

Anti-Gay Sentiment in Uganda: A Test-Case for Resolving Conflict
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by Rev. Stephen Parelli, MA, MDiv – Executive Director, Other Sheep (www.othersheep.org)
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The 2009 Anti-Homosexuality Bill of Uganda¹ was condemned by *The Sunday Times* of South Africa as “dragg[ing Uganda] back to the dark and evil days of Idi Amin.”²

³An elementary school drop-out,⁴ Idi Amin, in his drive “to return Uganda to an Islamic and traditional era,”⁵ established and maintained his power through deception, manipulation of the media, censorship of speech, limitations on academic freedom, spying and informants,⁶ and “arbitrary arrests, torture, cruel and inhumane punishment.”⁷ He would “divide, conquer, isolate and exterminate⁸ the opposition leaders.”⁹

Like Amin, possessed by the ghost of King Leopold,¹⁰ this oppressive anti-gay bill falls victim to the African “economy of violence, dispossession and exploitation.” Ironically, the church once oppressed under Amin, is now the oppressor under this bill,¹¹ hand-in-hand with the state in an unholy state-church union against gay¹² rights in Uganda.¹³

This paper explores two alternatives, and one model for activism, set forth in the book under discussion¹⁴ which the Ugandan civil society¹⁵ could implement for resolving this church¹⁶-state /gay conflict. Finding “alternatives to this ghostly night mare” of this us-them,¹⁷ gay-straight “civic unrest”¹⁸ is the essence of a “Christian social ethics in Africa.”¹⁹

Part I

The Bible

*“I’ve never heard any interpretation of the Bible
that brings out homosexuality as right.”²⁰
--Gay Kenyan Christian, Nairobi 2007*

The key for establishing human rights in Africa, says Religion and Development Professor Gerrie ter Haar,²¹ is to “consciously . . . mobilize religion²² as a source for human rights . . .”²³ Case in point: “Religious ideals promoting female circumcision,” says Kenyan woman theologian Wagila, “can be countered only by the use of religious ideals that demystify any religious links associated with this practice.”²⁴ When arguing for gay rights for Muslims, Muslim scholar Khalid Duran says “theological accommodation” trumps “secular arguments.”²⁵ To successfully employ religion as an agent for positive social change in Nigeria where Indigenous Religion,²⁶ Islam and Christianity are the predominate faiths, Religious Studies Professor Manus borrowing a line from American playwright George Bernard Shaw (1914) says “what you fellows don’t understand is that you must get at a man through his religion and not yours.”²⁷

Mark A. Noll, Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame, in his 2009 book *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith* devotes a chapter

of the book to the late 1920s East Africa revival which swept the five-country lake region of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya and Tanzania during the intervening 30 years leading up to the time of independence. “The revival’s permanent legacy,” Noll says, “is the distinctly evangelical flavor that continues to mark the schools, mission agencies and almost all the churches of these countries.”²⁸ Noll points to bishops like “Luwum, Kivengere, Gitari and still others” for their distinguished “self-abnegating and Spirit-filled” public actions. It was the “saved” [*balokole*],²⁹ like these, of the East Africa revival who, under Idi Amin “provided rare stability and forthright public leadership.”³⁰ Janet Museveni, the wife of the present-day Ugandan president, is herself “identified with evangelical causes.”³¹ Her husband, as a young man, “was deeply touched by the East Africa revival.”³²

Noll makes a one-to-one corollary between “the passionate evangelical religion” of The East Africa revival and “the way the East African bishops have taken part in the recent history of the Anglican Communion” on its divisive factions³³ over homosexuality.³⁴ In contrast to the popular view held in America that “interventions orchestrated by Western conservatives”³⁵ brought about “the African contributions to the current [Anglican] crisis,” Noll insists that it makes “much more sense,” in view of the evangelical legacy of the East Africa revival, to understand the African contributions as “indigenously African contributions.” He adds, “When looking at African Christianity from within Africa, nothing makes more sense”

African Christians, says Professor ter Haar, give “extreme attention to the Bible as the authoritative and infallible word of God”³⁶ which is, she says, “common to evangelical”³⁷ Christians the world over.³⁸ The 1997 Kuala Lumpur³⁹ Statement on Human Sexuality and the 1998 Lambeth Resolution 1.10 on Human Sexuality, both Anglican in scope, in their condemnation of homosexuality, repeatedly invoked the use of the Bible with phrases like “we are quite clear about God’s will . . . expressed in the Bible”⁴⁰ and “on the authority of Scripture.”⁴¹ At Lambeth 1998, the Central and East Africa Region submitted its own resolution condemning homosexuality. In four of its six parts, the Scriptures were invoked as the final authority with phrases like “the primary authority of Scriptures” and “the orthodox teachings of the Scriptures.”⁴²

The “high priest of Evangelical Anglicanism” John Stott, referred to homosexuals “as perverts and inverts” in his 1998 pamphlet denouncing same-sex unions.⁴³ A Nigerian evangelical Bible scholar, in his article entitled “Homosexuality” in the 2006 evangelical *Africa Bible Commentary*,⁴⁴ without any disclaimer, used the quote: “homosexuals are worse than beasts.”⁴⁵ The head of South African Theological Seminary, in his 2008 evangelical *African Christian Ethics*, quickly dismissed “empirical and scientific arguments”⁴⁶ as unbiblical and cataloged homosexuality with “other pathological disorder[s].”⁴⁷ After searching the worldwide web, and in light of the unanswered emails I sent to twelve official leaders,⁴⁸ I can only conclude that the Association of Evangelicals in Africa, representing more than 100 million evangelicals⁴⁹ in Africa, chose to remain silent on the world stage of nations, religious leaders and institutions, who all called for the withdrawal of the Anti-gay bill in evangelical Uganda.

In view of the foregoing,⁵⁰ it becomes clear that whatever else may be involved in reconciling evangelical Uganda to its gay fellow-citizens, the gay community of Uganda (both religious and non-religious⁵¹) must give a hermeneutically⁵²-sound,⁵³ evangelical⁵⁴, gay-friendly re-interpretation of the biblical texts⁵⁵ used to condemn homosexuals and homosexuality. These biblical texts⁵⁶ are commonly referred to as “the clobber passages” or “the texts of terror” for obvious reasons. This alternative, with all its inherent difficulties,⁵⁷ must be regarded essential and made a priority if the gay community is to have any lasting,⁵⁸ meaningful impact on their “What-does-the-Bible-say?” society.

Deep religious differences in civil society, when mutually respected in the spirit of Ubuntu, have the effect of strengthening and keeping civil society healthy.⁵⁹ The marginalized are foregrounded so that, like the more predominate religious communities, they too strengthen civil society with “a ‘strong sense’ of their own tradition.”⁶⁰

In addition to a focus on the clobber passages, “recent developments in biblical interpretation favors looking for ideas and meanings in the texts that would empower and transform”⁶¹ the individual in civil society who is dispossessed, exploited or marginalized like African widows⁶² or “women who are trapped under patriarchy.”⁶³ Gay-friendly theologians call this “queering scriptures.”⁶⁴

Part II⁶⁵

Religious Freedom and Liberty of Conscience

“Where can I get more information on this [Liberty of Conscience]?”⁶⁶ – David Kato, Uganda, 2007

The story of Uganda is a story of religious intolerance.⁶⁷ Throughout the colonial and post-colonial period, “religion and politics or Church and State . . . remain[ed] inseparably linked.” This linkage of church and state, a “theocentric value system,” was pervasive throughout ancient and pre-colonial Africa.⁶⁸ “[R]eligion and politics were God’s inseparable twin gifts” bestowed upon “African kings and their societies.”⁶⁹ Under presidents Milton Obote, Idi Amin and Yoweri Museveni,⁷⁰ these divine gifts turned violent as their “religiously based political parties” waged one against the other a “liberationist holy war . . . in order to root out [among other evils, the evil of] religious intolerance.”⁷¹

When Professor John M. Mbiti, an Anglican priest and the Head of the Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy at the Makerere University in Uganda, denounced the Islamic theocratic regime of Idi Amin with these words: “Christianity and Africa have fallen in love with each other, and intend to live in bonds of a lifelong marriage. Christianity is here to stay”⁷² – was he, like Amin,⁷³ talking about a theocracy or freedom of religion? If we have our answer in terms of the 2009 Anti-Homosexuality bill, then religious freedom and liberty of conscience are no friends to Uganda, and a theocracy is intended. This bill, and the decade of governmental anti-gay sentiment leading up to it,⁷⁴ damages the present government’s reputation that “no person is harassed on the basis of religious affiliation.”⁷⁵

When government officials like Ethics and Integrity Minister Buturo and President Museveni justify the criminalization of homosexuality based on biblical texts like the Genesis account of creation,⁷⁶ then the government is guilty of harassment and discrimination based on creed and religious affiliation, and liberty of conscience and freedom of religion are abrogated. This untied church-state discrimination against homosexuals is the Murray-Roscoe dreaded fear for Africa: “religious fundamentalism married to nationalism, wielding the apparatus of the modern state to persecute (and murder) homosexuals.”⁷⁷ The antidote to “religious fundamentalism married to nationalism” is: (1) a constitutional provision for-- , (2) with the full backing of the courts in matters of -- , and (3) the general education⁷⁸ of the public concerning - *liberty of conscience, religious freedom and the separation of church and state*. The irony here is these human rights are, in fact, each one enshrined in the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda: Separation of church and state under Chapter Two and Chapter Four, and freedom of religion and liberty of conscience under Chapter Four.⁷⁹ The 1950 Penal Code, Sections 145 and 146,⁸⁰ which predates the constitution by 45 years, criminalizes same-sex relationships. These 1950 sodomy laws “were imported from Britain during colonialism.”⁸¹

The criminalization of same-sex relationships in Uganda, grounded in religion, is unconstitutional.

On April 3, 2009, the United States Iowa Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of same-sex marriage in the State of Iowa. Those who had opposed marriage equality had argued for its prohibition by advancing five arguments. The Court concluded that the five arguments given were not supportable and that they were, in fact, not the real reasons that motivated the opposition. “We consider the [real] reason . . . left unspoken,” said the Court, “[which is] . . . society[’s] . . . deeply ingrained – even fundamental – religious belief [63]. . . Yet, such views are not the only religious views of marriage. . . . [O]ther equally sincere groups . . . have strong religious views that [support gay marriage] [64]. . . Our constitution does not permit any branch of government to resolve these types of religious debates and entrusts to courts the task of ensuring government *avoids* [emphasis theirs] them” [65].

