's pro poor stance but a relevant contextualisation of Jesus stance, for establishing fair justice in the contemporary Ugandan context.

6.4 Conclusion

It is hoped that our long journey to transformation through non-violent resistance has begun. In this study we have explored a contextual interpretation of Archbishop Luwum's concept of the non-

violent resistance model and church-state relations. The study has called for the rediscovery of this model to confront the “ghosts” of the past and focus on the future. Having reflected on this model theologically and having seen its relevance to the Ugandan context, two things are clear. We can ignore it and remain prisoners of our past or we can embrace it and become agents of transformation. Facing these stubborn “ghosts” will require us to openly confront them and transcend them. It is our hope that this study will help the church and Ugandan community to transcend the present situation and actualize it.

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