

T.R

IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY

ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INSTITUTE

Master's Thesis

**ISLAM AND DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN
MULTIRELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF
UGANDA'S INTERRELIGIOUS COUNCIL**

Huthaifah BUSUULWA

150401006

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Recep ŞENTÜRK

Istanbul 2017

T.R

IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY

ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INSTITUTE

Master's Thesis

**ISLAM AND DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN
MULTIRELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF
UGANDA'S INTERRELIGIOUS COUNCIL**

Huthaifah BUSUULWA

150401006

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Recep ŞENTÜRK

Istanbul 2017

T.R
IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INSTITUTE

**ISLAM AND DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN MULTIRELIGIOUS
COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF UGANDA'S INTERRELIGIOUS COUNCIL**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Masters of Arts in Civilization Studies**

Huthaifah BUSUULWA

150401006

This thesis is approved on this day 01/06/2017 unanimously by this Committee

Prof. Dr. Recep Şentürk



Committee Chair

Prof. Dr. Bilal Kuşpınar



Committee Member

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Önder Küçükural



Committee Member

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis has been composed by me and that the work has not been submitted, in whole or in part for any other degree or professional qualification. I confirm that the work submitted is my own, except where explicitly stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement.

Huthaifah BUSUULWA

ABSTRACT

Diversity management as a social discipline is new and at the moment it is being overshadowed by conflict resolution studies. In this essay, I argue that prioritizing diversity management is fundamental in forestalling and preventing conflicts among people of different identities for instance between Muslims and non-Muslims. Following the terrorist attacks on America in 2001, the world experienced a wave of heightened hostility towards Muslims. However, what is interestingly striking is that in many African countries which normally follow the West, instead of deteriorating relations, there seem to have developed better and mutual relationships among the diverse religions. In Uganda, for instance, the Inter-religious council that was established in the same year 2001 has brought together leaders of all major religions. By using Uganda's Inter-Religious Council as a model diversity management institution, I discuss how Recep Senturk's 'Diversity Management' and 'Open Civilizations' can be espoused today to ameliorate societal pathologies especially regarding Muslim- Christian relations.

Keywords: Diversity Management, Inter-religious relations, Multi-religious society, Muslims, Non-Muslims.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
ABBREVIATIONS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE	5
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CONCEPTS	5
1.1 Identity and Diversity	5
1.2 Muslim and Non-Muslim Relations	8
1.3 Diversity in the Quran	15
1.4 Diversity Management	19
1.5 Interreligious, Intercultural, Inter-civilizational Relations	26
CHAPTER TWO	29
HISTORY OF ISLAM AND OTHER RELIGIONS IN UGANDA	29
2.1 The Struggle Begins	29
2.2 Individualized Islamic Education versus Secular Education for other religions	38
2.3 Religion and Language, the colonial factor	43
2.4 Islam and the other religions in the decolonization process	44
2.5 Muslims in the military and the Post-Independence Crises	46
2.6 Religions under Idi Amin	47
2.7 Ethno-religiosity and the danger of ethnic cleansing	49
2.8 The Aftermath of Idi Amin and ethno religious violence	51
2.9 The Rise of religious extremism	52

CHAPTER THREE	57
MODEL DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION: THE INTER-RELIGIOUS COUNCIL OF UGANDA	57
3.1 Background	57
3.2 Inter-religious council as a Diversity Management Model	61
3.3 How does Inter-religious council manage religious diversity?	62
3.3.1 On Peace Initiatives	62
3.3.2 Mediation inConflicts	65
3.3.3 Collaborative Action on Good Governance	67
3.3.4 Collaborative action against HIV/AIDS	70
3.3.5 What about collaboration on religious affairs?	72
CHAPTER FOUR	75
THEMES IN DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT DISCOURSE	75
4.1 Universality over Communalism	75
4.2 The Question of Identity and the Politics of Recognition	78
4.3 Ethno-religiosity dangerous in Multi-Religious Communities	80
4.4 Managing Core Interests	83
4.5 Diversity Management through Elite Interest Management	86
4.6 Institutions of Diversity Management	87
4.7 Jihad as a struggle for Justice and Human Rights	89
4.8 Recep Şentürk’s Open Civilization and diversity management theory	93
CONCLUSION	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99

ABBREVIATIONS

ADF-NALU:	Allied Democratic Forces- National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
ARLPI:	Acholi Religious Leader's Peace Initiative
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IRCSL :	Interreligious Council of Sierra Leone
IRCU:	Interreligious Institute for Peace
IUIU:	Islamic University in Uganda
MENA:	Middle East and North Africa
NAAM:	National Association for the Advancement of Muslims
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organizations
OIC:	Organization of Islamic Conference
RFP:	Religions for Peace
TEFU:	The Elders Forum Uganda
TIKA:	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
UCICC:	Uganda Coalition for International Criminal Court
UMC:	Uganda Muslim Community
UMEA:	Uganda Muslim Education Association
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program

INTRODUCTION

In its 1400 years of existence, Islamic relations with Christians, Jews, and other religions have been characterized by periods of peace as well as conflict. Contemporary Western scholars such as Samuel P. Huntington have prophesized that conflict between Islam and the "West" will continue to characterize relations between those two major civilizations¹. The war on terror is conceptualized, albeit wrongly, as the war on *Jihadism* and Islamist extremism, the perception of millions of people worldwide follows that Islam is incompatible with contemporary ideals of freedom, respect for human rights, and respect for other religions and beliefs.

I have thus set to address this question in both historical and contemporary terms; historical by analyzing the relationship between Islam and others in history and contemporary by discussing the case of Islam and other religions in Uganda under the umbrella of the Interreligious Council of Uganda. Because of space and time limitations, we cannot exhaust all events and issues in the 1400 years of Islamic history thus we have selected some key events which we believe to be directly relevant to the Question. The Umayyad rule in Andalusia, the Ottoman Empire and the Mughal rule in India are classic examples of such Muslim empires where diversity was appreciated. These were noticeably Muslim majority regimes. The work is unique and challenging in another way, I have sought to discuss the case of Uganda where Muslims are a minority. This is because most of the works in this field focused on Cases where Muslim power dominated, where Muslims were the majority. Now, I seek to emphasize the role of Islam in a Muslim minority setting, showcasing the efforts of the key Muslim leaders in bridging relations

¹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon and Schuster 1993) 29

with the non-Muslim communities. One such classical example is al-hajj Salim Suwari of the Suwarian tradition in West Africa, Prince Nuhu Mbogo of Buganda and the contemporary Interreligious Council of Uganda. In addition, I selected Islam in Uganda because despite Muslims being a minority, Islam was the first Abrahamic religion to arrive in present day Uganda. Muslims from then onwards have featured prominently in the socio-economic and political life of Uganda. They have managed to shape the way they relate with non-Muslims through prominent leaders such Prince Nuhu Mbogo, Prince Badru Kakungulu, President Idi Amin Dada and the current Mufti Shaban Ramadhan Mubajje. The latter is one of the pioneers of the Interreligious Council of Uganda and an executive member of the Religions for Peace Africa.

Most Ugandans identify strongly with their religions. With such high levels of commitment, how is it possible that there are substantially few clashes between members of the different religions? I believe the answer lies in the various forms of diversity management that were put in place especially in the last two decades that have brought successful results in such a short period. The Inter-Religious Council of Uganda, by bringing the different religious leaders under one umbrella to cooperate and coordinate on various projects has continued influence on the atmosphere of toleration in the country that is home to more than thirty million people. This has been possible because more people in the religious groups have been largely Accommodationist in nature. This accommodationist outlook has been portrayed in the private and public realms. It is not unusual to find a Mosque next to a Church or synagogue and in some cases land on which both religious houses sit is donated by the same person.

The first chapter of this thesis has been dedicated to understanding the concepts that I consider relevant to diversity management and Islam. More emphasis is put in explaining the general Islamic perspective that I believe is valuable before we can discuss the specific case of Uganda in detail. In this chapter, I argue that the discipline of

Diversity Management be given scholarly priority over the current Conflict Resolution Studies in order to benefit from the pro-active nature of managing societal interests instead of letting them ignite into conflict and then make efforts to resolve them.

The second chapter is a historical journey of the relations between Muslims and other religions in Uganda. I will discuss how Islam, the first foreign religion to come to Uganda related with the indigenous religion, how Islam became the state religion in Buganda, how its fortunes were undermined a few decades later with the coming of Christianity. I will investigate how Muslim-Christian relations deteriorated into a bloody war that left Islam a minority religion surviving on the strength of individuals for survival and for propagation. I will then analyze how Islam and other religions were treated by the colonial administration, their involvement and positions in the decolonization process and how they related in the post-colonial regimes. More emphasis is put on Idi Amin's regime that elevated members of the Nubian community; an ethno religious group and how that elevation brought trouble to Muslims after the demise of Amin. As the chapter ends I will look at the rise of extremist, communalist youth-led Muslim movements and how they affected diversity management in the country which led to the establishment of the Inter-religious council of Uganda.

In chapter three I discuss the Inter-religious Council of Uganda as a model institution that was established to manage the diversity of religions in Uganda. I will discuss how the relationship between Muslims and Christians, the two main religious groups in the country has been improved through the works of the council since its establishment in 2001.

Chapter four is prepared to discuss the key themes and proposals for the implementation of a successful diversity management system that is basing on Muslim-non-Muslim relations. I attempt to examine the different themes in the diversity management discourse

that could provide a basis for further research and investigation. In this chapter I will attempt to find universal meaning to the idea and ideal of diversity management and discuss with proven historical and sociological tools how a successful diversity management system can be implemented.

CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CONCEPTS

In this chapter I have ventured to treat the different concepts that I find relevant for the study. This includes the general back ground on the Islamic treatment of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. I also discuss key concepts related to Conflict Resolution and Diversity Management.

1.1 Identity and Diversity

Identity is relational; it depicts the consciousness of sameness in-group and differences of out-group members. There are hundreds of identity groups which organize themselves based on social, economic, religious conditions of the time. At macro, meso and micro levels, there develop distinct identities. For example, at an infectious institute hospital, you find people identifying themselves or being identified as people living with HIV/AIDS on one hand, and negative people on the other, outside of the hospital, in a gay club, the inhabitants would identify themselves as gay or bisexual or transgender persons as opposed to the heterosexual persons outside of the club. At a bigger macro level, you have races, some identifying as whites, others as blacks, some as Muslims, other Christians and so on. During people's relations and communication with each other, there develops a sense of sameness regarding a situation or condition through Identity Mobilization which is shaped by inter-group rivalry² How people perceive each other is relative and is usually embedded in the social, economic and political conditions of the time. As thus, identity denotes a point at which one perceives to be different from the

² Ho Won, Jeong, *Conflict Management and Resolution; an Introduction* (Rutledge, London, 2010) 60

other without such characteristic. It is constructed in concert with those whose qualities are deemed to be the “same with self”³ That which is perceived as not same with “self” is considered diverse, or different.

Identity is also relative and subjective. When Ali Mazrui made his much-acclaimed work, *The Africans, A Tripple Heritage*, it generated strong criticism from many circles including from African elites notably the Noble Peace Laureate Wole Soyinka who questioned Mazrui’s very “Africanness”⁴ He accused him of being an “acculturated Arab” This provoked Mazrui to respond saying, “My African identity is not for you to bestow or withhold- dear Mr. Soyinka.”⁵ This Mazrui-Soyinka debate depicts the unresolved question of identity. How does one qualify to belong to an identity? The Arab North Africa is forgotten in many instances in discussions about Africa, and in the same vain many Arabs of North Africa do not consider themselves as Africans. This perception has now been embraced by the academic community as well; the region of North Africa is more often categorized alongside the Middle East, thus referring to it as the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Iman Amran in her article published in the Guardian Newspaper addressed the debate of why North Africans are indeed Africans and the imperative of referring to them as such. The North, she notes, shares a long history with the rest of the continent. Equating the identity of the North with the Middle East on grounds of language is not satisfactory because there exist communities in the North that are non-Arab speakers and communities in the rest of Africa that are Arabic speakers. The religious argument too according to her does not hold because Islam is a dominant religion in some other parts of East and Western Africa as well. She argued that even

³ Locke, *On Identity*, 6

⁴ Quoted in ‘My life is One Long Debate’: Ali A Mazrui on the Invention of Africa and Postcolonial Predicaments1 Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni2 Archie Mafeje Research Institute University of South Africa. P.7. See also Soyinka 1991:180).

⁵ ibid p. 7, also quoted in Adem et al. (2013: 2002)

the cultures are closer than many expect, but “why don’t we think of North Africa as part of Africa?”⁶

The ideas of identity are manifested in two major broad categories, namely the Lower Category Identities and Higher Category Identities⁷. The lower category identities are those that focus on particularity, these are also called communalist identities. The communalist identities are often an off shoot of main identities, but they emphasize exclusionism, promoting the idea of "We First". Proponents of such groups often advocate for a return to glorious days of the past, when they had more power and influence. The ‘Particularist’ with an unpleasant past struggle to ameliorate their condition often at the expense of the "Other" The main characteristic of these relationships is conflicts and competition for power, influence and domination. On the other hand, the Higher Category Identities, or Universalist Identities aim for higher levels of inclusion⁸. For the Universalists, it is “We and They” compared to the Communalist’s “We or They” philosophy. The relationships that Universalists envisage are conciliatory in nature, highlighting commonalities among peoples.⁹

The process of identification ends up with two main groups, the Majority, and the Minority. Sometimes the majorities are the weaker group in a society with the minorities yielding greater influence and power. In Syria, the Alawis who are the minority are the ruling group and the Sunnis who are the majority are in opposition. Absolute monarchies depend on the system where the royal class, often a minority lives separately in wealth and honor compared to the others. In Uganda, Muslims are a minority, but they yield

⁶ Iman Amrani, *Why Don't we Think of North Africa as Part of Africa?*, Algeria, A Week in Africa, the guardian published on Wednesday 9th September 2015.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/09/north-africa-algeria-black-africa-shared-history> retrieved on 25.12.2016

⁷ Jeong, 72

⁸ ibid

⁹ Senturk, Recep, *Sociology of Rights: Inviolability of the Other in Islam between Universalists and Communalism*, 25

considerable influence in society. Unlike in Europe and the Americas where Muslims populations have to struggle for recognition and freedom to participate fully as equal members in society, Muslims in Uganda have the opportunity to live and pursue their lives as the others. It is not difficult to find Muslims serving as elected representatives even in the country side with fewer Muslim populations. This can be explained in two ways,

1- Islam has always been a part of Africa's heritage as Ali Mazrui clearly put it in his book, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*¹⁰. Islam was the first Western religion in Uganda attracting influential members of the nobility class. Even when the Christian missionaries came with a stronger commitment to converting people towards their religion, Muslims remained committed to their faith, led by members of the royal family in Buganda like Prince Nuhu Mbogo, King Kiweewa, and King Kalema. The surge in the numbers of Christians did not leave Muslims completely without a say in society, despite losing the war against Christians in the late nineteenth century.