Good governance is devoid of religious bigotry.⁸²

In a 2004 “two-day seminar for leading journalists,” Mark Noll, a noted historian of evangelicalism spoke of “Evangelical Christianity [as] an intolerant religion, [that evangelicals are] unable to say, ‘your religion is fine with you; my religion is fine with me,’ ” and said that “he wants evangelicals to learn ‘new ways of being present in the public space without believing that [they] have to *dominate* [emphasis in original transcript] the public space.”⁸³ In his 2009 book on the state of evangelicalism worldwide, Noll says “For the most part, state-church consciousness⁸⁴ among evangelicals has nearly vanished.”

Barak Obama, in 2006, said the big question over gay marriage is not is it right or wrong, but who decides is it right and wrong – “the coercive arm of the state” or “individual conscience and evolving norms.”⁸⁵

Part III

The Gay Christian and the Church

*"To come out – I want to say it is not all bad, it is not all evil.
I had to hide myself; I want to come out – I need to get out of seminary
for a while – to get time out and think about myself."
--Gay Kenyan Christian, 2007⁸⁶*

I turn now to Katongole's article on "rethinking religion and politics in Africa."⁸⁷ In the context of the post-colonial African experience, Katongole formulates a church and missions theology (ecclesiology and missiology) for the African church.

The relationship he depicts of the church to the state and civil society is comparable with the relationship the gay Christian has to the church and civil society. By juxtaposing the two relationships, we can illustrate (1) the gay Christian's situation in Africa, and (2) what he can do to change it.⁸⁸

First Comparison. The post-colonial African experience⁸⁹ is: nation-states without nationalism,⁹⁰ an Africa without a past,⁹¹ and political leaders alienated from themselves⁹² having co-opted into the colonialist's strategy for independence. The gay experience is *comparable*: the gay Christian, co-opting with the church's heteronormativity based in a creation story that says gender equals sexual orientation is alienated from himself: He is divided between who he is (a homosexual) and what he does (heterosexual, impersonal, procreative sex acts). He is a person but his personhood is diminished. He has no linkage to his own homoerotic feelings; neither do anyone like himself – either a contemporary or ancestors, someone to pattern after.

Second Comparison. Violence, dispossession and exploitation, which are common place throughout Africa, are rooted in society's living out the narrative of colonialism's legacy to Africa. *Likewise*, the church's Bible-quoting, anti-gay, and at-times-hateful rhetoric becomes the ethos of civic and civil society⁹³ so that the violation of the human rights of LGBT people are common place and of little concern to society.

Third Comparison. In Africa, the church-state-civil society structure flow is this: the channel of power and influence flows from the state to civil society. The church being a member of civil society is object of the state, not subject with the state in matters pertaining to civil society. The church is acted upon; the state is the actor. In civil matters, the church exerts no influence upon society except through the state. *In comparison*, the LGBT person is acted upon by the church;⁹⁴ he is object to the church; he exerts no pro-LGBT influence upon society, being prevented by the church. His story, that he is gay and Christian, without the approval of the church, remains buried and hidden from society.

Fourth Comparison. As a result of the confluence of the foregoing debilitating factors, Christian social ethics for Africa – that is, society’s moral guideposts which governs behavior in Africa – are sadly these: (a) violence, dispossession, and exploitation as normative; (b) failure to examine colonialism’s impact upon society; and (c) the state’s prerogative to manipulate the church for its own purposes. *In comparison*, Christian social ethics for the gay-Christian-church-society relationship are these: (a) excommunication and ostracism⁹⁵ of homosexuals from the church *and* society as normative; (b) failure to reexamine related Biblical texts,⁹⁶ and to question the church’s pervasive impact upon every aspect of society (universities, media, civic) in its anti-gay message; and (c) the prerogative of the church to manipulate the state for its own purposes in marginalizing the homosexual.

Fifth Comparison. Katongole responds to the foregoing critical state of affairs in Africa by calling upon the church to adopt a missiology in which the church as a constant, present actor on the stage of civil society, commits to the priority of practical social activism, and in the spirit of Christ, actually creates physical concrete and material communities at the ground level where the people live with their struggles and aspirations, modeling before them an alternative narrative to the story of violence, dispossession and exploitation.

In comparison, what is the mission of the gay Christian? To tell his or her story. A. C. Liang in his article on “The Creation of Coherence in Coming-Out Stories” says: “*By presenting a gay self, an individual alters social reality by creating a community of listeners and thereby establishing the beginnings of a new gay-aware culture.*”⁹⁷

Conclusion

Three things will help in creating an alternative story on homosexuality for Ugandan society to embody: (1) published alternative interpretations of the relevant critical Bible texts, placed in the hands of the masses; (2) a honing in on the principles of religious freedom and liberty of conscience (a) through the repeal of all laws that criminalize homosexuality, (b) through universal education in every sector of society, and (c) by appealing to the courts to decide on specific cases where religious freedom has been compromised in matters where homosexuality is concerned; and (3) putting a face on homosexuality (a) by gay Christians telling their stories to family and friends in settings that are safe; (b) through inter-faith dialogues between gay-friendly (affirming) clergy and questioning (open minded) Christian and Muslim clergy; (c) through active-listening dialogues in which gay Muslims and gay Christians tell their stories to listening clergy (who refrain from cross-talking); and (e) through the ministries of reconciliation centers in the sponsoring of relevant workshops.

Appendix I: “Biblical Interpretation” in *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa*

A non-comprehensive synthesis of the book’s statements on Biblical Interpretation

Like the government (civic society), religious communities (civil society) have, and do contribute to the problems in Africa [Bongmba 63]. In Nigeria, “the single greatest threat to the existence of the Nigerian state” is “the religious question” [Bongmba 63]. Unfortunately, the inherent differences between denominations and even within denominations (such as “conflicting interpretations of sacred texts” or differences “between conservative and progressive theories and practices” or “the meaning of the gospel”) have stifled the church’s ability to be constructive in the development of civil society [Cochrane 238, 242-243]. The explanation for these in-house preoccupations with personal differences is perhaps obvious: “religious creeds excite and extract the deepest possible emotional and physical loyalties from their adherents [especially] when in political competition with people of other faiths” [Manus and Bateye 286]. Just to ask the question, “Can Christianity save Africans from King Leopold’s ghost?” [Katongole 43] can incite possible divisions. “Pentecostal churches . . . criticize . . . aspects of African culture” [Bongmba 66]. Others, on the other hand, criticize “Christianity’s traditional view of salvation” as “non-equalitarian, elitist, and exclusive,” and criticize Evangelicals as too “consumed with the afterlife” [Samuel Paul 209-210]. The very nature of creeds, sacred writings, and doctrinal statements “freeze[s] history and politics into theories in which everything is known in advance, all categories are specified, and all the possibilities are laid out” [Cochrane 246].

These ecclesiastical factors, as real and as reified as they are, must not detract from “an appeal for a critical theology that searches for justice on the continent . . . [that is] for a humane society” [Bongmba 57] where “a diversity of values and goals” is promoted [Bongmba 65] in the spirit of an authentic African identity of community – Ubuntu – by which it can be said “humanity is created in the image of God” [Bongmba 70].

Now, in this context of Ubuntu and plurality, religious differences become strengths. Civil society is strengthened and kept healthy when religious communities “enter into it with a ‘strong sense’ of their own tradition” [Cochrane 245]. The marginalized “must [most assuredly] be foregrounded at least as much as any other” in this process so that their tradition and claims will also serve to strengthen civil society “in its necessary differentiation” [Cochrane 245]. Those “who are prevented by social conditions from becoming fully mature as human subjects” must be the first concern of the church above all other concerns [Manus and Bateye 293], which concern will, by its very nature, move the church to do “a theology which examines social structures, cultural movements, [and] economic philosophies” [Manus and Bateye 293]. Take for example the task of doing theology for the marginalized African widows to whom “many of the things done . . . are inhumane and have no bearing to culture [Bongmba 68-69]: “recent developments in biblical interpretation favors looking for ideas and meanings in the texts that would empower and transform the widows” [Bongmba 69], the “gender disparities . . . in many African communities” [Bongmba 66-67], “women who are trapped under patriarchy” [Bongmba 60], the dispossessed and exploited and all the marginalized. Gays call this “queering the scriptures.” Katongole “queers the scriptures,” we might say, in the way he uses the Zaccheus story to empower the African poor who have been exploited by the political elites [Bongmba 57]. More in keeping with how Katongole describes his own hermeneutics, Zaccheus is someone who has “been formed by the story of

Christ” [Katongole 44]. The church does not “develop a . . . social ethic;” rather, the church is a social ethic (emphasis mine) [Katongole 44] “witnessing to the kind of social life possible” when “formed by the life of Christ [Katongole 44] in which “the construction of pit latrines for civil society is as much a matter of Christian salvation as the celebration of baptism, the Eucharist and the reading of scriptures [Katongole 47]. Unfortunately, “a great deal of African Christianity today,” says Katongole, are not at all comfortable with his hermeneutics [46]. Mainline Christian traditions (in contrast to Evangelicals) see “religion and social change,” or “the liberation and transformation of society” as a significant part of their belief [Manus and Bateye 292].

Manus and Bateye [294] tell us “ . . . there has begun to emerge a growing literary corpus on Nigerian Liberation theology. . . . Poverty, gender inequality, and mounting health problems . . . to critique all unjust situations: . . . religious . . . all that dehumanize and impoverish the African person [who is] created in the image of God.” Bongmba says religious groups should “search for ways of revitalizing the community” through applied studies on “practices which set women back,” [69]. “[C]ultural practices which pose a challenge to the realization of one’s humanity should be changed,” [Bongmba 69].

Appendix II: “Church and State” in *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa*
A summary of authors’ views on church and states, listed alphabetically by author

Bongmba, Elias K. 2012.
The African Renaissance and Religion.