2- Uganda is a tribal society. Tribalism and ethnicity are strong in the country and majority of the people have stronger sensitivity towards tribes than to religions. There are few ethnic- religious societies in the country; religious practitioners are spread across tribes. As a result, pressure and competition are not between any Muslim tribe as the case with the Rohingya Muslims of Myanmar and a majority Christian and pagan tribe. It is not unusual for family members to belong to different religions.

1.2 Muslim and Non-Muslim Relations

"Islamic law played a significant role in shaping the relations not only within the Islamic society but also between Muslim and not- Muslim communities in a wide

¹⁰ Mazrui, Ali, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (BBC Publications and Little Brown Company, 1986.)

geography for an extended period of time"¹¹

The legal relations between Muslims and non- Muslims depend on whether the State laws are based on Islamic laws (Dar al-Islam) or not (Dar al-Kufr/ Harb). The later is especially emphasized by communalists who argue that "a law must be made by the authority that can enforce it"¹² In the contemporary world, there are no states governed purely by Islamic laws and therefore the relationship cannot be based on the legal principles but rather on the moral and religious principles laid down from the sources of Islamic jurisprudence. In his book *Islamic Jerusalem and its Christians: A History of Tolerance and Tensions*, contemporary scholar Maher Y. Abu- Munshar argues that the Quran and the Sunna indicates the role of Islam in "building solid relations between Muslims and non-Muslims (in a Muslim State)"¹³ Although his thesis was based on the Muslim State, he was able to supplement that "No Muslim state has ever been without non-Muslims" thus "Appropriate rules had to be created to cover their rights and obligations"¹⁴ These rules and obligations are referred to as 'dhimmih rules'¹⁵ or dhimmah pact¹⁶. There are arguments as to what the dhimmah pact represents; tolerance toward non-Muslims or intolerance. The proponents of the former point to a culture of harmony and peace that existed in Muslim ruled societies like Andalusia where Muslims and non-Muslims alike have existed without substantial turmoil or persecution"¹⁷ To them, the role of the pact

¹¹ William H. McNeil, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1991, xxv-xxvi, quoted in Recep Senturk, Adamiyya and Ismah: The Contested Relationship between Humanity and Human Rights in Classical Islamic Law, (Islam Arastirmalari Dergisi, No 8, 2002, 39-69)40

¹² Senturk, *Sociology of Rights*, 30

¹³ Munshar, 7

¹⁴ *ibid*, 8

¹⁵ Enver M Emon, *Religious Minorities and Islamic Law: Accommodation and the Limits of Tolerance* 324

¹⁶ Munshar, 25

¹⁷ Enver M Emon, 325

was “to regulate the attitude and the way that Muslims should treat non- Muslims”¹⁸

The relationship between non-Muslims with Muslims is determined by the status established in the Quran. There are two categories of non-Muslims, the People of the Book (Ahl al Kitab) who are Jews and Christians and the Idolaters or atheists. The people of the book are closer to Muslims when compared with others¹⁹. The commonalities between Islam and the people of the book can be summarized as below²⁰

- Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all believe in one Creator
- They all believe in prophet hood
- They all believe in divine revelation
- They all believe in divine punishment.

The specifics and details of those beliefs are contested; however, that framework indicates that common ground can be found. In order, not to establish a wall between Islamic beliefs and that of the people of the book, the Quran set an injunction against mistreating the people of the book and arguing against all their beliefs²¹. Prophet Muhammad espoused this policy in his early approach to Christian and Jewish leaders. In letters which the prophet sent to the various kings such as Negus of Abyssinia, he stressed the issues that are common and sought to strengthen the relations from that point. Similar messages were sent to Muqawqas of Egypt, Hercules of the Hercules of the Byzantine Empire among others. We can rightly deduce that although the prophet acknowledged that the traditional messages had existed and were sanctioned by God, they could no longer be followed since

¹⁸ Munshar, 25

¹⁹ Munshar, 9

²⁰ Al-Faruqi, Ismail, *Islam and Other Faiths*. (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation and International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1998)

²¹ Do not argue with the People of the Book unless in the best manner, save with those of them who do wrong: and say: We believe in what has been sent down to us and what has been sent down to you” (Quran 29:46)

the Quran had replaced all previous messages and that he, was the seal of the prophets. From him, no new messenger was to be sent by God, and the religion that man around the world had to follow was Islam, and that it was complete.

In the early Christian era, there were different views on the nature of Jesus; some of these were close and in line with the Islamic teachings on the matter. However, these views were among the ones that were branded as heresy and punishments as severe as death were imposed on those who adhered to them or even for simply being in possession of any literature of the same. Such views included Arianism which is a non-Trinitarian view close to the Islamic teachings on the contentious issue of the dogma of trinity.

According to Islam, God sent similar message to all His prophets, Jesus inclusive. The core of the message is to "remain steadfast in religion and to make no division therein"²²

Following upon the above belief, perennial philosophy school of thought developed in the early twentieth century out of a conviction that a common ground can be found among the major religions of the world. The perennial philosophers sought to find in several religions paths to the Divine presence. Most adherents of this school eventually converted to Sufi Islam. This was partly because they attempted, and to a large extent successfully, to find the divine connection that exists in the major religious traditions.

According to the traditional school, each sacred religion possesses certain principal possibilities contained in it but not all religions have at their disposal all the possibilities in a state of actuality. "Religions decay and even die in the sense that their earthly careers terminate"²³ The teachings of Islam on the matter regarding former religions is that the message of the people of the book was corrupted and required renewal and replacement.

²² Quran 42:13

²³ Aldous Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy* (Chatto and Windus, 1948) 27

The truth in them was not denied but rather incorporated in the new universal system.

The Egyptian scholar Yusuf Al- Qaradawi argues that because of the connection, Muslims are required to deal with the People of the Book in the best way²⁴. Maher Abu-Munshar also points out that there are four main areas of focus in the Quran regarding relations with the Ahl al-kitab²⁵

1) Human brotherhood.

The concept of human brotherhood is well grounded in the Islamic discourse. Islam views human beings as perfect creations of God. In the Quran, all people are addressed by God and these include non-Muslims. The Quran emphasizes that all people were created from a single origin; Adam. In Arabic Adami means “man” and adamiyyah stands for humanity or personhood. Islam guarantees the rights of personhood and the rights, protection, and security it extends to every human is derived from the principle of human brotherhood.

2) Religious tolerance

All people are given freedom to heed the message towards God or to ignore it at their own peril but the Quran does not sanction forcing religion onto people or doing injustice to non-Muslims. This is because according to Sarakshi, the purpose of God calling on humanity is to try them, *ibtala* and those who are called have free will *ikhtiyar* and freedom *hurriyyah*²⁶ In an analogy of a trial, Sarakshi argued that a trial can only be achieved if a

²⁴ Al-Qaradawi, Yusuf, "al-Infatih Ala al-Gharb, Muqtadayatuhu was Shrutuhu" (2000) in *Islamic Jerusalem and its Christians, A History of Tolerance and Tensions* p.10. see also, *Risalit al-Muslimin fi bilad al-Gharb*, ed. Abu- Shamalah, M.A. Irbid, Jordan: Dar al-Amal, 17

²⁵ Abu-Munshar Y. Maher, *Jerusalem and its Christians: A History of Tolerance and Tensions* (Tauris Academic Studies, London2007)12

²⁶ Sarakhsi, *Usul*, 86-88 in *Senturk, Adamiyyah*, 53

human being has a choice in the matter²⁷ The Quran elucidates the issue by ordering that; “Let there be no compulsion in religion”²⁸ The matters of faith are between a person and God and no human being is privy to knowledge of the destiny of a fellow human being regarding faith. However, what a Muslim is required of doing is to disseminate the knowledge and propagate the message dawa using the best means possible. Those who are guided by God will embrace Islam and those who are not guided to it will never be able to. This is the same model that Al-Haj Salim Suwari of Wa in West Africa employed in his missionary work in the 13th century. Scholars such as Ibn Kathir, Muhammad Abu Zahra, Al-Mawdudi, Wahba al-Zuhaili all are critical to using force to compel people towards Islam.

3) Justice and fair treatment

The Nature of Muslim treatment of non-Muslims is established by the Quran. God commanded Muslims to have the best relationship with non-Muslims who are not hostile to Muslims on account of their religion²⁹ The Qur’an assures Muslims that they are not forbidden from dealing with non-Muslims who are not their enemies³⁰ by enemies referring to those that persecute Muslims because of their faith, those who drive them out of their homes or allies of those who persecute Muslims and drive them out. Those categories mentioned are forbidden to have relationships with them. Apart from that group, Muslims are ordered to treat non-Muslims kindly and justly and God makes it clearly that He loves justice for all. Al- Qurtubi, al-Zamakhshari, Al-Razi among others all agree on that interpretation.

The above order implies that Muslims cannot persecute non-Muslims, take away their

²⁷ ibid

²⁸ Quran 2:256

²⁹ ibid

³⁰ Quran 60:8-9

rights on the basis of being non-Muslims. According to Abu Munshar, the term *tabarruhum* which is used in the verse comes from the word *birr* which goes beyond kindness and justice³¹ According to Mawlawi, a Lebanese jurist *birr* is “derived from everything that is good, decent, respectable and compassionate³² Imam al-Qarafi, a Maliki jurist considered the fair treatment of non- Muslims involves; “showing kindness to their weak and helping their poor and destitute, and feeding their hungry, clothing their naked, and uttering kind words to them from the position of grace and mercy and not from the position of fear and disgrace and removing their hardship as their neighbors if you have the power to remove it, praying for their guidance so that they can become happy and fortunate people, giving them good advice in all their affairs-the affairs of this world and the hereafter and looking after their interest in their absence. If anyone hurts them and deprives them of their property or family, possessions or their rights, you should help them by removing their persecution and make sure to restore all their rights back to them”³³ We can, therefore, note that Islam has put in place a strict system that encourages justice and kindness not only to fellow Muslims but also to non-Muslims who are not at war with Islam. Collaboration with the non-Muslims on matters of common good like the work of the inter-religious council is therefore encouraged by Islam.

4) Loyalty and alliance

Fair treatment and cooperation with non-Muslims are distinct from loyalty *al-muwalah*. Loyalty and alliances are preserved for fellow Muslims. Some scholars have explained the Qur’anic verse that warns Muslims against taking for allies or helpers unbelievers rather

³¹ Abu Munshar, 18

³² Mawlawi, Faisal. ‘*al-Mafahim al-AsasiyyalilDa’wah al-Islamiyya fi Bilad al-Gharb*’, (2000) in *Risalat al- Muslimin fi bilad al-Gharb*, ed. Abu Shamalah, M.A Irbid, Dar al-Amal, 202. See also Abu Munshar, 18

³³ Al-Qarafi, Abu al-Abbas Ahmad Ibn Idris. *Al-Furuq wa Anwar al-Buruq fi Anwa’ al-Furuq*. (1998). Beirut: Manshurat Muhammad Ali Baydun, Dar al-Kutub al-‘LLmiyyah. (Vol.3,,31 also in Abu Munshar)19

than believers³⁴ as conditioned on when there is a selection. Preference and priority are to be accorded to a fellow Muslim when granting love and support. Al-Tabari explained that loyalty could mean supporting non-believers in their efforts against Muslims, such as spying on the Muslim state to benefit the enemies.

1.3 Diversity in the Quran

The concept of diversity is discussed in several verses of the Quran. The Quran sought to guide humankind by addressing the question of status and superiority complex that was so prevalent at the time. God cautions believers against undermining or looking down at other people basing on race³⁵ In the verse, God orders against belittling fellow believers based on their status. It was God's wish to create people with diverse characterized and the Quran points out that had God willed to do otherwise, all people could have been the same. But He created tribes and Nations to facilitate the protection of lineage³⁶ According to this verse, a person's status is not linked to the tribe or race. Instead, a person's position is determined by the level of worship. It is important to remember that Islam brought with it a social and moral revolution that addressed racial relations. Thus, many of the early converts were slaves and former slaves who found messages of hope and inspiration from the teachings of prophet Muhammad and from the inclusive character of the new faith. In this community, Ummah, the differences in language, color and race was only to be taken as a sign of Allah's power³⁷.

Good relations were ordered not only between members of the Muslim community but with other members of the human kind. In many instances, God espoused the term "Mankind" (*YaaAyyuha Nans*) encapsulating not only Muslims but also others in

³⁴ Qur'an 2:28

³⁵ Qur'an 49:11

³⁶ Qur'an 49:13

³⁷ Qur'an 30:22.

His warnings and guidance. In other instances, God uses the term *Bani Adam* (Children of Adam) in His calls. According to al-Sarakshi, God addressed all people including non-Muslims “because Prophet Muhammad was sent to humanity as a whole”³⁸

Scholars formulated an abstraction to depict this universal call- *Adamiyyah*³⁹. Literary *Adamiyyah* means Adam-hood⁴⁰ or Humanity. Hanafite scholars placed more emphasis on the importance of humanity than other schools. This was manifested by the development of two separate schools of thought on the issue of human rights in Islam namely the Universalist school and the Communalist school.

The Universalist and Communalist schools contest on the issue of human rights in Islam. The Universalist school founded by Imam Abu Hanifa and the communalist school, supported by Imam Maliki, Imam Shafie, and Imam Hambal. According to the Universalists, *Ismah* (inviolability) is accorded to a person by virtue of their being human⁴¹ That means that even the non-Muslims are protected and accorded their full rights as humans, *adamiyyah*. However, the communalists disagree with this. According to them, non-Muslims have no *ismah* and they only get it if they pay tax *jizya* for their protection.

I take the position of the Universalists because there should be as much choice to the human as possible in order for her to claim full responsibility for the action taken. As

³⁸ Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abi Sahl al-Sarakshi, *Usul al-Sarakshi* (ed. Abu al-Wafa al-Afghani) 1984, 1,83 quoted from Recep Şentürk “Adamiyyah and Ismah’ The Contested Relationship between Humanity and Human Rights in Classical Islamic Law” (*İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Sayı 8. 2002)

³⁹ Recep Şentürk, ‘ Adamiyyah and Ismah’ The Contested Relationship between Humanity and Human Rights in Classical Islamic Law’ (*İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Sayı 8. 2002) 44

⁴⁰ *Ibid* 44

⁴¹ Şentürk, Recep *Sociology of Rights: Inviolability of the Other in Islam between Universalism and Communalism*, 34

Sarakshi notes "*the purpose of God in calling humanity is to try them (ibtilla)*"⁴². The key condition in regard to the fulfillment of this requirement is according to humanity with all necessary information and tools that can enable them to make choice, and this is the role the prophets and their successors are doing. Without freedom (hurriyyah) and free will (ikhtiyar) then actions would not be based on the intention of the heart as is required in Islam but by fear of the man's law contrary to the spirit of God's command.

I believe that the universalist approach is more necessary today, as a way and tactic in favor of the Muslim community which through peace and harmony with the rest can provide the basic much needed spiritual information for others to choose freely. The otherwise, an idea that Muslims are in a permanent state of war unless a peace treaty is signed I think is counter-productive in today's world and may perpetuate the violation of people's rights which are rather inviolable.

The Universalist approach was employed by several Muslim empires and leaders with success. Today as the world is spinning out of control because of these differences, we have to look back in history and rediscover those precious tools that were employed to effectively manage relations in diverse Islamic empires. One of the best cases of this was the Ottoman Empire's use of the Millet system.

The Ottoman Empire was a vast and powerful empire sprawling three continents. It was inhabited by people of diverse backgrounds that can be categorized in diverse categories like religion, region, tribe and ethnicity among others. In order to manage such diverse communities, the empire had to devise a system for this cause- the resultant system is what is referred today by scholars as the 'millet' system.

The Ottoman's millet system was inspired by the main principles of Islam which order

⁴² Şentürk, Recep, Adamiyyah and Ismah, 53

freedom of religion⁴³. The word Millet itself comes from the Arabic word, *millah* which means ‘nation’. Thus, the millet system referred to the relationship among the diverse nations in the Ottoman Empire. Until the late nineteenth century, a nation in the empire meant a religious group. Citizenship rights depended on religion and ethnicity and this provided a strong case for nationalist struggles that eventually led to the collapse of the empire.

Scholars of Ottoman Empire such as Recep Şentürk and Fatih Öztürk argue that diversity in the classical period of the Ottoman empire was harnessed into bedrocks of cooperation and development as opposed to chaos and conflict that accrue from the same today. *“During Ottoman times, diversity was far from being the chaos that lay dormant in society as it too often appears to be the case in modern societies. Rather, it was a quite fundamentally absorbed normality throughout the Empire”*⁴⁴

Its application was also followed by Muslim leaders in situations where Muslims were neither in power nor were they the majority. One of the best examples where it was practiced was in West Africa during the early days of Islam in the region. The famous Suwarian tradition, developed from the thirteenth-century scholar Al-Hajj Salim Suwari of Wa, ancient Mali in West Africa is one classic example of this phenomenon. Al-Hajj Suwari formulated a theological rationale that allowed for peaceful coexistence with the non-Muslim ruling classes. This praxis allowed Muslims, who were the minority to benefit from society's resources without foregoing their religious obligations.

From the works of Imam Malik b. Anas and al-Mahalli, Suwari formulated a crucial Islamic diversity management philosophy as thus,

- Unbelief, *kufir*, is the result of *jahl*- ignorance rather than wickedness.

⁴³ Öztürk, Fatih “The Ottoman Millet System” In *The Ottoman and Turkish Law*, (Iuniverse, 2014) 71

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 77

- It is God's design for the world that some people remain in *jahiliyyah* longer than others. True conversion can occur only in „God's time', and to proselytize is to interfere with His will.
- Jihad against unbelievers is an unacceptable method of conversion and the use of arms is permissible only in self-defense
- Muslims may accept the authority of non-Muslim rulers in so far as this enables them to follow their own life in accordance to the sunnah of the prophet.
- The Muslims have to be an example to the unbelievers.
- And the Muslims must ensure that by commitment to education and learning, they keep their observance of the law free from error⁴⁵

This revered tradition enabled the then minority Muslim society to live in harmony with the pagan traditionalists, enabling Muslims to serve in positions of influence and becoming scholars, which facilitated peace and stability for many generations. To reach these conclusions, Al-hajj Suwari had dedicated his career to formulating an understanding that would allow Minority Muslims in non-Muslim lands to prosper.

1.4 Diversity Management

Homogeneity is getting scarce with migration and globalization increasingly being aided by improving technologies that bring people closer in terms of beliefs, aspirations, and expectations. Since societies, today will increasingly discover differences within and outside of themselves, any efforts at managing such a society must put into consideration ideas, interests and values of the various identities.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, 97

Recep Şentürk defines diversity management as governing diversity of ideas, interests, innate and inherited qualities by accommodating them. Diversity Management to him involves governing of ideas at the ideal level among societies, preventing differences from becoming explicit at social level which would prompt conflicts⁴⁶. According to him, most of the conflicts today are caused by the failure of social management systems.

Recep Şentürk argues that Islam has in the past demonstrated the ability to manage people of diverse religions and backgrounds from Andalusia to India⁴⁷. The ability to manage such a diverse society was a result of espousing a system that recognizes not only single truths but rather different layers of truths for different groups and purposes. This approach that governs at multiple layers is what he calls a Multiplex system. According to him the Multiplex system is better than Multiplicity management that is employed in much of the Western societies today⁴⁸. In differentiating the two systems, he describes Multiplicity as postmodern, relativistic and horizontal and Multiplexity as traditional, vertical and does not fall into the pitfall of absolutist relativism⁴⁹

Before Recep Şentürk's thesis, scholarship on diversity Management has been concentrated in the field of business and organizational management which I argue is a narrowing of its potential and scope. In the organizational management perspective, it refers to the voluntary organizational actions that are designed to create greater inclusion of employees from various backgrounds into the formal and informal organizational structures through deliberate policies and programs⁵⁰ It is this deliberate effort that

⁴⁶ Şentürk, Recep, "Diversity Management in the Era of Open Civilisation: A Call to Multiplexity", Abstract paper,1

⁴⁷ Senturk, Recep, "Unity in Multiplexity: Islam as an Open Civilisation, in *the (Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions, 7th Issue, 2011)* 49

⁴⁸ *ibid* 57

⁴⁹ Diversity Management in the Era of Open Civilisation: A Call to Multiplexity, p.3

⁵⁰ Marak, M. E. M., *Managing Diversity; Toward a Globally Inclusive Workplace, 2nd Edition;* (Sage Publications, 2014) 235

qualifies the project as Diversity Management, as without it there is obviously no management. In the societal perspective, deliberate management aims at avoiding conflicts from occurring as a result of antagonistic forces that are competing for the scarce resources in the community.

In the recent past two concepts developed with regards to peace and conflict transformation. The first one, Peace Research developed in the early twentieth century with works of Piririm Sorokin (1937) and Quincy Wright (1942). Understanding the causes of war became the fundamental issue handled by peace researchers and most scholars favored history-oriented comparative methodologies in their quests⁵¹.

Conflict resolution studies, the second is rather a recent one that gained momentum from the early 1980's according to Wallenstein⁵². However, its literature grew significantly in the subsequent decades and continues to receive significant scholarly attention to this day.

The central feature for investigation in all the fields is social conflict and the quest for peace. Jeong defines conflict as what is manifested through adversarial social action, involving two or more actors with the expression of differences often accompanied by intense hostilities⁵³. Peter Wallenstein describes conflict in more as consisting three components, Action, Incompatibility and Actors⁵⁴. Accordingly, conflict refers to "*a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources*"⁵⁵. Espousing this definition would assist us easily identify key areas that diversity management initiatives must target namely

⁵¹ Wallenstein, 6

⁵² Ibid, 7

⁵³ Jeong, H. *Conflict Management and Resolution; an Introduction* (Rutledge, London, 2010) 3

⁵⁴ Wallenstein, Peter *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System* (Sage Publications, 2002) 15

⁵⁵ Ibid, 16

incompatibility and the role of actors. By striving to acquire resources which can be either tangible or intangible, that is, the positions of interests to the parties⁵⁶, the actors risk overt conflict as a result of mobilization and advocacy. Thus, effective diversity management focuses on controlling or spinning society through its elites.

In a multi-religious society, this involves countering the growth of the "we/they" line, the assumption that one is essentially different from the others and thus other people's religion is seen as strange, different and not like one of the judging individual⁵⁷. This involves a lot of efforts in form of education, advocacy, and dialogue that bring people together. In Uganda, for instance, public religious (*in Jiri*) debates bring together missionaries and curious people from the various religions and this helps in discovering of the many commonalities that exist among the different religions and also reducing the level of isolation of each group from another.

Conflicts often do not occur abruptly but are rather a result of events that build upon each other in form of phases⁵⁸. According to Louis Kriesberg, the phases are,

- Underlying Conditions. This is the first stage of conflict where actors are working covertly. It is widely held that this stage lays the ground for overt clashes if not managed with the precision and care it deserves. It is sometimes difficult to identify conditions for a conflict that is yet overt⁵⁹. Identifying such conditions require a commitment to their research and cannot be formed solely on the reactionary basis as conflict resolution tends to be.
- Emergence. Actors in this stage may change tactics and operate more overtly. This

⁵⁶ Ibid, 17

⁵⁷ Wijzen, F *Seeds of Conflict in a Haven of Peace: From Religious Studies to Interreligious Studies in Africa*. (Rudopi B. V., Netherlands, and Amsterdam, 2007) 46

⁵⁸ Louis Kriesberg, *Conflict: Phases in The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, (Oxford University Press, 2010) 399

⁵⁹ Ibid, 400

could happen because of (threatened or actual) use of coercive sanctions against the adversary⁶⁰

- Escalation. According to Kriesberg escalation is generally in two dimensions, in scope indicated by the number of actors (groups and people fighting) and intensity indicated by growing violence and resulting deaths⁶¹
- De-escalation. Kriesberg argues that the transition from escalation to de-escalation occurs gradually following changes within the parties to the conflict which changes could be in their relations, or in the larger socio-political system. In this stage, one party may need to send conciliatory gestures and with reciprocal gestures from the other party, a conflict can be de-escalated. One side of the conflict may also offer concessions that may settle the dispute⁶² from these gestures, an agreement is usually sought and the conflict may stop at the same time as the agreement is made public. This often comes with relief from the public as the chances of being killed are reduced⁶³
- Termination. This often follows an agreement that is entered between the parties with the help of mediators. These external mediators could be external states or non-governmental organizations.
- Post-termination. This phase represents the question of sustainability of the peace efforts. Many conflicts take the form of cycle, repeating the cycle above and others may take the form of a wave and disappear⁶⁴.

Phase one is a pre-conflict phase that can be ameliorated by swift action from actors such

⁶⁰ Lewis Coser quoted in Louis Kriesberg, (2010) 400

⁶¹ ibid 401

⁶² Christopher Mitchell, 401

⁶³ Wallensteen, Peter, "Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System" (Sage Publications, 2002) 9

⁶⁴ Ibid 402

as the Non-Governmental Organizations, Community Based Organizations, and the Faith Based Organizations. This is the default phase for most societies that are heterogeneous in nature with a lot of differences amongst the people. The feeling of injustice, marginalization prompts actors to start advocacy and activism which can lead to the next phase of the conflict. Phases two and three are confrontation stages. Even in the midst of such a crisis a swift action of peacemaking can avert a possibly terrible situation by undertaking several peace processes.

The success of these interventions then leads to the final level phases; four, five and six that are characterized by efforts to transform from violent conflict to peace.

In multireligious communities, the risk of conflict is usually very high. If the interests of the different groups are not managed well then conflicts are inevitable. The process of managing interests and preventing them from escalating into violence may seem an enormous task, but in reality, as history has shown us, this great transformation can be achieved, through continuous efforts in peace research and in fostering cooperation among the groups through diplomacy. In Uganda, for instance, there has seen incredible achievements ever since the establishment of the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda. This remarkable success will be addressed further in the following chapters. The efforts of multireligious cooperation are powerful in both symbolism and in substance. In Uganda, with the establishment of the Interreligious Council in 2002, religious leaders have been working in concert to prevent conflicts from occurring, and in the process also helping in solving existing conflicts that are not inspired by religion.

The parent body of the Interreligious Council of Uganda, the African Council for Religious Leaders and Religions for Peace Initiative has provided important platforms for religious leaders in Africa to share and negotiate among one another and therefore eliminate some of the contentious issues that would possibly have facilitated conflict.

Already the initiative has proved successful and sustainable, on the basis of reduced confrontation resulting from religious differences and now their entry into the solution process of other kinds of conflicts such as those ignited by ethnic differences.

The work of these international, national and regional organizations is the work of diversity management. Instead of waiting for conflicts to occur, these organizations are proactive instead of reactionary. The African Council of Religious Leaders- Religions for Peace, for instance, comprises of all the major religious groups on the continent. This is at the macro level drawn from senior religious leaders on the continent⁶⁵. The same is structure is replicated down to lower levels with national organizations that include the Ugandan one which is the main subject of this thesis.

The objectives of these bodies also depict their diversity management character. One of the main objectives of these inter-religious is "promoting peaceful co-existence and respect of religious diversity"⁶⁶

Religions have a role in managing relations just as they had in the past. By rallying members towards justice, tolerance and kindness, religious leaders can help eliminate the atmosphere of hostilities in the communities. The religious leaders can also be valuable in settling other kinds of disputes thus ensuring sustainable peace. Identities are usually isolationist in nature. The ability to aid their members in embracing diversity, dialogue, tolerance and peaceful co-existence is a unique asset that religions possess and which should be used constructively for a greater good.

⁶⁵ These include All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) Symposium of Episcopal Conferences for Africa and Madagascar (SECAM), senior Muslim leaders from the continent, Union of Muslim Councils for Eastern, Southern and Central Africa, the World Islamic Call Society (WICS), Organization of African Instituted Churches (OAIC), Hindu Council of Africa, World Union of Catholic Women's Organization (WUCWO), representatives from Muslim women leaders in Africa, African Women of Faith Network (AWFN), African Religious Youth Network (ARYN), representatives from the Indigenous Religions of Africa and Religions for Peace International. "Confronting Violence and Advancing Shared Security: Religions in Africa working Together, REPORT OF THE 2nd GENERAL ASSEMBLY Religions in Africa Working Together 2nd – 5th December 2008, Tripoli Libya 2009 by the African Council of Religious Leaders – Religions for Peace, P.2

⁶⁶ Ibid 2

The following is a testament to the fact that bringing people together can change attitudes and promote tolerance. *"When Nigerian Peacemakers Pastor Wuye and Imam Ashafa were still bitter enemies leading militant religious groups, a mutual friend called on them to use their positions of leadership to stop the violence. Convinced that the other was wrong in his beliefs, they agreed to organize a debate between their respective Christian and Muslim communities, in which each had every intention of proving that his beliefs were the one, right path. In the process of organizing this event, however, the men had to cooperate. And over time, they came to a surprising realization – that their religions had more similarities than differences, including shared values and teachings of peace and forgiveness"*⁶⁷

1.5 Interreligious, Intercultural, Inter-civilizational Relations

Interreligious relations can be theological, relating to the discussions and argumentation on matters of faith or the relations can be based on cooperation outside the realm of theology. Whereas both approaches could bring the different faith members on the debating table, and in turn promote understanding and common grounds, the former is more fragile in practice compared to the latter.

Frans Wijzen's *Theology of Interreligious Dialogue*⁶⁸ offers a basic understanding of the first category. The theology of Interreligious Dialogue develops out of the Theology of Religion but differs in the way that the practitioner of the interreligious dialogue does not reason basing entirely upon his beliefs (inner perspective) but rather in the perspective of others with whom he is dealing (external perspective)⁶⁹.