Renaissance or rebirth is the pervasive need in Africa. When it comes, it will have the components of “justice, compassion and the humanization of life.” It is towards this end - a new birth for Africa - that theology needs to happen. The God-ward study one must undertake is a critical search for justice wherever it may be found in the African continent. Where there is love and the humanization of life, it is there where one will also find justice because the first two marks of the renaissance (love and humanness) will be the by-products of the later (justice). Justice – the keystone – is realized when there is a diversity of values and goals, when every part of society is equally affected, and when the individual is put first above the culture and norms that interfere with the actualization of his or her humanity. Two practical things to implement that will help to bring about the new birth: (1) dialogue with the government, doing so with dignity, mutual care and respect; and (2) provide a liberal education (not a sectarian education).¹

Cochrane, James R. 2012.
Instruments of Inhibitors of Civil Society?: The Role of Christians in the Formation of Public Policy

In a democratic society, there is “a separation of powers, spheres and responsibilities.” As difficult as this may be for Christian churches in Africa to grasp, they must come to terms with it. [241.] The difficulty lies in the fact that for Africa “sovereignty over public life” was the specific claim of religion. This fundamentally contradicts Western society’s practice, from where Africa does in fact derive, in part, its notion of civil society. This separation of spheres does not infer that people like “politicians,

business-people and the like” are free from religion when operating within their “spheres of activity.” On the contrary, it is civic society that has abdicated its role, not the individual in the privatization of religion. [242.]

If for no other reason than the safe keeping of religious liberties, religious bodies must involve themselves in civil society [242]. Some religious bodies, compromising the health and strength of civil society, involve themselves in the public square “by insisting on exclusive control over particular norms, . . . undermining open-ended communication” [242]. They “freeze history and politics into theories in which everything is known in advance, all categories are specified, and all the possibilities are laid out” [246, footnote]. They involve themselves in the public sphere only in matters of morality and cultural polity [237]. This is especially true of African Initiated Christian churches [237].

This is not to say that religious bodies are not to enter civil society “with a ‘strong sense’ of their own tradition and its claims as they see it.” They must do so because it is this “necessary differentiation” that makes and keeps civil society strong and healthy. [245.] This principle of strength through differentiation clearly infers the foregrounding “of those normally marginalized” [245]. Therefore, certain “processes and mechanisms” must be operative which will give voice, dignity and place to the marginalized [240] whose narratives are “excluded, suppressed, hidden or diminished” [247]. Justice for the marginalized requires just proceedings, on their behalf, in the seat of government.

Just policy makers will unearth subjugated knowledges, remove the veil of ignorance, begin from the bottom where the marginalize live, and hold suspect any truism that stands independent of the senses and the mind [245]. When implemented, this process, “based on mutual respect, partnership and equality,” demonstrates, in part, what it means for Africa to be reborn [231]. These democratic “values, virtues and practices” which characterize a healthy civil society, call for “the engagement of religious communities in the construction” and maintenance of these values [250]. Like sensors that connect, the church facilitate in the discussion between civil society and civic society, enabling the kind of interaction required for “democratization or cultural revision” which “social movements or institutions” initiate [250, text and footnote].

Danfulani, Umar Habila Dadem. 212.

Shari’a, Democracy, and Civil Society: The Case of Northern Nigeria

Islamic Nigerians believe that the laws of Allah will, when mandated and regulated by civic society, transform every sector of society, ushering in a Utopia. Those who championed this view in Northern Nigeria “regard themselves as emancipators” [320]. They “promised that with the laws of God governing human beings, ‘things will be better’” [333]. Yet, where “sharia law has been operational for six years in most sharia compliant states of Northern Nigeria” [320], the conditions are anything but Utopia [320-327].

Some general reasons for this are: (1) fundamentalism, whatever its stripe, has never been successful in its “attempts to recapture or re-enact historical events of the past” [337], (2) “an Islamic state as a political institution is conceptually impossible, historically inaccurate, and practically not viable today [336], (3) “self-determination is not an absolute right” when it infringes upon the rights of others [336], (4) “humans naturally possess inalienable and individual rights” [337] which “are universal” and unrestricted by any concept or norm [314], (5) “moral character cannot be changed by legislation” [334],

and (6) sharia is “fundamentally inconsistent with universally accepted principles of international law” [314].

The human indignity (see pp. 316-319 - four pages on how sharia denies human rights) suffered by Nigeria’s citizens by the implementation of sharia law in Northern Nigeria [313] include: (1) “trampling” [313] on the “rights of persons living on the fringes of Muslim society, for instance . . . homosexuals” [319] who “have all gone underground” [334]; (2) the improbability of guaranteeing the rights of liberal Muslims who “are not in full support of the re-implementation of a sharia” but rather believe sharia is “a private . . . issue that should be individually” maintained [313, 314-315]; (3) that girls are ready for, and forced into marriage, at the age of five – which is the predominate view in Northern Nigeria, others place the age at nine [314]; (4) excessive, unjust punishment: amputation of hands for stealing, stoning for adultery, flogging for fornication [331, 327] – sharia “is essentially a punitive political arrangement” [327], and (5) the discrimination of women “both in theory and practice,” in education, in public dress, and in equality before the law [313, 315].

There is a “preoccupation in Islamic discourse with female sexuality, and especially with its regulation and control.” She is depicted as a “destructive sexual creature” which, of course, “dehumanizes” her. [316.] This “sexual perception of the world . . . may indicate a repressed sexual desire and a sublimated sexual deprivation” [316].

The hypocrisy under sharia is everywhere. Rich men, for example, “hide in five star hotels with their concubines and prostitutes” [319]. Sharia governors loot the treasury [333].

In effect, sharia “is the equivalent of a state religion or theocracy” [314]. “[T]here is no state in the world today . . . that is practically capable of actually living by all the dictates of sharia.” Sharia law, is arguably inconsistent with Section 38(1) of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in which case it would be unconstitutional [314].

The failure of sharia is in its focus. As stated above, “it is essentially a punitive political arrangement” addressing the “moral problems” of dress, drinking, sex and stealing (as well as the refurbishment of mosques) while “the grim realities of the poor . . . are quite beside the point.” [327].

Elolia, Samuel K. 2012.

Religion and the Road to Democracy in Kenya

Unless the marginalized and the victimized of civil society can freely participate in the process of democracy, then he or she cannot speak out for his or her rights. Those who are prevented from entering into the public square cannot “protect what is justly theirs.” [128].

Jesus, an emancipator like the Hebrew prophets with whom his ministry was identified, “challenged the authoritarian and patriarchal society of the day for misusing power.” He was concerned about social justice, about creating an egalitarian society. [127-128.]

Like Jesus, the churches in Kenya serve those “who have often been victimized by the systems of power, tribalism, and patronage” [127]. The church, as “the voice of the voiceless,” speaks out on behalf of those who have been silenced by government authorities [127]. Injustice, discrimination and human indignity must be denounced by the church [137]. The church must maintain its own moral integrity so

as to not compromise its ability to “exhort and challenge” [129]. As “the conscience of society” [102], the church should not identify “with any party’s ideology” but be careful to represent “the interest of all the citizens” [128].

In 1962, President Kenyatta called upon the churches to help in the “task of nation building.” The first Minister of Education welcomed “the service of the church in the school” provided the church placed “no group under special disabilities” and that the Church looked “upon its services as a public service, not as a service of church members” [102].¹

Maclean, Iain S. 2012.

Bahia and Zion: The Eruption of New Religions of the Poor, Political Implications of Afro-Brazilian and South African Independent Churches.

The African Indigenous or Independent Churches (AIC) of Southern Africa and the Afro-Brazilian religions (ABR) were initially “perceived political threats,” and when “not suppressed by force, were . . . usually circumscribed by legal and civil restrictions” [257]. The ABRs were “largely proscribed by state civil codes as ‘injurious to public morality.’” [250]. Missionaries and colonial administrators alike viewed them as “corruptions of the true Christian religion” [257].

Much of the initial scholarly work “served to delegitimize ABR and AIC claims to authenticity either as Christian or as African religions” [257]. Until recently, both have been described as “impure, imperfect and inferior forms of religion” [268].

Today, South Africa and Brazil are part of what is termed the “Third Wave of Democracy,’ one which has been particularly marked by the prominent role of religion in the democratization process.”

AIC and ABR are “fostering an active and participatory citizenship, without which no political system, democracy in particular, can survive” [270].

Manus, Ukachukwu Chris, and **Bateye**, Bolaji Olukemi. 2012.

Religion and Social Change in Multi-Ethnic Nigerian Society.

The religious landscape of Nigeria is polarized around three faith traditions: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religions. What religion is all about escapes many Nigerians. “They dismiss in-depth study of religion” without a second thought [280]. A Nigerian takes no interest in giving a “rigorous description of religious experience as it appears to him or her” [281].

Christians believe there is a “distinction between what belongs to Caesar and that which belongs to God (Mark 12:17; Matt 22:21; Luke 20:25)” [292]. In Northern Nigeria where there are 13 sharia states, the question has been asked if sharia law should apply to Christians as well as to Muslims [284]. Some Muslims believe it is not “possible to practice Islam when a non-Muslim holds political power” [291-292].

Ideally, religion informs the community’s aspirations, especially the values it derives for itself in the process of doing democracy. This – what society values *as a society* – is the “dividends of democracy.”

Unfortunately, “Nigerians have hardly benefited from” any dividends [282]. The Roman Empire, by way of contrast, is an example of a society “solidly welded together by the fear of the gods” [278].

With “Western-type” democracy failing in many parts of Africa,” perhaps “the traditional religio-cultural institutions” of Africa can provide practical insights on “the development of modern political culture in Nigeria and Africa” [273]. Religious freedom, religious pluralism is “one of the most important challenges” facing Nigeria today [284].

The message that must penetrate Nigerian civil society is this: “*democratic principles that reject and oppose the absolutization of any single will,*” must be adopted. The education of the faith communities on these twin principles of religious liberty and liberty of conscience [see page 298 where “freedom of conscience” is named twice] must be “the task of the enlightened political class” [282] as well as that of the religious institutions, themselves, who must rise to the occasion and defend this right [252].

Freedom is “to live one’s faith and beliefs without molestation” [252]. So then, the state must be “devoid of religious bigotry” without which the state cannot provide “good governance” [253]. The state must defend liberty of conscience by “the rule of law” [254]. “This is in accord with the spirit of Article 8 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, January 8-19, 1981” [Footnote, 51, page 298].

Another phrase that expresses the concept of religious liberty is religious pluralism. Religious pluralism recognizes “the legitimacy of the other to exist and to operate at all levels of life” and accepts the other as a unique other person [284]. Fundamentalism, on the other hand, tends to divide people [298]. Inter-religious dialogues should be scheduled by the Ministry of Religious Affairs for discussing “dousing fundamentalist tendencies that tend to divide a people under the One God” [298].