⁶⁷ Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peace Makers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution*, (2000) 12

⁶⁸ Frans- Wijzen, 42

⁶⁹ Ibid, 42

Some scholars and commentators use the term interfaith relations instead of interreligious. However, the two terms differ at least slightly. The term interreligious encapsulates both the faith and the culture that is engendered by the faith in a way that interfaith does not. In Uganda, religion is not merely a faith but rather a complete system of culture. Religions in the country define the cultures of their followers and in they become distinct from one another. The devout Muslim man, for instance, grows a beard, keeps a cap on the head and favor putting on *a Kanzu* (The Arab long tunic). The Christian, on the other hand, may only do the same as a gesture of understanding or a reach-out to the Muslims, especially by politicians. Therefore, it is important to note that Interreligious relations in the country are also simultaneously intercultural.

Islamic culture has been distinct since the early years of Islam in the country distinguishing itself profoundly from the existing traditional cultures. Yet as we shall see, accommodationist form of Islam has blended many aspects of traditional culture into Islamic culture, and as a result, a hybrid culture emerged.

If by the culture we mean that "*that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others*"⁷⁰; then it is correct to argue that interreligious relations are intercultural relations and also inter-civilization relations, the latter being because civilizations are regarded as the highest form of cultural identity⁷¹. Samuel Huntington went further to argue that conflicts in the future will occur along fault lines, the cultural lines separating civilizations.⁷² To him, religion is a very important aspect of civilizations upon which violent clashes may erupt.⁷³

Shortly after the publication of the much-acclaimed book on the clash of civilizations,

⁷⁰ Geert H Hofstede et al, *Cultures and Organisations: Software of the Mind, intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival*, (Mc Graw Hill, New York 2010) 6

⁷¹ Huntington. P. Samuel, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, (1996)

⁷² Huntington P Samuel, *The Clash of Civilisations?* (Foreign Policy, 1993) 25

⁷³ Ibid, 25

tension and fundamentalism surged in perhaps what could have been tests for major global clashes that erupted later following the September 11, 2001, terror attack in America. In 1991 following clashes with the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council, members of the Tabligh community, led by Jamil Mukulu were arrested between 1991-1993. After their release, they fled to Kenya and Tanzania where they organized an armed struggle with alleged support from Sudanese authorities. By 1996, the group had established its bases in Western Uganda along the Congo-Ugandan border and was comprised of about 4000-5000 members⁷⁴ On 7 August 1998 in neighboring Kenya and Tanzania simultaneous terror attacks on U.S embassies carried out by members of Egyptian Islamic Jihad killed 224 people and left 4000 more injured. The motive of the attack is reported to have been revenge for American involvement in the extradition, and alleged torture of four members of Egyptian Islamic Jihad arrested in Albania⁷⁵ The motivation of the attack which later escalated following September 11, 2001, attacks allegedly begun as punishment for America's "interference"⁷⁶. The decade was eventful as noted above regarding militant actions by members of the Islamic community in the region. One could draw a connection with the Huntington philosophy for American interests at the time but it is not the gist of my discussion. What is important to note is that in the following decade, efforts were beefed up in Uganda and in Kenya to avert a protracted, intractable conflict between Muslims and the rest and the result has been a sharp decline in hostility, clashes and violence in the country along religious lines.

⁷⁴ International Crisis Group, Report Eastern Congo: The ADF-NALU Lost Rebellion, (2012) 3-5

⁷⁵ Mayer, Jane, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How The War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals*. (New York: Doubleday, 2008) 114

⁷⁶ Higgins, Andrew, *A CIA-Backed Team Used Brutal Means to Crack Terror Cell* (Wall Street Journal, 2001)

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF ISLAM AND OTHER RELIGIONS IN UGANDA

In the chapter, we trace the history of Islam in Uganda and how Muslims have related with members of other religions. The history that is presented is discussed within the context of inter-religious and intra-religious contexts of Islam in the country. For over a century, Islam in Uganda has shaped the social, economic and political structures in the country encapsulating all different aspects of society. Thus, in order to understand the dynamics of managing religious diversity, it is imperative for us to discuss key factors which I believe accounts for the nature of relations we have today. We seek to discuss the different experiences and phenomena that explain the cause and effect relationship of interreligious relations and diversity management. This is because as we have observed, the reasons behind the inter-religious confrontations of the past could as well account for renewed tensions if not solved. Forcing Muslims to eat pork or *haram* food, for example, caused many violent incidences in the past, and would continue to cause more if repeated.

2.1 The Struggle Begins

Islam was the first Western religion to arrive in present day Uganda. Three decades later, it was followed by the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church. As the first religion to set foot in the country, it was able to leave a lasting legacy and influence that continue to the present day. By being the first Western civilization in Uganda, Islam became part of the Ugandan

heritage in the same way as it was on the African continent as a whole⁷⁷. By implication, it infers that Christians who are currently the majority in the country cannot see Muslims as the 'Other' with regards to national heritage.

At the very latest in 1844⁷⁸, a convoy of Muslim Arab traders from the East African coast led by Ahmed ibn Ibrahim arrived at the court of king Ssuuna II of Buganda, the seat of what became present-day Uganda. The main motive of the caravan was trade, not carrying out missionary activities. However, upon arrival, these Muslim traders having earned the loyalty of the king embarked on a new mission of Islamizing the country and pursued this through teaching the king and some of his royal pages at the court.

For the next three decades, the relationship was between Islam and traditional religion, and the later was not perceived as a real threat because accommodationist ideas enabled practitioners to blend the two. However, this system changed when a stricter version of Islam arrived in the country with the coming of teachers from Khartoum who sought to purify Islam from the traditional belief customs⁷⁹. This happened in around 1860s when Muteesa, Suna's son had succeeded his father on the throne. During the early decades of his rule, Muteesa I was very sympathetic to the Muslims and even required that his subjects and chiefs convert to Islam and practice the religion as it is required that is, observing the fasting of Ramadhan, daily prayers among others and to that effect a full department was

⁷⁷ According to Ali Mazrui, Islam is part of Africa's triple heritage that includes itself, traditional beliefs and Christianity

⁷⁸ See GRAY Sir John M, Sheikh Ahmed bin Ibrahim, the first Arab to reach Buganda', *The Uganda Journal* vol.XI No. 1, 1947, 80-97. However, the date is disputed by other sources like Apollo Kagawa, Ham Mukasa, Ali Kulumba and others who put the date in or after 1850.

⁷⁹ Pawlikova, Viera-Vilhanova, White Fathers: Islam and Kiswahili in Nineteenth Century Uganda. *ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES*, 73, 2, 198-213 Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak (Academy of Sciences, Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia, 2004)

established⁸⁰ Islam continued to spread without major obstructions from the traditionalists because of the many customs that were in common like the guarantee on polygamy. Second, the Swahili Muslim traders as discussed were reluctant to force a stricter version of Islam.

When this stricter version arrived, Muslims started to hesitate in following the king in prayer and other rituals because he had refused to get circumcised. It was an abomination in the country for a king to lose blood for something like circumcision. According to Hamidu Mbaziira⁸¹ a local historian the king wanted to get circumcised but was advised against doing so by his closest advisors. Nevertheless, he accepted his subjects to get circumcised before him as a compromise move. This, however, was not enough for the devout Muslim subjects who accused him of being a *Kafir* (unbeliever) and started to boycott him. They refused to stand before him in prayer and also refused to eat meat that was slaughtered by the king for them. This infuriated Muteesa and he subsequently ordered for the Muslims to be massacred at Namugongo in 1876. This came down as the first consequence of failed diversity management in the country involving Muslims and a decline in the pace of Muslim growth.

The following years marked the beginning of a new phase in Muslim and the other religions' relations in Buganda. This was marked by the arrival of Christian missionaries to the court of Muteesa who had earlier grown frustrated with a section of Muslims. Henry Morton Stanley, a Christian traveler arrived in the country in 1875 and paved the way for the coming of Christian missionaries the following year. Although the Christian party struggled to gain a strong foothold in the country in its early years, the professional missionaries that sent to Uganda proved effective later against the disorganized and trade-oriented Arab

⁸⁰ Oded, Arye: Islam in Uganda, Part One, pp. 1-142, and Kasozi, Abdu B: The Spread of Islam in Uganda

⁸¹ Mbaziira, Hamidu, EbisagoN'ebibalaby'obusiraamu mu Uganda (Pains and Gains of Islam in Uganda) unpublished

Muslim party. The events that followed 1875 were marked by the contamination of the king's Islamic beliefs that it is reported that he began to practice both Islam and Christian religions. The traveler Stanley boasted of undermining Islam saying,

*“I have, indeed, undermined Islamism so much here that Mtesa has determined henceforth, until he is better informed, to observe the Christian Sabbath as well as the Muslim Sabbath”*⁸². The nature of the relations thus changed dramatically for the Muslims; from being the monopoly religion of the *abasomi*(readers) to competing with a new and dedicated force of Christian missionaries that Muteesa himself invited through a letter he wrote to Queen Victoria of England through Stanley lobbying for Christian teachers from the Queen's government that would enlighten his subjects⁸³.

When King Muteesa I died in 1884, his successor Mwanga was not enthusiastic about foreign religions as his father was. He declared his dislike for converts (*abasomi*) and ordered a cruel massacre of several dozen Christian pages who refused to yield to his debauchery at the court⁸⁴. The events necessitated cooperation between the Muslims and the Christians for survival against Mwanga who had threatened to expel both parties from the country. In 1888, the Muslim party managed to overthrow Mwanga and installed a new king, Kiweewa. This event marked the demise of the traditionalist's absolute influence in the politico-economic affairs in the kingdom. At this time it was the Muslim party with the influence at the court. According to Aded Orye, *“when Mwanga ascended to the throne in 1884, there were already*

⁸² Stanley, H.M *Through the Dark Continent* (London, George Newness, 1899, vol. I) 164

⁸³ New Vision, 19th November 2007; Muteesa Writes to the Queen, retrieved from www.newvision.com on 18th February 2017

⁸⁴ King Mwanga used to practice homosexual acts with his pages at the palace. When the missionaries advised the boys against it by promise of a better life in heaven, Mwanga ordered them to be killed at Namugongo. The event is today a public holiday in Uganda on 3rd June.

*powerful Muslim chiefs who later on also served as chiefs under Kalema. Of the four new administrative departments (Bitongole) established by Mwanga, two were commanded by Muslims. The department Kijaasi was commanded by the Muslim Kapalaga, and the department Kiwuliriza was commanded by the Muslim Muguluma. The other two departments, Kisalosalu and Kisugula, were under the Catholic Nyonyintono and protestant Apollo Kagga respectively. The two Muslim departments constituted the most powerful force in the country and had 600 guns, while the others shared 500 guns between them*⁸⁵

For the Muslims circumcision was an important indicator of the king's loyalty to Islam and they were determined to ensure that the king follows on it. King Kiweewa had portrayed himself as a Muslim and the Muslims supported him against his brother Mwanga but when he was installed to the throne he refused to get circumcised as well. This infuriated Muslims and led to deteriorating relations that saw Kiweewa deposed from the throne after a short spell.

The reign of king Kiweewa is significant in the history of the interreligious relations because it was then that violence among the major religions became more overt. As discussed earlier, Muslims and Christians cooperated in the coup against king Mwanga that was led by Muslims. According to Arye Oded who quoted from a local historian Zimbe, *"at that time both Muslims and Christians considered themselves first and foremost Baganda and were ready to cooperate"*⁸⁶. Zimbe, a Christian participant writes, *"We gathered in Council and decided to make blood brotherhood with the Muslims to remove any distrust between us"*⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Arye, Oded "Religion and Politics In Uganda: A Study of Islam and Judaism. (East African Publishers, Nairobi, 1995) 15

⁸⁶ Oded Arye, 15

⁸⁷ Ibid, 16

Soon there was a failure in the management of the interests regarding the distribution of posts and the particular interests of the allies. The allies had agreed that the post of the head of the royal cooks (Kauta) would go to the Muslims because it was in this position that the supervision of meat was. The Muslims were keen on eating only halal meat, which must be slaughtered by only Muslims. On the other hand, the Christians attach no significance to that matter. However a Christian chief, Antoni Ddungu insisted on having the position and threatened to fight for it⁸⁸ In the midst of discussions, on 12 October 1889 one of Ddungu's servants stabbed and killed a Muslim chief Sirimani Lubaga which sparked off the war. Eventually, the Christians were defeated and expelled away from the country and a new Muslim king, voluntarily circumcised was declared new Kabaka of Buganda. This decision resulted in the British agents' increased influence in the region when the expelled missionaries led by Alexander Mc Cay wrote to the British consul Colonel Evan Smith reporting the incidents and appealing for the involvement of the British against the Muslim Arabs, believed to have been the masterminds behind the expulsion to be punished by the Sultan of Zanzibar. According to Aded Orye, Colonel Smith responded by writing to the Sultan requesting that action be taken against the Arabs⁸⁹. However, to his disappointment, the Sultan did not respond to his satisfaction which prompted further engagement of the British in support of the Christians.

At this stage, relations became intricate for Muslims. The Christian party of protestant Church of Uganda and the Catholic White Fathers, usually bitter rivals on their own, allied with the traditionalists led by King Mwanga with the support of the British East

⁸⁸ ibid

⁸⁹ Oded Orye, 18

India Company, were able to defeat the Muslims and reclaimed the throne. In the end, Muslims were exiled to other parts of Uganda and their influence gradually deteriorated.

With the Muslims defeated at war, a new phase of relations emerged. Their survival now depended on the leadership of one of the key Princes who using his position was able to negotiate with the British colonial masters for several concessions that were to be very influential for the survival of Islam in the country. I argue that from this moment on, the role of individual actors became more significant than before in the diversity management efforts. The Muslims now without the backing of the state behind them had to depend on the ability of their leader Nuhu Mbogo in his individual capacity as Prince to negotiate with the government in Mengo and the British. Prince Nuhu Mbogo succeeded at uniting the party under him but later factions began to emerge and more individuals became prominent leaders of the Muslims in the different regions where they fled. Islam was thus spread to other parts of the country mainly through this process.

The departure of Muslims from Buganda left two bitter rivals the Protestants and the Catholics on the edge of violent clashes which worried Captain Lugard of the British Empire so much that he worked for the return of the Muslims led by Prince Nuhu Mbogo. The Muslims as part of Lugard's strategy were to act as a buffer and were given land in between the counties occupied by these parties. It was hoped that by placing the Muslims in between, they would be absorbed into the Protestantism. Lugard confesses in his book that, *"it seems a strange irony of fate which had compelled me, who had hitherto been the opponent of Islam elsewhere in Africa, to pose as its champion. But the folly of the Christian factions had given to Mohammedans an unlooked for advantage and circumstances now compelled me to repatriate them in Uganda, instead of locating them as I had hoped near my forts in*

*Bunyoro*⁹⁰. We can deduce that Captain Lugard and the British powers though often boasted of allowing freedom of religion in the empire, were more inclined towards the Christian party, particularly the Protestant party and the Muslims were now left on the margins only considered when necessary. Lugard continued to lament that, “...*I was by no means eager to give more than was necessary to the Mohammedans*⁹¹” he stressed that “*my action is not encouraging Islamism but rather controlling and limiting it*”⁹²In short, the Muslims had lost the force that had helped propel them in the recent past; the state machinery and by negotiating with Lugard to return back from exile they lost an opportunity to establish a new state of their own outside of Buganda. Nevertheless, the agreement of 1892 had a lasting legacy for Islam in the country up to date. It was agreed that Muslims were to be given protection by the administration. The Muslim leader, Prince Mbogo was assured of extra security with 30 guards and 700 guns⁹³. Secondly, the Muslims were given three counties Gomba, Butambala, and Busujju. Thirdly for matters of identification Muslims were supposed to put on a cap at all times. To this day devout Muslims in Buganda follow this tradition that identifies them from their Christian fellows. Muslims were also granted the permission of slaughtering animals for public consumption because Muslims were not expected to eat meat that is slaughtered by a non-Muslim. To date, the meat industry is mainly in the hands of Muslims who operate slaughter houses and butcheries, especially in Buganda. Politically, it was agreed that Prince Mbogo denounces and distances away from any efforts to become king of Buganda effectively ensuring that future kings of Buganda come from the Protestant party.

⁹⁰Lugard F.D, “ The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda” (William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1893) 441

⁹¹ Ibid, 440

⁹² Ibid, 441

⁹³ NakabiriHafiswa, Mutyaba Mustafa, *Prince Nuhu Kyabasinga Mbogo*, translated from Luganda, “Omulangira Nuhu Kyabasinga Mbogo”, (Crane Books Ltd, Kampala) 32

The numerically smaller Protestant Baganda party was put in chief administrative positions, followed by the Catholics and Muslims came behind the two. Society was thus classified in the descending order from Protestants to Catholics and then Muslims. When Muslims grew more agitated and furious, they attempted to regain power with the support of Nubian Muslim soldiers led by Selim Bey but these efforts were futile and further worsened the marginalization of Muslims in society. After the signing of the 1900 Buganda agreement, Christianity triumphed in the country. Of the 20 counties, the protestants were given eleven, the Catholics eight and Muslims only one. Of the three ministers, none was Muslim; two were Protestants and one Catholic. In the *Lukiiko*, (Legislature), there were forty-nine Protestants, thirty-five Catholics and only five Muslim members elected⁹⁴. However, even under the severe conditions that followed, Islam managed to survive albeit slowly and individualized. The Muslims could not expect support from the British administrators at the time. As the governor, Sir Harry Johnston clearly expressed in his communiqué to the Sub-Commissioner of Busoga that, *"In (B)Uganda itself we are obliged to put up with the existence of people of this faith because they were here before we came, but I can see that it is decidedly not in the interests of the British government that we should actually assist the spread of this religion. It is particularly necessary at the present time that we should have no Mohammedan nonsense"*⁹⁵

This colonial policy had a direct effect on the nature of society in the country from education to politics. In the following paragraph, I discuss the status of education that followed.

⁹⁴ Mbaziira, Hamidu, 94

⁹⁵ Pawlikova-VilhanovaViera, Rethinking The Spread of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa. Asian and African Studies, 19,2010, 1, 134-167 p. 150 see also communiqué of Sir Harry Johnston to Sub-Commissioner in Busoga, 3.12.1900, Entebbe Secretariat Archives, Busoga outward, A11/1/53

2.2 Individualized Islamic Education versus Secular Education for other religions

Education in the Ugandan context almost always meant Western education. To be educated was to be trained in the western secular practice conducted through English. Until today, those without the grasp of English are not easily considered to be educated, if they mastered other fields well. This had a lot to do with colonialism and the colonial policy just was not in favor of Islam. Consequently, it was clear that the Muslim community was doomed to have issues with education as it was understood at the time and their lagging behind in it severely marginalized them from intellectual discourses and elite classes in the country even during the post-colonial periods.

In his study on the state of education in Uganda, Abas Kiyimba argued that the lagging behind in education of the Muslims was not of their own making, rather the deliberate colonial policy that aimed at promoting Christianity at the expense of Islam. The same view is held by Nsereko Mutumba, the spokesperson of the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council who wrote in *New Vision*, the national Newspaper as thus,⁹⁶ *"The situation was made worse by the colonial and post-colonial governments that marginalized Muslims when it came to matters of education, politics and economic transformation. A case in point was in 1920 when the colonial governor Sir Harry Johnston wanted Uganda to be a Christian state"*

The colonial administration sided with the missionaries and its own officers who looked at Islam with suspicion as Mohammedanism, a rival religion. The Anglican bishop Cessian Spiss argued successfully that it was useless to educate Muslims for they are deceitful

⁹⁶ See http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1422185/ugandan-muslims-lagged#sthash.kk07gneT.dpuf

and without morals⁹⁷. The missionaries had enormous influence in the colonial administration which easily frustrated even proposals from within the government to consider setting up education facilities for Muslims. For example in 1905, governor George Wilson proposed that a school be set up for Muslims but was vehemently opposed by Bishop Tucker who protested to both the colonial government and the Home government in London against the move arguing that government efforts be directed to missionary schools⁹⁸ Bishop Tucker also opposed another proposal by Eric Hesse of establishing elementary and intermediate schools for Muslims emphasizing "*that Muslims had done nothing for the government*"⁹⁹

In matters of education, therefore, there were discrepancies among the religious groups in the country that was encouraged by the state. The result of this policy was that Christians were exposed to both Christian and secular education at the same time because the schools at the time that the government supported were established mainly by the Christian missionaries. These schools included among other Kings College Buddo, Busoga College Mwiri among others that were meant to educate chief's children and establish an elite class in the country. None of these were extended to the Muslim community at the time. When therefore several generations of Christians became literate, their Muslim countrymen started developing an inferiority complex which they ventured to ameliorate by bringing several instructors from abroad to teach the Muslim community a move that was thwarted by the colonial government. Some other parents decided to send their children to the Christian schools. However, the later proved problematic because many of the Muslim students that were sent to the Christian

⁹⁷ C. Spiss in Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 62/63, 1964. Cited from Kiyimba, Abas, The Problem of Muslim Education in Uganda: Some Reflections, (1986, 254 Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs) 251

⁹⁸ Ibid, 256

⁹⁹ Ibid

schools were forced to convert to Christianity which angered the Muslim community. Yusuf Lule, who later became a president after Idi Amin was cited as an example of the students who converted to Christianity in schools mentioned above.

Now that Muslims feared taking children to those elite Christian schools, the religious communities grew further and further apart. The Muslims had their individualized education system which in many ways resembled the traditional Islamic system where a few students would be sent to live with the instructor, acquire knowledge in return for services in the *Muallim*'s shamba or in his trade. As the Christian state was producing students en masse, the Muslim system only allowed for a handful of trained students who were expected upon completion to also teach a new generation in the same manner.

As Muslims were left behind in secular education, they devised their own means of education parallel to that the Christians were receiving. The Muslim education was mainly based on individual sheiks who would inculcate whatever they had to their pupils in what is popularly known as 'Veranda' education. Since it was devoid of state regulation, the teachers had unlimited influence on their students which created loyalty groups and decentralized both education and other aspects of life.

The lack of a centralized system of education, made it difficult for dissemination of similar information and practice. This would later escalate in factionalism within the Muslim community which also had a direct impact on the interreligious relations in the country. Differences from interpretation of Islamic laws and practices eventually unearthed the differences that existed in the wider Islamic world. Universalist and Communalist divisions sprung up and escalated into bigger factions as certain sheiks increased in popularity and influence. This phenomenon changed the nature of religious conflicts in the later years from

being largely inter-religious to intra-religious in nature especially with regards to Islam. I shall deal with this phenomenon in details later.

Although access to education remained a key challenge for the Muslims until today, it no longer as dire as it was in the early days of colonial rule vis a vis other religions. The change in fortunes for the Muslim community came about when Muslim leaders decided to establish an organization to foresee the establishment of schools that would assist the Muslim to acquire secular education.

To ameliorate that anomaly, the Muslim community did not resort to violence and confrontation. Rather, led by a few leaders and amidst resistance from within the Muslim community itself, they established a foundation that was to oversee, encourage and promote Muslim entry into secular education. The Uganda Muslim Education Association UMEA started albeit with limited funds, for in 1944 for instance, out of the national education budget of 134,000 pounds, UMEA was given a grant of only 213 pounds¹⁰⁰. Nevertheless by 1963 when Uganda had attained independence, the association had registered remarkable progress with one hundred eighty primary schools, eight junior secondary schools, one senior secondary school and one teacher training college¹⁰¹ Currently, there are over one thousand five hundred Muslim founded primary schools, over one hundred sixty Muslim secondary schools, five technical institutions, two primary Muslim teacher training colleges and two universities.

For diversity management, these schools are very influential in fostering Muslim-Christian relations. This is because although these schools were Muslim founded, they

¹⁰⁰ Kiyimba, Abas

¹⁰¹ ibid

welcomed all students irrespective of their faith and sometimes the majority of the students were non-Muslims. By attending these schools, the students familiarize with Islamic teachings and with Muslims in particular which helps to bridge the 'We, They' line. Even for the case of UMEA and Muslim education in general, the role of individual actors was very crucial. The initiative, for instance was led by Hajj Badru Kakungulu in 1936. Kakungulu was son and heir to Prince Nuhu Mbogo, who in decades preceding had been holding the Muslim banner in dealings with the government and the non-Muslim parties as we discussed above. This individual responsibility has been institutionalized to represent a significant block in the community. Although unelected and largely unofficial, the family of Prince Mbogo has continued to provide key leadership to the Muslim community. This was the case even after 1964 when UMEA's activities came to a standstill due to lack of financial means of sustaining a skeleton staff at its headquarters, it was crippled until 1995, when under the leadership of Dr. Prince Kassim Nakibinge Kakungulu, the heir to Prince Badru Kakungulu and grandson of Prince Nuhu Mbogo the activities of UMEA were revived. Some of the schools supported by UMEA have become national giants, competing favorably with other faith-based schools. Among those top schools include Kibuli Secondary School, Kawempe Muslim School, Nabisunsa Girls, Gombe Secondary School, among others. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim children are now receiving the high-quality education from primary up to University level. The bulk of those Muslims enters Makerere University, the biggest public university, IUIU, the biggest Muslim university and the first private university established in Uganda, Kampala University- a Muslim founded university established by Badru Kateregga, or Kampala International University, another one established by businessman Hassan Basajjabalaba, also a Muslim. The growth in knowledge has had an immediate impact on the general strength of

the Muslim community. In the area of finance, Muslims scholars are advocating for the establishment of Islamic compliant financial systems. One scholar who has done a lot in involving Muslims in contemporary affairs is Dr. Anus Abdunoor Kaliisa. A former Vice Rector of IUIU, Dr. Kaliisa is well grounded in Islamic theology, law, history, international relations and sits on the apex body of World Muslim Scholars. Through his regular programs on the newly established Muslim radio and television stations, he gives lectures on Islamic civilization, sharia and contemporary society among others. Nothing can push Muslim development as zakat and endowments (Waqfs). As a founding member and Executive Director of Uganda's House of Zakat and Waqf, Dr. Kaliisa's leadership has breathed a new life in the management of Muslim finances, one of professionalism and accountability. There is an atmosphere of hope in the Muslim community in Uganda at the moment. Muslims are contributing now, to hundreds of calls for mosque constructions, establishing and supporting Muslim projects. In Kampala, the capital city, more than half of the business arcades and shopping malls have a floor or rooms reserved for prayers. In many, it is a recognized mosque. Mosques have been constructed in every corner, with both local and foreign monies. The Old Kampala Mosque, completed by the former Libyan Leader Muammar Gadhafi, is one of the top tourist attractions in Kampala.

2.3 Religion and Language, the colonial factor

One of the key colonial legacies in Uganda and Buganda in particular with relation to religion was the policy on Kiswahili, the most widely spoken indigenous language in the East African region. The spread of Swahili was destined to increase into the interior and became the semi-official means of communication for, it had proven effective in the previous century where it

was used by the Muslim traders from the Coast of East Africa and it had also been fundamental in the spread of both Islam and Christianity at first as missionaries used Swahili interpreters to evangelize the interior. However, its fortunes were undermined when the Christian missionaries began a campaign against it in favor of Luganda, a local language of the Baganda who were the main agents of both Christianity and of the colonial administration in the country. According to Vilhanova-Pawlikova, “*the position of Islam was from the outset in the eyes of both missions jeopardized by its association with Islam, a rival and “inferior” religion*”¹⁰² According to her, the missionary thought always had political and religious connotations though it was not always publicly voiced as such. It was because of Swahili’s closeness to Arabic and its being the lingua franca of the Coastal Muslims that the administration in Buganda and Uganda decided against encouraging it. As a result of the Swahili policy, Uganda lost in the pursuit of becoming a natural member of the East African community, a community where majority were Swahili speakers. As Swahili was not accepted by the majority then, it became a lasting impediment for unity that would have been aided by speaking a similar language across the country.

2.4 Islam and the other religions in the decolonization process

By the end of the British colonial rule, the politics in the country had become shaped largely by religion and region. The Protestants had become empowered enough to perpetuate their dominance in the political, and social life of Uganda. The main source of resistance to this order came in from the Catholics who constituted the majority of the population and the second party in terms of influence.

¹⁰² Vilhanová-Pawliková, Viera, “Swahili and the Dilemma of Ugandan Language Policy” In (Asian and African Studies, 5, 2, 1996) 158-170

Key anti-colonial activities were instigated by the resistant protestant parties in Mengo led by King Muteesa II who was struggling to see his kingdom regain autonomy and self-independence. However, since the majority in the kingdom administration were Protestants, the Catholics formed their own party to rival that of Buganda kingdom. This was because the preceding decades of colonial policy had pushed Muslims out of formal secular life, on account of lack of secular education. With only one university graduate at the time of independence, Muslims were on the margins of political life, resorting to informal, uncoordinated organizing for the different factions that had formed in preparation for independence¹⁰³. The Muslims were left to till the land, and being an agriculture-based country, this appears to have worked in favor of many, as Muslims became increasingly rich and in turn influential at least in the villages where it was uncommon for the richest man to be Muslim. The Muslims also acquired autonomy over the meat industry where they monopolized butchers and slaughter houses. In economic terms, therefore, the Muslim party was fairly competitive with the rest.

¹⁰³ Geoffrey Engholm, *Political Parties and Uganda's Independence Transition* (No. 3 Jan. 1962) 16

2.5 Muslims in the military and the Post-Independence Crises

Another area where Muslims thrived was in the military. Shortly after independence was gained the top military commanders were both Muslims. Brigadier Shaban Opolot was a Muslim acquaintance of the monarchist president and king of Buganda Edward Muteesa II. From 1964 he was the commander of the army and was deputized by Colonel Idi Amin Dada, another Muslim who was promoted by the executive prime minister Apollo Milton Obote to act as his protégé and to check on the influence of Brigadier Shaban Opolot with whom Obote had increasingly grown suspicious.

As the country's politics became more militarized, the influence of these two Muslim commanders surged. The events that played out later exposed another important aspect of the Muslim relations in the country. They exposed that intra-religious conflicts can easily spill over and affect the political and social landscape of the country. Few researchers have ventured to understand the role that religion led to the 1966 Buganda crisis event. However, we can argue that it was a key factor that led to this crisis that led to the exiling of the president who was also the king of Buganda who was overthrown by forces commanded by Amin Dada overran the palace and forced Muteesa to flee.