Orji, Cyril. 2012.

Religion, Violence, and Conflict: Ujamaa-therapy as a Dynamic Response to Ethnic Particularities in Africa

Black Africa is “in a crisis of identity” because core values, once authentically African, are more and more becoming modern, jeopardizing what it means to be human for Black Africa in authentic African ways [78]. What are some of the innovative ways Black Africa can recover its sense of being human? [78].

In traditional Africa, ethnicity and religion are intrinsically related to each other, forming a sacred union. In Western society, the human person is conceptualized as compartmentalizing life into the secular and the sacred – a kind of ‘wall of separation’ between the two spheres of the sacred and the secular. In traditional Africa the sacred and the secular are one in the person. [78.]

Ujamaa is Swahili for expressing the ideas of inclusion¹ around a field of reference including “customs, rituals, familyhood, sisterhood, and brotherhood” [98]. This consciousness of inclusion extends to the clan, the community and the nation-state and informs one’s attitudes of right and wrong about social behavior [96]. Inclusion means affirming the dignity of the members of the larger community and standing in solidarity with that community even at the cost of personal suffering [95]. Family, sisterhood and brotherhood are not references limited to the nuclear family, for Ujamaa is “much more comprehensive.” It includes “the extended family, which itself includes the living, the dead, and those not yet born” [93]. Ujamaa is a “society in which all members have equal rights and opportunities, and in

which everyone lives in peace with their neighbors without suffering and without imposing injustice” [93]. Ujamaa extends to “members of diverse ethnic and religious groups with whom one may or may not have any affiliations” [80]. Ujamaa is “Christ-centered” [80, 96], it is “the ultimate realization of conversion” [80], and “it signifies solidarity, warmth in human relationships, acceptance, dialogue, respect for one another, and mutual trust” [92].

Ujamaa then is one of “the basic core values of the traditional society” which was an “attitude of mind” which “*ipso facto* rejects group or class conflict” [94]. Re-education is the need – so that Africa can assume again “our former attitude of mind” of non-violence [94]. Personal achievement was valued “only in the context of community” [94]. “The point of reference for anything valuable was the community” [91]. Central to “the human process of coming to know oneself” is “the realization that God’s children are found in all ethnic and tribal groups and are to all be embraced” [89]. “Ethnicity may be used as a starting point of all relations but such relations must go beyond ethnic particularities and reach out to other groups and communities” [91] “in a non-sectarian way,” making “lasting connections” and “urging that good deeds across tribal lines” [94] be carried out.

In Nigeria and in other African nations, Africans live under “oppressive regimes¹ that deny their citizens their personal freedom and fundamental human rights” [85] such as the “freedom of association” [85] and “the right of self-determination by free and honest election” (theology will serve Africa well if it addresses these human rights violations [85]) [85]. In traditional Africa, the state would preserve “its own identity by respecting the rights of the individual” [85]. In traditional Africa, human rights were valued at the clan level where, interdependently [85], the rights of the individual and the rights of the community were protected [91]. “The rights of the individual are defined and preserved” in relation to the community [that is, the individual preserves his or her own identity by respecting the rights of the community]. Likewise “the rights of the community are defined and preserved” in relation to the individual [that is, the community preserves its own identity by respecting the rights of the individual].

There is a lack, in Africa, of what is called “social capital” which is crucial for the sustainability of democracy. Social capital is the active participation of citizens in civic society [84].

There is the inability of Nigerian society to arrive at a consensus through logical arguments because of the ethnic and religious prejudices that distort any attempts at dialogue [79].

Conversion occurs on the intellectual, religious, and moral levels and is “transformatory, particularly when it is seen as a way of coming to terms with one’s hidden prejudices, propelling one to reconcile with one’s community, *ujamaa*” [79].

Paul, Samuel. 2012. From Apartheid’s Christian Hegemony to Religious Pluralism.

Two key ideas ground the author in the development of his topic on the separation of church and state: (1) The searching question concerning the linkage between Christianity (specifically CNE) and apartheid which can be expressed: How can Christian orthodoxy “devise, implement, and support a system that seems to be a major departure from . . . orthodoxy?” [207], and (2) the African “spirituality” [213, 226] which is localized in the idea of Ubuntu which is characterized by inclusion [204] and equality [226].

The original purpose of the Christian National Education in South Africa was to promote Calvinism. However, over time it became “a device to indoctrinate the young in apartheid theory” [204]. As CNE

became “more involved in the politics of the National Party they gave legitimacy to the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination” [373] turning “their faith into an effective component of group self-interest” [208].

The author theorizes that the Afrikaner’s “traditional elitist salvific view that most evangelical Christians hold to . . . *could lead to the Afrikaners discriminatory and non-egalitarian methods to control*” since “they believed like Israel that they were the chosen race” [227-228]. The linkage then between orthodoxy and apartheid, in the view of the author, is the theological view of “only one biblical salvation” which the author claims implies “an aversion to otherness” [205]. The author’s estimation of Calvinism and evangelicalism (which both teach “salvation is through Christ alone” [209]) is that it is a form of “elitism and exclusion,” a form of “spiritual apartheid” that must be rejected [209].

The author draws a distinction between affirmative tolerance and passive tolerance. The latter “is people just putting up with one another” whereas the former is to “make a concerted effort to understand [and] to accept and appreciate one another.” It is this affirmative tolerance that the 1997 Constitution of South Africa embraces [212].

The constitutional fix (for the problem discussed above, the historical context in which the Constitution was written: orthodoxy can, if conditions are right, lead to apartheid) is this: There is no “separation of church and state” for the simple reason that South Africa “fervently seeks to uphold religious practices in conformity with the egalitarian foundations of its new Constitution” [228].

This, of course, presents a problem which the author mentions but doesn’t develop: “Section 9 may be at odds with the rights associated with freedom of religion” [215]. For example, “since Christianity has enjoyed a major influence with a more conservative evangelical bent in the country” [214]: a church is in violation of Section 9 if membership is denied anyone on the basis of sexual orientation [214].¹ The Roman Catholic Church is in violation of Section 9 for “their refusal to ordain women” [214].

The chapter mentions or briefly discusses: the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution [206], Roger Williams “and complete separation of church and state” (emphasis mine) [223], Thomas Jefferson [223] and James Madison [223].

Sodiq, Yushau. 2012.

Nigerian Civil Government and the Application of Islamic Law: Can Conflict Lead to Accommodation?

To the non-Islamic Westerner, the severity of the penal code of Sharia is shocking. And for Nigerians (presumably both Christians and Muslims) who travel abroad and then choose to remain abroad, it is believed they do so because “one of the areas of discontent is the application of Islamic criminal laws (*hudud*), especially the stoning to death of an adulterer and the amputation of a thief’s hand” [362-363]. Apostasy is also punishable by death [344-345], but the Nigerian Constitution forbids it. Severity is meant to be a “deterrent to potential offenders” [363]. When asked, Muslims will tell you that they “reject the notion that Islamic punishments are too severe” [365]. Besides, “stoning for adultery and the amputation of a thief’s hand can be modified” [363] by “Muslim scholars [who] have the duty to determine how Islamic law should be applied in this contemporary age” [363].

After severity, the question of discrimination and the denial of rights come into question. Within the Sharia system itself, there is discrimination. For example, the poor are flogged while the rich are not.

The hungry who steal for food are criminalized (hands amputated) while government authorities freely embezzle millions. [355.] However, to say there is discrimination based on one's religion (Islamic) over one's citizenship (Nigerian) [355, 357] – that is, two different sets of punishment for the same crime for the same person (who is both a Muslim and a Nigerian citizen) – is to ignore the fact that the Nigerian Constitution allows for two legal systems [349, 358].¹ This arrangement of two legal systems could be compared with capital punishment in Texas versus life imprisonment in New Jersey for the same crime of murder [357]. Admittedly, the rights of Christians in Sharia states “would be curtailed” [360] by reason of the fact that as a minority they would not “have a sufficient voice in deciding issues” [360]. And, where there is the “misuse of power” as in the case of the governor of Yobe who said “he would start compelling non-Muslim women to put on head cover[ings],” there is the potential for discrimination [355].

It is the premise of the author, as if this is a self-evident truth, that “If Muslims opt to be ruled by Islamic laws, the Constitution should protect their interest and enable them to achieve their goals” [343] and, “Also, under democratic rule, citizens should be free to choose their legal systems even if these systems are informed by religious beliefs” [343]. The author argues: to deny the Muslim to be ruled by Sharia is to deny them their religious freedoms [349]. At the same time, implementing Sharia law does not make Islam a state religion [349]. The argument that Sharia violates human rights or that it is unconstitutional, does not makes sense to a Muslim.

The reason for implementing Sharia: The corruption in Northern Nigeria can be directly linked to secular education which links to Westernization which leads to moral decadence. Sharia will counter all this. [361-362.] The question remains: Has Sharia law brought justice, fairness and equal treatment to all its citizens? If so, “then the Muslim north should be free to apply it.” [365.]

On the question of improved life conditions: “We have no empirical evidences to substantiate the claim of the Islamists that the social life of the people has improved due to” Sharia [363]. “If the Sharia is used as a cover-up identity and it does not bring peace and progress to the people, then it should be suspended” [364].

Appendix III

A Summary: “Violence and Social Imagination: Rethinking Religion and Politics in Africa”
by Emmanuel M. Katongole 2012

In: Eloia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, pp. 21-50.

Amidst serious questions and doubts concerning Christianity's relevance in Africa, especially in view of its prevalence throughout the continent, Katongole theologizes an ecclesiology (or missiology) contextualized in the post-colonial African experience.