Before 1965 the Uganda Muslim Community at Kibuli constituted the biggest organized grouping of Muslims in the country. However, these were largely Baganda under the leadership of Prince Badru Kakungulu. Thus, it also acted as the ground for monarchist Muslims. Brigadier Shaban Opolot, himself a friend and to the royalist president Muteesa belonged to this group. To counter it, the Obote government orchestrated the founding of a new Muslim organization; The National Association for the Advancement of Muslims (NAAM) largely supported by Adeko Nekyon, a minister, cousin and close confidante of

Prime Minister Milton Obote¹⁰⁴. It is alleged that with the involvement of Shaban Opolot, Muteesa planned a failed coup on February 22, 1966, that was later thwarted by Obote using Idi Amin Dada when the army stormed the palace at Mengo, usurped the office of the president and forced President Muteesa to run to exile. The Daily Monitor reported that it was *"Opolot's stubborn opposition to sending Uganda's army to Congo and refusal to be part of the mission, which his deputy Idi Amin executed, rubbed suspicion into Obote's mind. On October 7, 1966, Opolot was dismissed from the army and detained without trial at Luzira Maximum Security Prison"*¹⁰⁵

As tensions escalated, members of the Uganda Muslim Community at Kibuli were increasingly seen as disloyal to the government. Key Muslim leaders that were supported by the establishment were those from NAAM. The functioning of the UMC faction at Kibuli was weakened and such programs as UMEA education activities were weakened as a result of limited funding. Never the less, under the guardianship of Prince Badru Kakungulu, the group persevered, and would later welcome Idi Amin Dada among its sympathizers when he eventually fell out with Milton Obote.

2.6 Religions under Idi Amin

In 1971, president Apollo Milton Obote was overthrown by the military in a military coup. Idi Amin Dada, a Muslim became the president. Amin Dada became the first and only true Muslim to rule Uganda, for the man who replaced him following a bloody civil war; Yusuf Lule had reverted to Christianity while at school and had become a negative influence

¹⁰⁴ Mutibwa M. Phares, "Uganda since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Hopes" (Africa World Press, New Jersey, 1992) 31

¹⁰⁵ Faustin Mugabe, Sunday Monitor, June 21, 2015 "Police Officer tips Obote on coup plot" Retrieved on 19th.04.2017 from <http://www.monitor.co.ug/Magazines/PeoplePower/Police-tips-Obote-coup-plot-Muteesa/689844-2759192-1016pjjz/index.html>

on Muslims who feared to take their children to Christian elite schools to avert what happened of Lule.

Religion was a key factor in post-independence Uganda and its management required a specialized institution. Thus, Idi Amin set up the Ministry of Religious Affairs to handle religious issues. The state policy recognized the traditional faiths which included the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican church (Church of Uganda), the Greek Orthodox Church, the Seventh Day Adventists and Islam¹⁰⁶ However, during this time several new churches sought to establish themselves but faced reprisals from the state¹⁰⁷ These churches, commonly known as the Born-Again Churches included evangelicals and Pentecostals would later become influential after the fall of Idi Amin.

For Amin Islam was an asset he used to attract support from Arab countries. He became a close ally of Libya and Saudi Arabia which catered for much of the country's budgetary support. This is because shortly after attaining the presidency Amin fell out with the British and Israeli governments. He had also declared an economic war expelling all dual citizens of Asian origins most of whom had British citizenship. These actions infuriated the West and so on efforts to remove him from power were orchestrated. Yet at the time he took office, Intra-religious conflicts within Islam were at their height. Unending Muslim wrangles and factionalism irritated the new president who called for a religious conference at Kabale. Out of the deliberations Idi Amin formed the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council (UMSC) to unite

¹⁰⁶ Religious Tolerance And The State In Uganda: A Paper Presented By Rosemary Nabifo Wamimbi Assistant Commissioner For Immigration/ Secretary Ngo Board Ministry Of Internal Affairs - Uganda Utah, USA, October 2010, 2

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 3

all the Muslims and established its headquarters at Fort Lugard, Old Kampala¹⁰⁸ His regime faced armed resistance almost as soon as it took over the leadership of the country. As the country plunged into civil war, several key Christian religious leaders were allegedly used in the efforts to undermine his leadership. It culminated later in 1977 in the death of the Archbishop of Uganda Janan Luwum who was allegedly killed by Amin for supporting rebel activities. This action was seen by many as persecution of Christian religious leaders who were opposed to the brutal regime.

2.7 Ethno-religiosity and the danger of ethnic cleansing

One of the main factors that often inhibit the spread of religious violence is the lack of a specified ethnic group to target. When different religions are shared across ethnic groups and races, it becomes difficult to identify members to subject to mass violence like ethnic cleansing, genocides, and persecution as second-class citizens. This can partly explain the absence severe of interfaith violence in Uganda because the religions were absorbed into many tribes without anyone belonging exclusively to one religion.

This order was threatened when President Idi Amin Dada brought to the fore of national politics a group of Northern Ugandan Muslims, hitherto scattered and sharing only a few customs, a language "Kinubbi" and most importantly Islam. Amin needed Muslims as his support base because he came from a minority Kakwa tribe which could not offer him the required reinforcement against a steadily rising rebellion against him. The Ugandan Nubi are

¹⁰⁸ Kateregga, Badru, *The Cause of Muslim Wrangles in Uganda- and the possible remedies*, The Campus Journal published on Monday, 13 August 2012 retrieved on 18th.04.2017

<http://campusjournal.ug/index.php/special-report/analysis/537-the-cause-of-muslim-wrangles-in-uganda-and-the-possible-remedies>

traced from migrants from southern Sudan who first served as mercenaries for the British colonial. They were recruited in the colonial army and played a key role in events that followed when for instance they allied with Selim bey in a failed attempt to reinstate a Muslim king in Buganda at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Nubian community thus lived much of the colonial and post-colonial era on the margins without much influence. However, their fortunes came when Idi Amin Dada, a kinsman took over the leadership of the country. The Nubians in a way became a ruling minority and in order to benefit from social mobility, many members who had hitherto never identified themselves as Nubians began to do so. This Nubianization¹⁰⁹ came especially when the Asians were expelled and their properties shared among loyal Ugandans creating a new propertied class, which was mainly Muslim and Nubi in composition. *What was the position of the others?*

The non-Nubi Muslims benefited from the attention that Amin put on them which were meant to ameliorate their position rather than sinking them more into subjectivity. The Amin administration in setting up a Muslim headquarters sought to unite Muslims under one umbrella, offering them land and other valuable properties in order to empower them. Some properties that were confiscated from expelled Asians were handed to the Muslim leadership. The government's foreign policy was coined to become friendlier to rich Arab Nations which supported the budget and offered other benefits in terms of interest-free loans, scholarships for Muslim students. In 1974 Uganda was registered as a member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in a conference held in Lahore, Pakistan despite having a minority

¹⁰⁹ Abdin Chande, 2008, *Muslim-State Relations in East Africa Under Conditions of Military and Civilian or One Party Dictatorships*(Adelphi University, 2008) 104

Muslim population of about twelve to sixteen percent at the time¹¹⁰. Many Muslim business people and former students from the Arab countries reaped from Amin's internal policy of economic nationalization, with Muslims acquiring a big portion of the properties that were confiscated from the expelled Asians. They also reaped from the friendlier relations to Arab countries foreign policy as Ugandan students from those countries were given jobs and other opportunities.

According to available records, there seems not to have been deliberate efforts by the administration to persecute Christians. However, as hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives in the civil war, the majority were Christians including several church leaders like Archbishop Jonan Luwum who was allegedly killed on orders of Amin for conspiring against his regime. Many people ran to exile to escape the war in the country and most of these people who would later return after the demise of Amin had grudges towards Muslims whom they accused of supporting Amin and the state machinery against them.

2.8 The Aftermath of Idi Amin and ethno religious violence

A wave of violence, murder, and persecution followed directed towards Muslims and members of the Nubi community, who by now could easily be identified and singled out. Worse still, a people from West Nile who were collectively associated with Amin's regime were branded as 'foreigners' and their guilt was implicitly assumed even by international organizations such as the United Nations¹¹¹ Many of them were forced to escape to South Sudan as exiles or refugees and would only come back later when conditions improved. Some

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 105

¹¹¹ ibid

others joined the rebel movement organized to reinstate Idi Amin but this struggle was abandoned shortly afterwards. What strategy did West Nile Muslims employ to ameliorate the situation?

The solution came when towards the end of the 1980's the returning West Nile Muslims ceased calling themselves "Nubi" and started identifying themselves as "Muslim Kakwa", "Muslim Madi" and "Muslim Lugbara"¹¹². This was because Kakwa, Madi, and Lugbara are recognizable ethnic groups in the country with different religious denominations.

The ethno religious problem was therefore solved henceforth reducing the likelihood of mass religious oriented mass violence as murder. According to Abdin Chande, "*Perhaps this had to do with the fact that Muslims in Uganda did not live a separate existence (the way the Nubi had done in the past) as a minority set apart from their kindred ethnic groups. This succeeded to some extent in blunting any guilt by association or animosity directed toward them by the more numerous Christian members of their ethnic groups.*"¹¹³

2.9 The Rise of religious extremism

The fall of Amin heralded a new era and new opportunities for the born-again churches that had been curtailed by his administration. In the 1980's the Born-again churches started rising up mainly with external donor support. The trend was common throughout much of the country. The congregation of the church was to be raised from the existing religions especially those that are seen as vulnerable. The entry into the market for converts by the born again churches was a matter of concern for many devoted Muslims and several

¹¹² ibid

¹¹³ ibid

campaigns were launched in order to over compete with the new force of the Pentecostal churches. As Pentecostal pastors were soliciting money from America, the Muslims were also soliciting from the rich Arab countries mostly Saudi Arabia through the students who were given scholarships as a result of the pro-Arab foreign policy of Idi Amin.

The students from Arab countries had a tremendous impact on the nature of the intra- faith and inter- faith relations of Islam in the country. Internally they wielded considerable having acquired education from the source. Secondly, it was through them that Arab donors channeled much of non-state donations, aid, and grants for constructing schools, mosques and other social services. With this donor support hundreds of schools, mosques were set up on individual basis since there were constant divisions and wrangles at the top leadership of the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council. Thus, most of the projects were established without regulation from the top Muslim administration resulting in having many power centers with different sets of ideologies.

Perhaps the most significant Muslim movement with regards to inter-religious relations was the rise of youth-led Tabligh jamaat community headquartered at Nakasero and William Street Mosques and the Salaf movement. The leaders of the movement were mainly Muslims students from the Arab countries who sought to propagate Islam further and at the same time cleanse it from the impure forms of Islam that were believed to be practiced by ignorant or less educated Muslims.

The crackdown of Muslims after the fall of Amin provided the impetus for the Tabligh leaders to solicit funds from sympathizing Muslim countries and communities. A lot of support came from Sudan especially from Hassan al-Turabi an influential Sudanese politician and spiritual leader. The availability of funds ensured that these Muslim leaders had the

capacity to mobilize members for several campaigns which included regular religious debates with Christian pastors particularly of the born-again churches who were also eager to win new converts. Thus, *the struggle for the domination of the religious sphere that ensued was to turn violent*¹¹⁴. However much of the violence was not between Muslims and non-Muslim parties but rather amongst Muslims. The religious debates ‘*enjiri*’ was always heated, but the mere presence of them meant that both parties established an amicable system of discussing their differences and it was uncommon for such meetings to become violent. On the other hand, the different factions within the Muslim community did not open up similar platforms for diversity management. The aged sheiks and Muslim leaders were unwilling to provide space to these new vibrant and educated Muslim elite. The old guard was hesitant to give up their positions and to give space for the young elites in public congregations which prompted the young sheiks to establish open learning centers and started conducting Da'wa. From this initiative, many converts were registered among whom included Jamil Mukulu and Sheikh Mustafa Bahiga who became immersed with the faith, became scholars and even started giving *fatwas*.

The Salaf and Tabligh members expressed a hard-line communalist ideology. They became distinct from other Muslims by observing “*certain practices, including putting on boot-cut trousers, wear, maintaining beards and had banned certain traditional practices they believed were unlawful in Islam....The activities included; fortune-telling or sorcery (Okubaekitabo), “Okwabya Olumbe” or funeral rites and celebrating the Mawlid to mention*

¹¹⁴ International Crisis Group, Eastern Congo: The ADF-NALU’s Lost Rebellion, Policy Briefing, Africa, Briefing N 93 Nairobi/Brussels, 19 December, 2012, 3.

*but a few*¹¹⁵. They got the approval of a large following of Muslim youths and soon set to capture Muslim leadership in order to advance their mission.

On 22 March 1991, the Tabligh leaders mobilized members into a clash with the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council. The mission was to capture the headquarters of the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council and force the then Mufti sheik Saad Luwemba out of office over alleged incompetency. The standoff left five people dead including four police officers. Following the incident, many Tabligh leaders including Jamil Mukulu, who headed the campaign, were arrested between 1991 and 1993¹¹⁶. After their release, the members led by Sulaiman Kakeeto, Jamil Mukulu, and others camped in Hoima, Western Uganda wherein 1994, they created the Movement of Ugandan Combatants for Freedom a rebel group which immediately received financial support from Khartoum¹¹⁷. The Ugandan government reacted by destroying the movement's training camp in 1995 which forced members to take refuge in the Congolese town of Bunia, near the Ugandan border while the leaders Jamil Mukulu and Sulaiman Kakeeto fled to Tanzania and Kenya¹¹⁸. In September of the same year, an alliance was made between two movements one led by Commander Ngaimoko and the other led by Yusuf Kabanda, a comrade of Jamil Mukulu to form the Allied Democratic Forces-National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (ADF-NALU) which launched a futile war against Kampala.

The militant form of Islam espoused by these youthful movements left a huge impact

¹¹⁵ MukisaFarahani, Recounting The Attack On Uganda Muslim Supreme Council Headquarters, The Daily Monitor, Tuesday (August 4, 2015) retrieved on 29.04.2017
<http://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/Recounting-the-attack-on-Uganda-Muslim-Supreme-Council/691232-2818364-wsk4ndz/index.html>

¹¹⁶ International Crisis Group, *ibid*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid* 4

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*

on interreligious relations. The practices espoused by the movement were deemed as uncivilized even by many members of Islamic community itself. Many people isolated the Tabliq youths, refusing them to marry their daughters and often denigrated them. However, society realized that waging war with such fearless youths willing to sacrifice even their lives for the sake of Jihad is a risky venture. As a result, provocations drastically reduced over the years and leaders from the different religions became more careful in their public comments against the religious beliefs of the other. It was then deemed necessary for public peace and for amicable resolution of disputes, to establish a joint body of religious bodies in the country which resulted in the formation of the Inter- Religious Council of Uganda in 2001.