The following components inform and/or comprise his ecclesiology (or missiology):

(1) Nation-states without nationalism; an Africa without a past; and political leaders who are alienated from themselves having co-opted into the colonialist's strategy for independence [see Davidson's *Black Man's Burden* which Katongole cites]; these three debilitating factors make up

the disempowering narrative which is (wittingly or unwittingly) embodied in the nation-state in both its civil and civic societies;

(2) Violence, dispossession and exploitation which are common place throughout Africa (the church not exempted, see the story of Bishop Bowaze of Uganda) exist as the by-product of the embodied narrative of colonialism's legacy to Africa;

(3) In society, the government (civic society) is the actor (or subject) and civil society (of which the church is a part) is acted upon (or is the object); the masses, affected by the government, are disempowered; the church, focusing her efforts upon the state to implore the state to act upon society with justice, in effect assumes a bifurcation of the church and society, acquiescing any direct influence upon civil society;

(4) The churches, in their efforts to positively influence civil society through the state, generally fall into one of three paradigms of how they go about imploring the state: (a) the *spiritual* paradigm (evangelical) is the least concerned with social concerns;¹ society is influenced by individuals whose "vocation or identity" is Christ-like; the relation between church and state is one of separation; this paradigm "might, ironically, provide the far more enduring social benefits;"¹ (b) in the *pastoral* paradigm (Roman Catholic) the church positions itself "as a 'partner in development'" with the state when the state fails or breaks-down causing a crisis in civil society; (c) the *political* paradigm (All Africa Conference of Churches – AACC of the World Council of Churches) "seek to make the nation-state more just . . . more democratic;"

(5) Christian social ethics (a) accepts civil and civic society (violence, dispossession, and exploitation) as normative; (b) fails to examine colonialism's impact upon society; (c) assumes the state's prerogative to manipulate the church for its own purposes;

(6) In view of the foregoing, the church (ecclesiology) and its mission (missiology) must incorporate the following: (a) an honest and hard constructive introspection; (b) replace society's embodied story of violence, dispossession and exploitation (i) with "an alternative story capable of engendering new practices" (this is where all three paradigms – the spiritual, pastoral and political – have equally failed); (ii) by reframing ("imagining new and better ways of conceiving) "those everyday struggles and aspirations;" (c) become the actor in society by acting directly within society (this is the second aspect where all three paradigms – the spiritual, pastoral and political – have equally failed); (d) make "social ethics . . . the heart of the church's existence" and *be* that social ethics (i) by being that "political alternative" (which says, in effect, the embodied story is not the "inevitable" story), (ii) through being a social life "formed by the story of Christ" so that actual physical communities of hope – "in terms of concrete and material expectations" – are raised, with the conviction (prime-mover) that (iii) "salvation" is as much "the construction of pit latrines" as it is "the celebration of baptism;"

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¹ Same-sex relationships are currently illegal in Uganda. Under Section “145. Unnatural offences” of The Penal Code Act (1950) of Uganda, “Any person who— (a) has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature; (b) has carnal knowledge of an animal; or (c) permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature, commits an offence and *is liable to imprisonment for life.*” Under Section “146. Attempt to commit unnatural offences” of the Penal Code Act (1950) of Uganda, “Any person who attempts to commit any of the offences specified in section 145 commits a felony and *is liable to imprisonment for seven years.*” (*emphasis mine*). Section “148. Indecent practices.” would, reportedly, apply to homosexuals and carries a penalty of seven years imprisonment. See “The Penal Code Act” under “Uganda” under “WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization),” <<http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/details.jsp?id=5241>>, November 19, 2013.

The bill, still alive but somewhat buried, if passed “would broaden the criminalization of same-sex relations in Uganda.” The bill was submitted to Parliament by Member of Parliament David Bahati on October 14, 2009. If passed, both capital punishment (for “aggravated homosexuality”) and life imprisonment (for “the offence of homosexuality”) would become admissible. The former, aggravated homosexuality, is “defined to include homosexual acts committed by a person who is HIV-positive, is a parent or authority figure, or who administers intoxicating substances, homosexual acts committed on minors or people with disabilities, and repeat offenders.” The latter, the offence of homosexuality, is “is defined to include same-sex sexual acts, involvement in a same-sex marriage, or an attempt to commit aggravated homosexuality. . . . Furthermore, if passed, the bill will require anyone who is aware of an offence or an offender, including individuals, companies, media organizations, or non-governmental organizations who support LGBT rights, to report the offender within 24 hours. If an individual does not do so he or she is also considered an offender and is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding 250 ‘currency points’ or imprisonment up to three years.” See “Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Bill” in Wikipedia.org. < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uganda_Anti-Homosexuality_Bill>, November 12, 2013. For an excellent evaluation of the bill see *Tamale*, Sylvia. 2009. “A Human Rights Impact Assessment of the Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Bill 2009,” *The Equal rights Review*, Vol. Four, (2009), <<http://www.equalrightstrust.org/ertdocumentbank/Sylvia.pdf>>, November 19, 2013.

² “South Africa paper calls Museveni ‘evil’ in The Observer (a Uganda tri-weekly newspaper) <http://webmail.observer.ug/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6490%3Asouth-africa-paper-calls-museveni-evil&Itemid=96>, The South Africa editorial, from which this quote is taken, is copied in full. November 12, 2013.

³ The reader should compare the atrocities of Amin listed in this paragraph with the contents of the bill as set forth in footnote 1, above.

⁴ Amin “did not know did not know much about world affairs, economic systems, democracy and human rights” [p170]; “. . . he lacked the necessary education and political skills to accomplish that important task, especially given the complex nature of Uganda’s political history, kingdoms and diversity of ethnic groups, sectarian religions and Anglican political hegemony” [p169]. Emmanuel Kalenzi Twesigye. 2012. Church and State Conflicts in Uganda: President Idi Amin Kills the Anglican Archbishop. In: Samuel K. Eloia, ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, pp. 148-193.

⁵ Emmanuel Kalenzi Twesigye, p. 177.

⁶ Emmanuel Kalenzi Twesigye, pp. 167, 168, 170, 174 178.

⁷ Emmanuel Kalenzi Twesigye, 179.

⁸ “President Idi Amin’s assassination of Benedicto Kiwanuka, the chief Justice and esteemed former prime Minister of Uganda” [p. 174]; “The Anglican Archbishop Janani Luum was arrested, publically tried

by the military troops, and murdered that fateful evening of February 16, 1977,” [p.190]. Emmanuel Kalenzi Twesigye.

⁹ “Idi Amin’s determination and strategies to Islamize Uganda by both force and persuasion led to his colonial-like policy to ‘divide, conquer, isolate and exterminate the opposition leaders.’” Emmanuel Kalenzi Twesigye, 178.

¹⁰ “. . . there is indeed something like a King Leopold’s ghost hanging over a great part of Africa. Accordingly, I [Katongole] will use the metaphor of King Leopold’s ghost to refer to the economy of violence, dispossession, and exploitation which greatly characterizes politics on the African continent,” [p. 24]; “. . . Adam Hochschild’s *King Leopold’s Ghost* . . . which recounts the crazy and unstoppable ambitions of King Leopold II of Belgium and his domination and brutal plundering of the Cong Free State . . . to drive . . . the natives into mines and rubber plantations . . . to burn villages . . . severing hands . . . , [p. 22]. Emmanuel M Katongole. 2012. *Violence and Social Imagination: Rethinking Religion and Politics in Africa*. In: Elolia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 21-50.

¹¹ “. . . the gradual naturalization of violence . . . violence becomes so ingrained that the only way to deal with difference or to advance one’s ideals is through violence. . . . [T]he menacing grip of King Leopold’s ghost has come full circle with the line between the ghost and its victims becoming increasingly blurred, and eventually lost,” [p. 41]; “. . . Christian social ethics [or “personal ethics” – see Samuel Waje Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics* , page 5: In Africa the focus falls on *social ethics* rather than *personal ethics*, for African peoples emphasize the community rather than the individual” – *emphasis mine*] in Africa has simply accepted the nation-state without ever looking at the story which informs the nation state [i.e., ‘violence, dispossession and exploitation’],” [p. 42]; “. . . once it [the church] has assumed the dominant story [which the nation-state assumed or is], the church’s own existence and practices come to be increasingly marked by the same economy of hopelessness, despair and violence [or, ‘violence, dispossession and exploitation’] . . . Nowhere is this disturbing reality more dramatically portrayed than in the story of bishop Bamwoze,” [p. 43]; “. . . Bamwoze’s church based power struggle perfectly mirrors the same story of violence and intrigue as any nationalist power struggle,” [43, footnote 64]. *On Bishop Bamwoze see Paul Gifford African Christianity: Its Public Role*, pages 124-133 and 140-144: “The COU [Church of Uganda] bishops . . . are widely seen as unaccountable, dictatorial and autocratic. This, rather than the nature of any specific accusations, is the lesson of the Busoga crisis. The style of leadership that has brought the Bishop of Busoga [Bishop Bamwoze] into such strife is widely seen in other dioceses too. Busoga was the flashpoint in the 1990s, but the problem is far deeper and wider,” p. 140. Gifford says President Museveni’s leadership style was more democratic than the bishops of the Church of Uganda, 143.

¹² In this paper I use “gay” for lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender, transsexual, gender identity, etc.

¹³ “President Museveni has directed the Police to arrest homosexuals and charge them in the courts. ‘I have told the CID [Department of Criminal Investigation] to look for homosexuals lock them up and charge them,’ Museveni said . . . He said he could not tolerate such abominable acts [two same-sex unions had been publically celebrated, one at Wandegey and the other at Nakivubo Guest House] ‘because even the Holy Bible spells it out clearly that God created Adam and Eve as husband and wife but not men to marry fellow men . . .’” [September 28, 1999 *The New Vision* article “Arrest Homos, Says Museveni”]. Sylvia , ed. 2007. *Homosexuality - Perspectives from Uganda*. Kampala, Uganda: Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG), 25-26. *See also* September 28, 1999 *The Monitor* article “Museveni Opens War on Gay Men,” Sylvia Tamale, 27.

¹⁴ The book under discussion: Samuel K. Elolia, ed. 2012. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications. In the introduction to the book, Elolia says, “It is the purpose of this book to discuss how religion shapes

political issues and to what extent religious forces influence civil society. . . . The essays that follow [in the book] represent the struggle of how religious institutions engage the public domain [civil society],” 5.

¹⁵ Samuel K. Elobia, ed. 2012. In his introduction to the book, Elobia says “By civil society we mean an element in society that occupies the space outside the state and distinct from political groups associated with the state . . . such as religious organizations, women’s groups, lawyers, journalists, and trade unions” 5. Elias K. Bongmba says, “I have argued elsewhere that civil society refers ‘to groups that have evolved in history as separate associations that are recognized by the state as spheres and articulations of privileges, freedoms and rights of individuals who also compete with other groups who share similar interests; all of which carry out their goals in dialogue or contestation with a constituted government, ’” Bongmba, Elias K. 2012. *The African Renaissance and Religion*. In: Elobia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, pp. 51-77, 51.

¹⁶ Islam in Uganda has, it would appear from this newspaper article, joined forces with the church in its violence against the LGBT community. “The Mufti, Sheikh Ramathan shaban Mubajje wants gays marooned on an island in Lake Victoria until they die. Sheikh Mubajje told journalists on Friday at Old Kampala Mosque that he sold his proposal to President Yoweri Museveni when they met last week at Hotel Africana. ‘I asked President Museveni to get us an island on Lake Victoria and we take these homosexuals and they die out there,’ Sheikh Mubajje said during a press briefing after Idd el Fitr prayers. ‘If they [gays] die there then we shall have no more homosexuals in the country.’” [October 15, 2007 Daily Monitor article “Mufti Wants Gays Abandoned on Islands”]

¹⁷ Samuel Paul. 2012. *From Apartheid’s Christian Hegemony to Religious Pluralism*. In: Elobia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers. “. . . he [Chidester] concludes that, ‘every us has a disposition toward them . . . what any us cannot do is ignore them. An intrinsic religio-political imperative requires every us to somehow come to terms with them.’ Us-ness is contingent to our relationship with them.” The us-them strategy inherent in the anti-homosexual bill is “the strategy of exclusion” which is “the most violent” of the us-them strategies. It “eliminate[s] all possibilities of pluralism.” The least violent us-them strategy is “the strategy of toleration” of which the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution is an example, says Samuel Paul, 204-206.

¹⁸ Emmanuel M Katongole, 26. “. . . a distressed and distressing Africa: widespread poverty, political instability, the civic unrest, and ethnic tensions . . . health and infra-structure problems . . . HIV-AIDS epidemic (and Ebola) . . . “ I include the gay-straight tensions under ‘civic unrest’ here, in Katongole’s list of African ills, in the broad-sense of the meaning of civic, i.e., citizenship, community, local politics.

¹⁹ Emmanuel M Katongole, 25. “. . . the heart of Christian social ethics in Africa . . . creating conditions for social life in all its forms . . . so that ‘they may have life, and have it to the full’ (John 10:10). . . . to provide resources . . . and conceive alternatives to this ghostly nightmare . . . if we are to embody the mission of the Church truthfully.”

Part I

²⁰Stephen Parelli and Jose Ortiz. 2009. *Kenyan Coming Out Stories: “Creating Communities of Listeners” – A Research Project*.

<http://othersheepexecsite.com/Kenyan_Coming_Out_Stories_Creating_Communities_of_Listeners_2007_Research_Project.doc>, November 21, 2013, 4.

²¹ Haar is professor of Religion and Development at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, the Netherlands, and a founding member of the African Association for the Study of Religions. In her book

How God Became African, Haar devotes a chapter to her discussion on human rights, “The Problem of Evil: Religion and Human Rights in Africa.” In short, her chapter shows that the violation of human rights in Africa stems from certain African religious concepts on the nature of evil, and that human rights in Africa is not, practically speaking, something understood as grounded in justice and equality under the law. “For many religious believers [in Africa],” she states, “the moral-spiritual approach [African] to human rights takes priority over the moral-legal one [Western] that is characteristic of secular people” [62].

²² Gerrie ter Haar. 2009. *How god Became African: African Spirituality and Western Secular Thought*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 43. The author laments that “there is rarely a systematic reflection on the potential of religion for the promotion and protection of human rights [in Africa] on the part of secular human rights agents” [60]. The need to understand the interplay, for Africans, of religion with the concept of what is human rights is formidable: “religious believers [in Africa] often feel that the way they perceive the world does not find sufficient recognition in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which they tend to see largely as the product of secular developments” [64].

²³ This viewpoint, that the Western concept of “human rights” may have little to no impact upon the minds and hearts of the religious in Africa (and in other parts of the developing world where Christianity thrives), was first introduced to me in February of 2013. I was presenting the work of Other Sheep in East Africa to an LGBT student meeting at the State University of New York in up-state Geneseo. At the time, I was reading Gerrie ter Haar’s book *How God Became African*, but had not yet read her chapter on religion and human rights. In my presentation, I emphasized the need to use the Bible the way the African uses the Bible when talking to Africans about gay rights. Standing before the SUNY college students and giving them the “rational” for the faith-based, Bible-focused LGBT work of Other Sheep (www.othersheep.org) in East Africa, I could have quoted from a myriad of sources, as well as site my own personal experiences in East Africa (in 2007, 2008, and 2012), to substantiate the fact that, as Professor ter Haar states it, “the extreme attention to the Bible as the authoritative and infallible word of God is another notable distinction between African Christians and most of their Western counterparts” [31]. Upon the completion of my presentation, Maurice Tomlinson, a human rights Jamaican lawyer of Rochester, NY, who has the distinction of being the Grand Marshall of Uganda’s first ever Pride Parade,²³ stood before the SUNY students and said, to my surprise, ministries like Other Sheep that focus on the Bible and human rights, in countries like Uganda and Jamaica, is exactly what is needed. He said “human rights” is not a principle that developing countries recognize when talking about equality for gays. Instead, he said, you must talk to them about what God is or is not saying, using the Bible authoritatively, as they do. According to this human rights lawyer, in developing countries where evangelicalism has flourished, what the Bible may or may not say about homosexuality trumps any idea of human rights and equality for gays; that the concept itself of universal human rights, is foreign to them and that the actual sound-bite “human rights” per se, is literally non-impacting, non-intelligible.

²⁴ Mary Nyangweso Wangila. 2007. *Female Circumcision: The Interplay of Religion, Culture, and Gender in Kenya*. New York, NY: Orbis Books, Maryknool, 75-76. A reading of her book will yield the following reasons why religion can and must play a role in eradicating female circumcision in Kenya: (1) social behavior is informed and sanctioned by religion, (2) religion and everyday living go hand-in-hand, (3) myths and religion have been comingled and must be set apart by the right use of religion, (4) sacred texts, with inherent authority, empower, (5) religious leaders and communities are very influential as religion is central to everything in life, (6) religion is, by definition, an institution for social justice as well as a sanctuary for the oppressed, and (7) the nature of the gospel is to set the captive free. Throughout her study, Wangila repeatedly says religion is both the problem and the answer to the violation of woman’s rights in the matter of the practice of female circumcision

²⁵ Wafer, Jim. 1997. Muhammad and Male Homosexuality. In: Stephen O. Murray and Will

Roscoe. *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature*. New York: New York University Press, 87.

“In countries where Islam is the dominant religion, equal rights for gays and lesbians are unlikely to be achieved by means of secular arguments that do not pay due respect to the sacred sources of Islamic culture. . . . Duran, who is one of the few Muslim scholars to have addressed homosexuality as a human rights issue, believes that the best hope for gays and lesbians in Muslim countries is to find some form of ‘theological accommodation’ with Islam . . .”

²⁶Or, African Traditional. Ukachukwu Chris Manus and Bolaji Olukemi Bateye. 2012. Religion and Social Change in Multi-Ethnic Nigerian Society. In: Efolia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 277.

²⁷ Manus and Bateye, 277.

²⁸Mark A. Noll. 2009. *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith*. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 170. “[The] revival produced a passionate evangelical religion that stayed within mainline denominations,” 186. “Its influence is felt to the present in the day-to-day lives of millions of ordinary believers throughout this region. . . .” 170.

²⁹ “In Uganda, as a consequence, the Anglicans retained the revivalists and the revival fire within their own churches and schools. Anglican leaders also played a role in regularizing the emphases on the revival as ‘Five Pillars:’ repentance, faith, new birth, growth in grace and the power of the Holy Spirit.”

³⁰ Noll, 182-183.

³¹ Noll, 182. Janet Museveni is “a close personal” friend of Rick Warren, see Kapyra Kaoma. 2009. *Globalizing the Culture Wars: U.S. Conservatives, African Churches, and Homophobia*. Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates.

³² Noll, 182.

³³ “We must confess that we are not of one mind about homosexuality. Our variety of understanding encompasses: [1] those who believe that homosexuality is a disorder, but that through the grace of Christ people can be changed, although not without pain and struggle, [2] those who believe that relationships between people of the same gender should not include genital expression, that this is the clear teaching of the Bible and of the Church universal, and that such activity (if unrepented of) is a barrier to the Kingdom of God, [3] those who believe that committed homosexual relationships fall short of the biblical norm, but are to be preferred to relationships that are anonymous and transient, [and 4] those who believe that the Church should accept and support or bless, monogamous covenant relationships between homosexual people and that they may be ordained.” Resolutions from 1998, “Resolution 1.10 Human Sexuality” in The Lambeth Conference Official Website, <<http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1998/1998-1-10.cfm#s1>>, November 16, 2013.

³⁴ Noll expects his readers to know, since he does not elucidate, that “the recent history of the Anglican Communion” and “the current crisis [within] worldwide Anglicanism” is the Communion’s sharp division over issues around homosexuality. “The Church of Uganda . . . [eventually] broke communion with the Episcopal Church of the United States, due to their acceptance of non-celibate homosexuality. On June 23, 2009, the Church of Uganda declared itself in full communion with the [Anglican Church in North America](#), a denomination formed by American and Canadian Anglicans opposed to their national churches’ actions regarding homosexuality. The Church of Uganda has been active in the [Anglican realignment](#), both at the [Global South](#) and the [Fellowship of Confessing Anglicans](#),” Wikipedia, “The Church of Uganda,” <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_Uganda>, November 13, 2013.

³⁵ The Rachel Maddow Show on MSNBC in the United States popularized the idea that the Ugandan “kill-the-gays” bill was largely “orchestrated by Western conservatives” rather than “indigenously African,” to borrow Noll’s words. To some degree, Jeff Sharlet’s book *The Family: The Secret Fundamentalism at the*

Heart of American Power [iv] as reported by Kapa Kaoma in *Globalizing the Culture Wars: U.S. Conservatives, African Churches, & Homophobia* must be understood in Noll's terms of "looking at African Christianity from within Africa" [186]. This disconnect between "looking at African Christianity from within Africa" and the influence of "Western conservatives" in the matter of "U.S. Conservatives, African churches and homophobia" [Kaoma] is illustrated, in kind, by the disconnect between the actual original purpose of the Christian National Education (CNE) of South Africa, and what was, in later years, to become the popular misinformed view of its original purpose. "Hexham believes that the main purpose of the CNE was to promote the interests of Calvinism, it was not intended as a device to indoctrinate the young in apartheid theory" as later generations came to believe. "In other words, for Hexham, CNE in South Africa was truly a religious conviction rooted deeply in Dutch Calvinism" [Samuel Paul, 204]. The union between African Churches and the U.S. political Right over issues around homosexuality is essentially an evangelical, Bible-centered, like-

marriage and sexuality and asks the Primates and the ACC to include them in their monitoring process” (emphasis mine). Resolutions from 1998, “Resolution 1.10 Human Sexuality” in The Lambeth Conference Official Website, <<http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1998/1998-1-10.cfm#s1>>, November 16, 2013.