With the establishment of the Inter-Religious Council, managing religious diversity became institutionalized and more effective. This is because the previous diversity management strategies largely depended on roles of individual elites acting independently without a clear forum to practice such diversity management tools such as preventive diplomacy, development cooperation among others. Nevertheless, the history of religious relations in the country clearly indicates that a successful diversity management program must focus on the actors, the elites in the distinct identity groups who have the capacity to mobilize members under them either to embrace others for peace, stability, and cooperation or agitate for more resources, recognition, and power.

CHAPTER THREE

MODEL DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION: THE INTER-RELIGIOUS COUNCIL OF UGANDA

"In his introductory remarks, Pr John Kakembo noted that in the past some of the conflicts in the country were caused by religious leaders. However, having outgrown their differences, religious leaders, in 2001 founded the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda to address issues of the common interest. Now, IRCU had developed the capacity to resolve conflicts. He reminded participants, that the team was in Kasese to listen and work together with the different local stakeholders to find a solution to the prevailing conflicts. "We have talked to different stakeholders, the security organs, the cultural leaders", he observed."¹¹⁹

In this chapter, I discuss the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda, as a Non-Governmental institution that has proved effective in managing diversity in the Multi-religious Uganda. We discuss its formation, structure, and activities with the aim of presenting a workable model of diversity management which can be replicated in other countries with similar characteristics.

3.1 Background

The September 11 terror attacks heralded a new era that threatened an escalation of religiously oriented clashes and religious extremism around the world. The events had an

¹¹⁹ Interreligious Council of Uganda, Final Report, *Solidarity visit of senior religious leaders of IRCU and the elders of TEFU following violent clashes in Bundibugyo and Kasese districts* (May 2016) 15.

immediate spillover across the world with the rise of Islam phobia and Uganda was not an exception. Because the Western media has a huge presence in Uganda, it threatened escalating the already tense situation regarding Muslim-Christian relations. The Muslim-dominated ADF rebel forces were at the peak of its rebel activities in Western Uganda, the Born Again or Pentecostal churches were at the zenith of their influence and hostility towards Muslims- their main competitors for religious space was at its peak. Muslim Tabligh youths were similarly uncompromising in their defense of values they hold dear, including among others defending the monopoly rights for meat slaughtering industry and isolating Pork from public spaces where Muslims take part.

Quick action was taken to avert the likely dangers of religious violence when religious leaders teamed up to establish a body that would unite them which they named the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda (IRCU) in 2001.

The Uganda Muslim Supreme Council, a Universalist and official leadership of the Muslim community played a significant role in the creation of the Interreligious Council. Within the Muslim community, reforms had been agreed upon that led to the drafting of a new constitution and organizing of elections for Mufti with support from all the factions in the country. Intra-religious wrangles within the Muslims were thus at their lowest point in over a century. The elected Mufti, Sheikh Shaban Ramadhan Mubajje himself grounded in both religious and secular education had a popular mandate from the Muslims to carry out development programs on behalf of Muslims.

On 31st March and 3rd April 2001, Mufti Mubajje and other top religious leaders held private meetings with the Secretary General of Religions for Peace (RfP) international, Dr. William F. Vendley in which the religious leaders unanimously agreed that it was necessary

to establish a national inter-religious council¹²⁰.

The success of the initiative depended largely on two factors. Firstly, that the initiative is indigenous. NGOs that arise out of local needs tend to perform better than those that are brought from the outside. The level of participation in locally oriented forums like the Inter-religious council is a huge incentive for their operational success. Secondly, that it can reach the lower grassroots where actual Muslim-Christian relationships take place. The Inter-religious council meets both criteria well. It is an indigenous body that was established, albeit with external assistance, by the senior religious leaders upon realization of the necessity to organize one. It delivers services to religious leaders and religious structures that are nationwide, and most of which were found in existence and had been operational for at least some time. The council's job was thus made easier, mainly about coordinating these structures to ensure that effective implementation of set programs and goals. The structures that IRCU boasts of are of an ever-greater benefit. These infrastructures are cost effective and sustainable meaning that they can operate for a long time even when funding for certain programs is cut. As long as the main intention of maintaining harmonious relations in the multi-religious setting remain unchanged cuts in donor funding may not seriously constrain the operation of the council thus proving an effective model for similar diversity management organizations elsewhere. Following the passage of the anti-homosexuality bill and the religious leader's endorsement of it, several international donors severed their grants for the IRCU but the general operations remained in place, even galvanizing the religious leaders' commitment to the principle of cooperation. The IRCU reported that,

"The IRCU boasts of a nationwide and vast structure/infrastructure comprising ordained and

¹²⁰ See <http://ircu.or.ug/about/#history> retrieved on 01.05.2017

non-ordained religious leaders and institutions running from national level to the grassroots with a long history of service delivery to the people. These structures/infrastructures enhance communication channels, are cost-effective, sustainable, and have had a long history of reaching out to the most vulnerable. The institutions include; mosques, churches, schools and health facilities. The IRCU structures/infrastructure does not only have a long history of distinguished service delivery but have got service providers that put service above self. The spirit of volunteerism with minimum facilitation is well grounded in these institutions enabling IRCU to deliver services at much less cost than any other organization"¹²¹.

The inter-religious council has been able to identify itself as an interfaith organization. The Interfaith identity comes with legitimacy and credibility that is required to deal with issues regarding inter-faith relations and issues that all parties are interested in. For over a decade of its operation, there have not been any major contentions reported regarding the composition of its leadership as favoring one party over the other. This credibility has enabled the council to attract more partnerships and support in its peace building and diversity management initiatives.

On the activities of the Inter-Religious Council, we note that the council is concentrating on two levels out of at least four levels of inter-religious dialogue. According to Wijssen¹²² “*There is a level of living together as people of different faiths, the dialogue of everyday life. There is also the level of working together for a common good, the dialogue of cooperation. Then there is the level of praying and worshipping together. Lastly, there is the level of reflecting together, which is inter-theological dialogue*” The inter-religious council of

¹²¹ Profile, Inter-Religious Council of Uganda, 9

¹²² Wijssen, 44

Uganda has concentrated its efforts in maintaining an environment where people can live together and work for a common good, as is well demonstrated by their shared projects on peace, HIV/AIDs among others. However, it seems deliberate that is eschewed from tempering in the theological relations of its members. Indeed, organizing theological debates could compromise the council and damage its potential to help forge a common future for its members. The duty of the council with regard to inter-religious theology is only to ensure that independent organizers of such functions and debate do so with care so that at the end of a long, spiritual debate, all members can resort back to living their daily lives together again and work for their common destiny.

The IRCU model is thus not one based on inter-religious theology or the theology of inter-religious relations. While in the process of coordinating religious knowledge about the Other is often learned, but since it is not overt, the dangers of having the program misunderstood as a plot to propagate one's religion using the institutional infrastructures are limited.

3.2 Inter-religious council as a Diversity Management Model

The work of the Inter-religious councils is work of Diversity Management. Conflict resolution is only a part of the wider scope of Diversity Management. Peter Wallenstein's defines Conflict Resolution as a "*situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other's continued existence as parties and cease all violent action against each other*"¹²³ I argue that inter-religious cooperation practiced by the Inter-religious council does not solve the central incompatibilities of the religions that come together under it. Dialogue as Wijzen argued,

¹²³ Wallenstein, Peter, "Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System", Sage Publications, London, 2002) 8

“Cannot be between religions only humans can dialogue¹²⁴”. The religious incompatibilities almost always remain unchanged, but the practice of diversity management limits the possibilities of having those incompatibilities translate into social conflict. Another important difference is that the inter-religious council was organized as a religious conflict preventive institution. The circumstance of its founding was not pro-active, rather than reactive. Diversity Management efforts seek to prevent conflict from occurring in the first place, on the other hand, Conflict resolution comes when conflict, often bloody violence has already occurred.

3.3 How does Inter-religious council manage religious diversity?

The inter-religious council is engaged in five main areas through which it employs collaborative action and preventive diplomatic tools to manage the interests of the members of different religions in Uganda. These main areas are Peace, Human Rights, Conflict Transformation, HIV/AIDS and Good Governance. Now it is occasionally dealing in Environmental Protection programs also.

3.3.1 On Peace Initiatives

Peace, writes St. Augustine, is the end of our good¹²⁵ In a civil war-ravaged country like Uganda, peace building and transformation is one of the most important social services that can be delivered to the people. Yet for a very long time, religious leaders were rarely sought to play a key role in peace building. Religion was ignored by even scholars of conflict resolution and condemned for being an instigator of violence rather than being a key factor in

¹²⁴ Wijsen, 43

¹²⁵ St. Augustine, City of God (Book XIX), Church Fathers, Ch. 10

bringing about peace. The inter-religious council of Uganda has through various activities managed to put peace building at the core of its diversity management activities.

In August 2012, the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda launched the Inter-Religious Institute for Peace (IRIP) with a mission to enhance the capabilities of religious leaders, faith communities and other peace actors to prevent, resolve and transform conflicts in the Great Lakes Region and beyond through use of faith-based approaches¹²⁶ In liaison with the unit of Research, Documentation and Strategic Information, evidence-based peace research projects are conducted which act as the basis upon which actions are taken. The professional approach to peace transformation that the council employs has been critical in preventing internal clashes, gives direction to members and administrators and promotes swift action. Conferences have been organized in which different stake holders present papers on peace building and transformation. Up to date research, embracing ingenious and transformative ideas are bedrocks of a sustainable peace initiative. The IRCU has been engaged with other institutions such as universities, international agencies, public bodies, and the media to promote peace.

Regional peace and stability forums are organized by the inter-religious council which brings together members of different religions together to deliberate on peace and stability. Forums such as the Western Uganda regional meeting that was held at Lake View Hotel in Mbarara and attended by over 200 religious leaders put responsibility upon these leaders. Asking leaders to deliberate on peace-solving initiatives is a pro-active way of preventing conflict at least that which could have emanated from any of the members present

¹²⁶ <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-launches-the-inter-religious-institute-for-peace-irip/>retrieved on 07.05.2017

who would have otherwise perpetuated violence carelessly. It is thus important to have constant engagements with such leaders because they are grass root elites with the ability to slow or extinguish inter-religious hatred. The point was reiterated by the Secretary General of the IRCU who on the same occasion urged religious leaders to facilitate internal dialogue and build consensus at their respective society levels¹²⁷

The IRCU has built capacity which has made it an international actor in peace transformation. One of the sources of peace itself over the last decade of the IRCU has been the desire to maintain the international reputation of steering a violence free multi-religious environment. Mufti Sheikh Shaban Ramadhan Mubajje, the co-president of the council has been touting the experience of the IRCU in many international forums and calling upon the rest of the world to emulate the example which they set in Uganda¹²⁸. In appreciation of their efforts, several members of the council have been recipients of Peace Awards for their personal contributions to peace and peace transformation. One of the recipients is Archbishop John Baptist Odama, chairperson of the Inter-Religious Council Peace, Justice and Governance Committee who on September 2012 received the International Peace Award that is given in honor of the late Steve Williams who was a fervent advocate of Peace and Justice under World Vision¹²⁹. Odama played a key role in the conflict transformation process of Northern Uganda which was ravaged by decades of the Lord's Resistance Army civil war against the government. Under the Acholi Religious Leader's Peace Initiative (ARLPI), religious leaders were instrumental in bringing back sanity to the region which eventually brought peace. The

¹²⁷ <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-launches-the-peace-and-stability-forum-for-western-uganda/>

¹²⁸ In his address to the 9th World Assembly of Religions for Peace held in Vienna, Austria, on 22. 11.2013, Mufti Mubajje called upon delegates from other parts of the world to learn from the Ugandan experience. He reiterated the same on behalf of the IRCU at the Conference on the role of religion in controlling Extremism and Violence in the world which was held in Kampala on 12.08.2016.

¹²⁹ <http://ircu.or.ug/news/archibishop-odama-given-peace-award/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

Kasese district inter-faith committee has also been at the center of resolving the conflicts in Kasese region. The motto of the Inter-religious council of Uganda is religions for peace, perhaps an indication of the priority of peace initiatives in the council.

3.3.2 Mediation in Conflicts

Mediation refers to “*an approach to conflict management in which a third party helps disputants through their negotiations and does so in a non-binding fashion*”¹³⁰. Mediation is thus a key diversity management tool that is employed in cases like Uganda where violence, from other sources of conflicts, has been inflicting on the people. There is, however, no consensus on the definition of mediation or its role as is it understood differently in different religious-cultural contexts¹³¹ Chris Mitchel defines mediation as “*any intermediary activity...undertaken by a third party with the primary intention of achieving some compromise settlement of issues at stake between parties or at least ending disruptive conflict behavior*”¹³² The Inter-religious council of Uganda, despite having helped in settling religious disputes is faced with a growing challenge of violence that is caused by other factors especially tribal conflicts. In this case, as a third party, the religious leadership has been engaged in mediation efforts in the country and the wider Great Lakes region.

Bercovitch¹³³ lists some of the main characteristics of mediation as follows: (1)

Mediation is an extension and continuation of peaceful conflict management. In this case, the

¹³⁰ Bercovitch, Jacob, and Allison Houston *Influence of Mediator Characteristics and Behavior on the Success of Mediation in International Relations*. (International Journal of Conflict Management, 1993) 298.

¹³¹ Kadayifci-Orellana, S. Ayse, *Standing on an Isthmus: Islamic Approaches to War and Peace in Palestine*. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007a).

¹³² Mitchell, Christopher R. *The Structure of International Conflict* (London: Macmillan, 1981) 287

¹³³ Bercovitch, Jacob, and R. Jackson, *International Conflict Management, 1945–1995: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Conflicts and their Management* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly 1997) 127

IRCU is a platform which is continuously engaging in the conflict areas. In the Rwenzururu region, the council has sent several missions for fact finding, re-humanization, for actual dialogue and for offering food and other aid to victims. (2) Mediation involves the intervention of an outsider. In this case, the outside agency is the council leadership. (3) Mediation is a non-coercive, nonviolent and non binding intervention. The IRCU has no powers to enforce any decision or intervention and thus all its activities are solely non-coercive. (4) Mediators enter a conflict in order to affect it, change it, resolve it, modify it or influence it in some way. (5) Mediators bring with them, consciously or otherwise, ideas, knowledge, resources, and interests of their own or of the organization they represent.

(6) Mediation is a voluntary form of conflict management and (7) Mediation is usually an ad hoc procedure only. I argue that the IRCU meets all those characteristics of mediators. It has been engaged in mediation of the conflict in Western Uganda's Rwenzori Mountain region on a voluntary mission to help solve the decade's long disputes between rival tribal communities the Bamba under their traditional ruler Omudhingiya and the Omusinga of Rwenzururu who have recently been engaged in bloody clashes which claimed more than 200 lives.

The role of the IRCU, in this case, was to provide mediation services, re-humanize the region and foster dialogue and reconciliation. In the peace talks facilitated by the Inter-religious council, the leaders of both parties agreed on the following measures to bring about peace in the region. In its continuous efforts, the IRCU has authored many reports on the situation in the region which is crucial in availing key information that is crucial to finding a lasting solution to the social pathology in the region.