⁴² The Central and East Africa Region 1998 Lambeth resolution was dominated by references to the Bible: (a) believes in the primary authority of Scriptures, according to their own testimony . . . to illuminate, challenge and transform cultures, structures, systems and ways of thinking; especially those secular views that predominate our society today; (c) noting that the Holy Scriptures are clear in teaching that all sexual promiscuity is a sin, is convinced that this includes homosexual practices . . . (d) . . . those persons who practice homosexuality . . . act contrary to the Scriptures . . . (f) repent all those who deviate from the orthodox teachings of the Scriptures . . . Resolutions from 1998, “Resolution 1.10 Human Sexuality” subsection “Resolution V.1 from Central and East Africa Region” in The Lambeth Conference Official Website, <<http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1998/1998-1-10.cfm#s1>>, November 16, 2013.

⁴³ Bates, 12-13. Bates also notes that John Stott, in the 1970s, declared “We Evangelicals are Bible people,” 12.

⁴⁴ Yusufu Turaki. 2006. Homosexuality. In: Adeyemo, Tokunboh et al., *Africa Bible Commentary*. Nairobi, Kenya: WordAlive Publishers, and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1355.

⁴⁵ “In 2006, the Association of Evangelicals in Africa (AEA) published the *Africa Bible Commentary*. The *Commentary* features Nigerian religious leader Yusufu Turaki's hateful and intolerant article entitled “Homosexuality” (page 1355). Turaki's article contains the following anti-homosexual remarks: (1) Turaki's use of the words “abnormal, unnatural and a perversion” in reference to homosexuals; (2) his uncritical use of the quote that “homosexuals are worse than beasts” tied in with (3) his uncritical statement of the African Anglican church's rejection of Archbishop Tutu's call for tolerance, as well as (4) his one-sided account of African “coercive sexual relationships” as his example of “varied” African same-sex sex; (5) an uncritical censorship of all views of homosexuality that are not in keeping with his views (“Our views of homosexuality should not be derived from human sources but from the Word of God”), and (6) his expressed theological view that to be homosexual is sinful (a view not held by most evangelicals in the West).” See “Open Letter to the Association of Evangelicals in Africa” in *Other Sheep East Africa*

⁴⁶ Samuel Waje Kunhiyap. 2008. *African Christian Ethics*. Nairobi, Kenya: WordAlive Publishers; Palteau State, Nigeria: Africa Christian Textbooks (ACTS); and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan. Published by Hippo Books, an imprint of WordAlive, ACTS, and Zondervan, 273: “Christians need to give due weight to empirical and scientific arguments, but should never compromise their basic submission to the teaching of Scriptures. From a biblical point of view, homosexuality is . . . contrary to the clear teachings of Scripture,” 309. With this evangelical equation, “empirical and scientific arguments” are discredited before they are examined. I was taught this principle of “being biblical” while a student at Baptist Bible College in Clarks Summit, PA, 1971-1976.

⁴⁷ Kunhiyap, 273.

⁴⁸ “Other Sheep East Africa Calls upon The Executive Secretary for Ethics, Justice and Peace of the AEA (Association of Evangelicals in Africa) to Denounce the Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Bill” in *Other Sheep East Africa*, <http://www.othersheep.org/OSEA_AAUG_Other_Sheep_East_Africa_February_13_2010_Open_Letter_to_the_Association_of_Evangelicals_in_Africa_AEA_re_Uganda_Anti_Homosexuality_Bill_2009.html>, November 16, 2013.

⁴⁹ “In its 45 years of existence, AEA has grown into a continental family of over 100 million evangelicals comprising 36 National Evangelical Fellowships that are made up of numerous local churches. There are

34 Associate Members who consist of Para-Church organizations, and 11 Special Members representing local Churches in countries where there are no National Evangelical Alliances.” “About” in Association of Evangelicals in Africa, <<https://www.facebook.com/aeafrica/info>>, November 16, 2013.

⁵⁰ In view of the foregoing – that is, since evangelicalism is the dominate religious force in Uganda, and being informed with the insight that one demystifies religion with religion, and that to “get at a man” one must do so through his religion, not one’s own religion – then it becomes clear that etc.

⁵¹ As noted above in an earlier footnote, Gerrie ter Haar laments that “there is rarely a systematic reflection on the potential of religion for the promotion and protection of human rights [in Africa] on the part of secular human rights agents,” 60.

⁵² In the following quote, evangelicals are more generally included under “the Pauline epistle” and “dispensationalism” Noll, 35: “How should believers read the Bible? This question can be rephrased as, what is the biblical norm by which the rest of the Bible is read? . . . Historically in the West, . . . the Pauline epistles (for the Protestant reformers and many of their descendants), Sermon on the Mount (social gospel Protestants), . . . Old and New Testament prophecy (dispensationalism), and so on. . . . To the extent that believers . . . talk to each other, the whole church is strengthened. . . . [Shout] at each other – the church is only fragmented.”

⁵³ “Believers must take care not to label legitimate differences in emphasis within the Christian church as heretical . . . [when] both [opposing] groups can adequately justify their different approaches from Scripture.” James Nkansah-Lbrempong. 2006. Theological Heresy. In: Adeyemo, Tokunboh et al., *Africa Bible Commentary*. Nairobi, Kenya: WordAlive Publishers, and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, p. 1553.

⁵⁴ Tokunboh Adeyemo et al., *Africa Bible Commentary*. Nairobi, Kenya: WordAlive Publishers, and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, p. 1355. This one-volume evangelical commentary of the Bible contains multiple articles by contributing evangelical African authors on various topics. In presenting the evangelical with an alternative interpretation of “the clobber passages,” it is of utmost importance to do so in the context of the framework of evangelical theology. Articles in this “monumental work” (Rick Warren) include “Ideas of Salvation in Other Religions,” “Religious Pluralism,” “Theological Heresy,” and “Yahweh and Other Gods.”

⁵⁵ See my paper “Talking Points – What you need to know and say when they say: ‘But the bible clearly condemns homosexuality!’” Stephen R. Parelli, “Talking Points – What you need to know and say when they say: ‘But the bible clearly condemns homosexuality!’” in Writings by Rev. Stephen R. Parelli, <<http://www.othersheepexecsite.com/Writing Talking Points on the Bible and Homosexuality Introduction.html>>, November 18, 2013. As Word Document print out:

<<http://othersheepexecsite.com/Writing Talking Points on the Bible and Homosexuality by Rev Stephen Parelli 2012.doc>>, November 18, 2013.

⁵⁶ Genesis 19, Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, Romans 1, I Corinthians 6:9 and I Timothy 1:10, and Jude 7. The creation passage, Genesis 1-2, especially important to the African context, should be included.

⁵⁷ Elolia. In *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*, my non-comprehensive synthesis of the contributors discussion on the particle difficulties of living in tension with different biblical interpretations: Like the government (civic society), religious communities (civil society) have, and do contribute to the problems in Africa [Bongmba 63]. In Nigeria, “the single greatest threat to the existence of the Nigerian state” is “the religious question” [Bongmba 63]. Unfortunately, the inherent differences between denominations and even within denominations (such as “conflicting interpretations of sacred texts” or differences “between conservative and progressive theories and practices” or “the meaning of the gospel”) have stifled the church’s ability to be constructive in the development of civil society [Cochrane 238, 242-243]. The explanation for these in-house preoccupations with personal differences is perhaps obvious: “religious creeds excite and

extract the deepest possible emotional and physical loyalties from their adherents [especially] when in political competition with people of other faiths” [Manus and Bateye 286]. Just to ask the question, “Can Christianity save Africans from King Leopold’s ghost?” [Katongole 43] can incite possible divisions. “Pentecostal churches . . . criticize . . . aspects of African culture” [Bongmba 66]. Others, on the other hand, criticize “Christianity’s traditional view of salvation” as “non-equalitarian, elitist, and exclusive,” and criticize Evangelicals as too “consumed with the afterlife” [Samuel Paul 209-210]. The very nature of creeds, sacred writings, and doctrinal statements “freeze[s] history and politics into theories in which everything is known in advance, all categories are specified, and all the possibilities are laid out” [Cochrane 246].

⁵⁸Gerrie ter Haar argues that Western “secular attempts to prevent human rights violations [in Africa] may have only a temporary effect,” 73.

⁵⁹James R. Cochrane. 2012. Instruments of Inhibitors of Civil Society?: The Role of Christians in the Formation of Public Policy In: Elobia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 245.

⁶⁰Cochrane, 245.

⁶¹Bongmba, 69.

⁶²Bongmba, 69.

⁶³Bongmba, 60. See his discussion on the “gender disparities . . . in many African communities,” 66-67.

⁶⁴See my queering of Galatians 1, 2 and 4:21-5:1 as an example of “looking for ideas and meanings in the texts that would empower and transform” me as a gay Christian who is marginalized by the church and civil society. Stephen Parelli, “Queering 4:21-5:1 of the Epistle to the Galatians,” <http://www.othersheepexecsite.com/Writing_Queering_4_21_through_5_1_of_the_Epistle_to_the_Galatians_by_Rev_Steve_Parelli.html>, November 18, 2013.

Part II

⁶⁵Religious freedom, liberty of conscience and the separation of church and state was perhaps the most talked about topic in the book under discussion. See Appendix II “Church and State.”

⁶⁶Stephen Parelli. 2012. The Historical impact of ‘Liberty of Conscience’ in the West . . . or Religious Fundamentalism Married to Nationalism: Who’s in Africa, Roger Williams or John Cotton?” A Paper: Prepared for Presentation in Uganda to Interested Parties who Invited the Author to Speak in July of 2012.

<http://othersheepexecsite.com/Writing_Liberty_of_Conscience_and_Uganda_by_Rev_Stephen_Parelli_2012.doc> , November 19, 2013, cover.

⁶⁷Twesigye, 157, 164. “Furthermore, due to Uganda’s unique history of religious intolerance . . . ,” 157. “President Idi Amin’s assassination of the Anglican Archbishop of Uganda . . . only makes sense . . . within the context of Uganda history, politics, and the complex relationship between Church and State,” 164.

⁶⁸Twesigye, 181-182. “In most of ancient and pre-colonial Africa, pharaohs, kings, chiefs, patriarchs and elders were believed to be endowed with God’s own delegated divine power, and obligation to rule society . . . in God’s name. . . . divine kings . . . divine kingdoms. . . . Within this African-religious view and theocentric value system, . . . God’s chosen special agent [king or queen, is] to rule, protect and deliver his people from poverty, chaos and evil. . . . who also . . . serves as a priest to God or a devout religious compassionate person.”

⁶⁹Twesigye, 181.

⁷⁰Twesigye, 164. “President Museveni’s *National Resistance Army Movement* (NRM), came to power through war in 1986 and in 1987. Alice Lakwena’s *Holy Spirit Mobile Forces* (HSMF) emerged to

overthrow him in the name of God. When it failed, Joseph Kony established the *Lord's Resistance Army* (LRA) to overthrow President Museveni's secular NRM Government in order to establish God's theocracy under the Pope that would be based on the Ten Commandments of God. "

⁷¹ Twesigye, 184.

⁷² Twesigye, 176.

⁷³ Twesigye, 177. ". . . Idi Amin declared Uganda a Muslim country. Subsequently, he embarked on a reign of terror and forced the program of Islamization of Uganda. He worked hard by all the means he could think of regardless of their consequences, in order to transform Uganda from a predominantly Christian country into the true Muslim nation of his dream."

⁷⁴ Tamale, ed. 2007. See the appendix "List of Articles on Sexual Minorities & Gender Issues In the Ugandan Press: 1997-2007, 183-217.

⁷⁵ Twesigye, 192. "Freedom of religion, press, education, and ideas were reestablished as the basis of President Museveni's government [which came to power in 1986]. Religious leaders are again regarded with respect as important national and community leaders. No person is harassed on the basis of religious affiliation."

⁷⁶ "Religious groups denounced homosexuality and its promoters at a rally in Kampala yesterday. . . . The protest, the first against homosexuality in Uganda, was organized by an anti-gays group, the Interfaith Rainbow Coalition Against Homosexuality in Uganda. Addressing the rally, ethics and integrity minister Nsaba Buturo said the Government would not change its anti-gay stand. 'God created Adam and Eve and urged them to go and reproduce. He did not command Paul to wed John or Maria to live with Esther and have children,' he said drawing applause." From the August 22, 2007 *The New Vision* article "Religious Groups Demonstrate Against Homosexuality," in *Homosexuality: Perspectives from Uganda*, 12. Sylvia Tamale, ed. 2007. *Homosexuality - Perspectives from Uganda*. Kampala, Uganda: Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG). See above, Endnote 13 for a similar quote by President Museveni.

⁷⁷ Stephen O. Murray, and Will Roscoe, editors. 1998. *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands: Studies in African Homosexualities*. New York, NY: PALGRAVE, 278.

⁷⁸ Cyril Oriji. 2012. Religion, Violence, and Conflict: Ujaama-therapy as a Dynamic Response to Ethnic Particularities in Africa. In: Eolia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, pp. 78-98. "At an Abuja (Nigeria) colloquium (August 2007), organized to assess the state of democracy in Nigeria, most of the participants, among whom were former members of cabinet and past political leaders, all agreed that the political leaders in Nigeria do not understand the meaning of constituted government, let alone putting it into practice," 84. See also "It is the task of the enlightened political class that their political agenda penetrate the faith communities and positively influence the populace to adopt democratic principles that reject and oppose the absolutization of any single will [liberty of conscience] and the introduction of immanentist forms of religion for the people [religious freedom, separation of church and state]," Manus and Bateye, 282.

⁷⁹ In matters of church and state, religious freedom and liberty of conscience, the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995 provides for (*bolded italics mine*): **(1) Separation of Church and State:** "Uganda shall not adopt a **State religion**," [Item 7 under Chapter Two – The Republic], "Membership of a political party shall not be based on sex, ethnicity, **religion** or other sectional division" [Item (b) under "71. Multiparty political system" under "Chapter Four Protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms"]; **(2) Freedom of Religion:** "Without prejudice to clause (1) of this article, a person shall not be discriminated against on the ground of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, birth, **creed or religion**, social or economic standing, political opinion or disability" and "For the purposes of this article, 'discriminate' means to give different treatment to different persons attributable only or mainly to their respective descriptions by sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, birth,

creed or religion, social or economic standing, political opinion or disability, [Items (2) and (3) respectively under “21. Equality and freedom from discrimination” under “Chapter Four Protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms”], “**Freedom to practise any religion** and manifest such practice which shall include the right to belong to and participate in the practices of any religious body or organisation in a manner consistent with this Constitution,” [Item (c) under “(1) Every person shall have the right to – ” under “29. Protection of **freedom of** conscience, expression, movement, **religion**, assembly and association” under “Chapter Four Protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms”], “Every person has a right as applicable to belong to, enjoy, practise, profess, maintain and promote any culture, cultural institution, language, tradition, **creed or religion** in community with others. [Item “37. Right to culture and similar rights” under “Chapter Four Protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms”]; and **(3) Liberty of Conscience: “Freedom** of thought, **conscience and belief** which shall include academic freedom in institutions of learning [Item (b) under “(1) Every person shall have the right to—” under “29. Protection of **freedom of conscience**, expression, movement, religion, assembly and association” under “Chapter Four Protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms”]. This digest compiled, organized and written by Stephen R. Parelli, November 19, 2013. Source: “Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995” under “The State House of Uganda,” <http://www.statehouse.go.ug/sites/default/files/attachments/Constitution_1995.pdf>, November 19, 2013.

⁸⁰ See Endnote 1, above.

⁸¹ Tamale 2009, 52.

⁸² Manus, 297.

⁸³ John W. Dean. 2006. *Conservatives without Conscience*. New York: Penguin Group, 96.

⁸⁴ “Christian churches must come to terms with the separation of powers, spheres, and responsibilities characteristic of democratic political arrangements,” 242. James R. Cochrane. 2012. *Instruments of Inhibitors of Civil Society?: The Role of Christians in the Formation of Public Policy* In: Elolia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, pp.230-252.

⁸⁵ Barack Obama. 2006. *The Audacity of Hope*. New York: Crown Publishing Group, 216-217.

Part III

⁸⁶ Parelli 2010, 4.

⁸⁷ Emmanuel M. Katongole. 2012. *Violence and Social Imagination: Rethinking Religion and Politics in Africa*. In: Elolia, Samuel K. ed. *Religion, Conflict, and Democracy in Modern Africa: The Role of Civil Society in Political Engagement*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, pp. 21-50.

⁸⁸ *Just a note of caution: this section of the paper is an analogy. The parallels are primarily for instructive purposes only and are not intended to be representative of every situation existing in Africa. The “truth-statements” upon which each comparison is drawn, however, are taken from the article mentioned at the outset. See Appendix III for my digest of Katongole’s article.*

⁸⁹ See Davidson’s *Black Man’s Burden* which Katongole cites as his reference.

⁹⁰ Katongole, 36-37, “. . . a very interesting comparison of the process of nation-state formation in Europe with the African version of the same . . . [p37] this bottom-top process [in Europe] – the valorization of local history and the social struggles it embodies . . . which is completely missing . . . subverted within the story of the nation-state in Africa.”

⁹¹ Katongole, 38-37, “. . . even more noteworthy . . . [that] which so decisively transformed the social struggle of the masses [of Europe] into the national struggle [in Europe] was [in Africa] . . . just smuggled out of hearing . . . the colonial lie of an ‘Africa without history’ – without . . . any experience in social existence, customs, or traditions . . . “

⁹² Katongole, 39, “. . . Africa’s future leaders accepted their own self-alienation [by accepting pre-colonial Africa history in terms of ‘tribalism’ and stagnation] as a necessary process of liberation. But this would also mean that the ‘national’ power . . . would stand in constant tension with the local history and [with the] social struggle of the masses . . . in the name of modernity and civilization.”

⁹³ Testimony of first gay Kenyan Christian: "The church is happy when you are out of the church. They say what the h--- are you doing in church? One of the reasons I stopped going to church five years ago, we were talking about the whole issue – he [the minister] almost went ballistic: 'You cannot be in church and be gay, the bible condemns it.' The pastor re-enforced it, 'you cannot be in church and be gay.'" Stephen Parelli and Jose Ortiz. 2009. Kenyan Coming Out Stories: "Creating Communities of Listeners" – A Research Project, 3.

<http://othersheepexecsite.com/Kenyan_Coming_Out_Stories_Creating_Communities_of_Listeners_2007_Research_Project.doc>, November 21, 2013.

⁹⁴ Testimony of second gay Kenyan Christian: "The bible condemns it, particularly about *Sodom and Gomorrah*. When it comes up in a sermon, I shut down." Parelli, 2009, 3.

⁹⁵ Testimony of the fourth gay Kenyan Christian: "I came out of the closet when I worked with youth. The information leaked out...I was working with a mission. I went to [another African country]...did my philosophy in human development. [In this unnamed African country] I’m telling you I’m gay...director called me and we had a very good talk. Three years after that I was due for my vows – perpetual vows – but they refused me. I was reaching six years in temporary vows. [Was never granted perpetual vows.] Parelli, 2009, 4.

⁹⁶ Testimony of the third gay Kenyan Christian: "I want to learn a lot. You can’t be Christian if you are gay – let me decide for myself. They say you can’t be Christian if you are gay. I’m protestant – Baptist." [Editor’s note: "I can decide for myself" is a Baptist distinctive]. Parelli, 2009, 4.

⁹⁷ Testimony of fifth gay Kenyan Christian: "Africa setting – gays are not acceptable. My parents don’t know I am gay; my brother knows." *Question: Is there someone you want to tell? Answer:* "No straight person, no. I’ve seen some one get picked on who was gay. All I know, it wouldn’t be a good experience. So many not able to come out and express themselves. They fear; they keep quiet. If they say they are gay what will they [others] say – they are not acceptable. The thing that holds us back – *fear of parents*." Parelli, 2009, 5.