The Inter-Religious Council's leverage as a mediator is mainly its intangible resources; the credibility, legitimacy, public trust and their moral standing. According to

Bercovitch the credibility and legitimacy of the mediators are very important attributes that can often contribute to an effective process¹³⁴. The perceived interests of the mediators are crucial in determining the effectiveness of their mediation. If disputing parties are suspicious of the intentions of the mediator, the success of the process may be jeopardized. The advantage of the inter-religious council has been its ability to almost always portray itself as neutral, impartial and with the sole intention of causing and maintaining peace.

The other advantage which faith-based organizations such as the inter-religious council of Uganda have in mediation is its ability to easily collaborate with sister organizations. Religious organizations can become connected with and inspire local religious communities within which in turn enhances their effectiveness¹³⁵. Indeed this is true to the IRCU. The approach of the IRCU has been empowering local structures through which action is taken to the grass roots. In addition, the local leadership has often times been asked to fundraise for some projects from the religious members in churches, mosques in order to compliment the resources that are solicited from other national and international partners.

3.3.3 Collaborative Action on Good Governance

The activities relating to good governance and human rights advocacy have helped garner a lot of respect for the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda. The council through the good governance program has engaged in many activities, bringing the different religious leaders together on matters that are considered crucial for the country's stability and development.

¹³⁴ Bercovitch, Jacob *Mediation in International Conflict: An Overview of Theory, A Review of Practice* in I. William Zartman (ed.), *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007) 127

¹³⁵ USIP *Faith-Based NGOs and International Peace Building* Special Report No. 76. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace (2001)

The period of elections is particularly a busy one for the institution. The religious leaders have kept a keen interest in managing the people against politically inspired religious conflicts. Politics is one of the most serious causes of conflict in the region. Often, they provide the spark to religious or tribal sentiments that become violent. This is because the electoral politics encourage populists who can easily mobilize their constituents. The desire for political capital has often led many extremist politicians to solicit votes basing on their religion which prompts others to fight back causing chaos and tensions.

The role of the inter-religious council in fostering a democratic and accountable system was portrayed when it organized the first ever presidential debate in the country which brought all the candidates together. The council leadership explained that the main motivation for organizing the debate was to ensure that peace and stability prevails before, during and after the elections¹³⁶. This was to be achieved through promoting the spirit of tolerance and consensus-building among candidates, promote cooperation and promote issue-based discussions between candidates and citizens¹³⁷.

The council's efforts in securing peaceful elections started from the 2011 elections. In 2011, the council set up several committees with an aim of keeping track of the electoral process and help handle conflicts that would arise out of the electoral process. The committees that were established included The National Elder's Forum, the National Task Force for Peace and Conflict Transformation, Regional and District Task forces. These managed to engage with key stakeholders in the elections¹³⁸. The success of the project encouraged its replication in

¹³⁶ The Inter-religious council of Uganda, 03, 2016, *Why a presidential debate* <http://ircu.or.ug/news/why-a-presidential-debate/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ Ibid

the elections that followed in 2016. With the support from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda together with The Elders' Forum of Uganda (TEFU) held two national debates that were televised live for the first time in Uganda's political history. This achievement was very important for the IRCU, as organizers, and for the country. Many political pundits had expressed doubt over the possibility of bringing together all the candidates especially the incumbent President Yoweri Museveni and his bitter rival Kiiza Besigye. Indeed, in the first debate, Yoweri Museveni did not appear which threatened the effectiveness of the project. However, the success of the first debate prompted the president to participate in the second one, and in the process, earn the inter-religious council a history victory as organizers of the first nationally televised debates in which all candidates physically participated. The IRCU's status was elevated and it became more publicly recognized. With a bigger profile, the council was now able to influence the direction of the country using religion like never before.

In addition to organizing the presidential debate, the inter-religious council made several resolutions and calls which were beneficial for the smooth running of the electoral process. The resolutions that were made included calling upon all religious leaders in the country to act with impartiality in order not to divide their members. The Mufti Sheikh Shaban Mubajje for example while addressing journalists on behalf of the IRCU stipulated that *“We agreed that we shall remain non-partisan, impartial and independent to avoid dividing our congregations on the basis of the parties or candidates they support. IRCU, therefore, rebukes the actions of those leaders and de-associates itself from their actions. Those*

religious leaders should take personal responsibility for their actions,"¹³⁹ Such stances helped portray the inter-religious council in a neutral position which helped it maintain its leverage in peace building and good governance initiatives.

Action on good governance encapsulates the two main strategies of institutional diversity management; collaborative action and preventive diplomacy. Preventing diplomacy takes place mainly at the top level, dealing with elites rather than at the grass roots. By bringing candidates together in debate and dialogue, for example, is a symbolic gesture to the supporters that violence is uncalled for, or an abysmal result of poor judgment. At the grass root level, however, collaborative action is more effective in shaping the attitudes, preventing stereotyping and solving personalized social problems.

3.3.4 Collaborative action against HIV/AIDS

Since its inception in 2001, collaborative action to counter HIV/AIDS program has featured among the council's most consistent grass root support programs. Uganda is one of the countries which were severely affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Stigmatizing patients, lack of access to preventive care, treatment and mitigation services for orphans and vulnerable children was rampant in the country especially in the countryside where knowledge about HIV/AIDS was most limited. To ameliorate the situation the civil society was mobilized in a nationwide campaign aimed at creating awareness about the scourge. The religious institutions, being more grounded and closer to the people were engaged and since then faith-based organizations under the banner of the inter-religious council have been crucial in the fight against the disease.

¹³⁹ IRCU, August 29, 2015, *IRCU calls upon political groups to desist from forming militias*. <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-calls-upon-political-groups-to-desist-from-forming-militias-2/>

The IRCU delivers its HIV/AIDS programs through sub-grants and capacity-building to faith and community-based structures and organizations. Under this model grass root, community-based organizations are sponsored to act on behalf of the inter-religious council. These organizations are mainly religious or charitable structures with better access to the needy. The council taps the potential of these organizations to reach to the most vulnerable persons.

For effective implementation of this care strategy, the inter-religious council puts a lot of emphasis on training of care providers. This is carried out through constant research and developing training manuals and guide books for the faith-based organizations. The key challenge to this strategy is that working through intermediary organizations reduces the visibility of the council. Indeed, some recipients at the grass root level reported having no knowledge of the inter-religious council. In a survey that was conducted by the IRCU, 40 percent of respondents at the grass root indicated that they had no knowledge of the inter-religious council¹⁴⁰. Perhaps continuous engagement in both humanitarian and diplomatic works will increase visibility at the grass root level.

Complimentary humanitarian assistance programs conducted under the IRCU bring the council and the needy people together and establish cherished personal experiences. With the ability to solicit for humanitarian assistance for the people in need, the IRCU has been able to distribute care packages to vulnerable people. This is one way of soothing hearts of desperate people which help to reduce hostility towards people of different faiths. When a delegation of Muslim and Christian leaders come together with packages of food and other basic goods, it almost always guarantees better attitudes for members who would otherwise

¹⁴⁰ <http://ircu.or.ug/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Research-Report-Relious-Leaders-June-2012.pdf> retrieved on 07.05.2017

have no relations with people of the other faith. Assistance programs have the unique ability to soften people's hearts and this fact has been exploited by many organizations and individuals some of whom harboring selfish interests. The recipients almost always do not mind about the motivations of donors, especially if the assistance finds them in dire situations.

The IRCU reported in April 2012 that it was offering Palliative Care and Anti-Retroviral Treatments ART services in 19 Faith Based Organizations. In addition, it reported handing over mosquito nets, safe water vessels, and water filters helping over 1000 families to improve their quality of life¹⁴¹ yet for others the council has provided means for sustainable income through entrepreneurship training¹⁴² under the Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) program.

At the macro level, the IRCU has been active in policy formulation, sharing technical and ethical contributions with other stakeholders in the HIV/AIDS. This is carried out through organizing conferences, seminars, and other such platforms. For example, the IRCU organized a National HIV/AIDS Conference in July 2012 under a theme "harnessing Inter-Religious action and collaboration for accelerated HIV/AIDS national response" which included senior religious leaders, researchers, and policy makers among other key stakeholders¹⁴³.

3.3.5 What about collaboration on religious affairs?

As I noted earlier, the inter-religious council of Uganda concentrates its diversity

¹⁴¹ <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-hands-over-care-packs/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

¹⁴² <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-trains-mukono-women-in-soap-making/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

¹⁴³ <http://ircu.or.ug/news/over-400-delegates-attend-ircu-national-hiv-aids-conference/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

management efforts on two of the four Wijisen's¹⁴⁴ levels of dialogue/ collaborative levels; the dialogue of everyday life and the dialogue of cooperation. The other two, the level of praying and worshipping together is occasionally practiced and the inter-theological dialogue is very rarely practiced.

The IRCU has been organizing National Prayer days, Prayer Breakfasts among others. However, I argue that these public occasions do not qualify to be classified as theological come-togethers. This is because the events are organized with the civic political motivations especially during the period of elections to pray for public peace and stability and to interact with the executive and legislative organs. Since the main motivation of such programs is fostering good governance and peace, I am hesitant to call them theological gatherings. The inter-denominational prayers organized at Kololo airstrip also follow in the same vein. Although the purpose is religious and prayers that are said are clearly religious, they do not tantamount to theological dialogue. What they help foster, as does the other programs, is to bring together members of different faiths to work together for their common future. I argue that the inter-religious council as a diversity management institution should keep restricting itself from ecclesiastical and spiritual matters. It has so far been successful at that.

The IRCU's support to "Khadi" court is not an exception. The Khadi courts which are largely used by Muslims have been recognized by the Ugandan constitution as minor courts under Article 129 of the Ugandan Constitution subordinate to the Courts of Judicature and dealing with matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance of property and guardianship. They were supported as a diversity management tool to cater for the religious needs of devout

¹⁴⁴ Wijisen, 44

Muslims who find secular laws as incompatible with their religious beliefs regarding those specific matters. The IRCU has been increasingly supporting the Khadi courts, especially in Busoga region as a remedy for the high prevalence of Gender Based Violence. Their support to these courts is mainly capacity building, training, empowerment and offering office equipment to aid in its operations.

I therefore argue that because of such initiatives, many people are engaged- put to work in concert with members of other faiths in a professional, streamlined manner with several guidelines that prevent clashes. The professionalism that IRCU brings to religious management is crucial to the success of its programs. So far, as I have stated several times, I have not come across any major internal conflict within or started by members affiliated with the inter-religious council.

The period before the establishment of the interreligious council was characterized by individual actors. Peace efforts had to be negotiated on individual basis especially for the Muslim community which remained largely un-institutionalized. However, the establishment of the council brought individual actors together, and this way, diversity management initiatives can be implemented more effectively. Thus, at the present, there are few threats to peace emanating from religious conflict. Hopefully, through concerted efforts under the council, future conflicts too could be forestalled as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEMES IN DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT DISCOURSE

Diversity Management is envisaged to become a popular social science discipline. In this chapter, we discuss the key themes under Diversity Management and in the process proposing how diversity ought to be managed using history proven methods and theories.

4.1 Universality over Communalism

I argue that the main pre-condition for successful diversity management initiatives is the triumph of universality over particularity (Communalism). These two are relative terms¹⁴⁵ Recep Senturk defines Universalism as “a conviction that all human beings are inviolable for the sake of being humans, they share a common destiny and that Universalists from other cultures and societies also defend human inviolability as much as we do”¹⁴⁶ Communalism, in contrast, divides humanity as the Self and the Other¹⁴⁷. In Multi-religious societies, history has proved that Universalism is the ideal approach for better diversity management. The idea of a shared Higher identity- a human identity that universalism envisages calls for the continued understanding of fellow humans as basically like *Us* not *They*. The Universalist mind is in practice the ‘Higher’ mind. It sees human rights as necessary for every human without pre-conditions. Therefore, we expect that societies which adopt Universalism can

¹⁴⁵ IoannaKucuradi, The Question Of "Universality Versus Particularity?" In The Light of Epistemological Knowledge of Norms, Conference Abstract

¹⁴⁶ Şentürk, Recep, “Unity in Multiplexity: Islam as an Open Civilisation”, JISMOR 7, 54

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

easily become more tolerant and embrative of others.

In Muslim societies, the divide between Universalism and Communalism has always existed. According to the Universalists, *Ismah* (inviolability) is accorded to a person by virtue of their being human¹⁴⁸ That means that even the non-Muslims are protected and accorded their full rights as humans, *adamiyyah*. According to the Universalistic school, all human beings have *dhimma* by virtue of their humanity. The prominent Hanafi Jurist Sarakshi elucidates on this perspective: *“Upon creating human beings, God graciously bestowed upon them intelligence and the capability to carry responsibilities and rights (dhimma, personhood). This was to make them ready for duties and rights determined by God. Then he granted them the right to inviolability, freedom, and property to let them continue their lives so that they can perform the duties they have shouldered. Then these rights to carry responsibility and enjoy rights, freedom, and property exist with a human being when he is born*¹⁴⁹.

In his works, Recep Şentürk presents out this in contemporary terms. He believes the future of humanity depends on adoption of Universalism. According to him, Universalists from all cultures should cooperate in building a common future for humanity otherwise the Communalists would put their societies on a collision course¹⁵⁰.

In Uganda, the majority of Muslims adopted the Universalist approach. The Uganda Muslim Supreme Council, a Universalist leaning leadership of the Muslim community came into

¹⁴⁸ Şentürk, "Sociology of Rights: Inviolability of the Other in Islam between Universalism and Communalism", 34

¹⁴⁹ Senturk, Recep, Unity in Multiplexity: Islam as an Open Civilisation, JISMOR 7, 55-56 from Abi Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abi Sahl al- Sarakshi (d.490 AH), Usul al-Sarakshi, (ed.) Abu al-Wafa al-Afghani, (Istanbul: Kahraman yay, 1984),333-334.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 58

contact with other religious bodies to establish a bridge of communication and cooperation which envisages harnessing shared needs for a better future for all. There is also the minority Salafi group locally dubbed as *Batabuliiki* who are more Communalist oriented. Another classic example of this phenomenon is Turkey. In Turkey, the majority of Turkish Muslims adopt a Universalist approach¹⁵¹, supporting improving relations with other powers and reaching out to countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe. The Universalist does not see the world solely in the nationalistic sense. As a human, he feels compassionate to people even in distant regions as South Sudan, Somalia who are in need of food and other basic necessities. When this approach informs assistance and aid programs, as it appears to be the case with the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) the impact of the aid assistance programs is likely to be real and sustainable. *"By reaching out to all over the world, we, as Turkey, will give a helping hand as much as we can to whoever is in need of assistance."*¹⁵²

The Universalist approach was espoused in the past by major Muslim empires and small Muslim minority groups alike with considerable success. The Ottoman Millet system was Universalist oriented a factor that enabled it to expand to three continents and rule for over six hundred years. The Millet comes from Arabic *millah* which means ‘nation’. Thus, the millet system referred to the relationship among the diverse nations in the Ottoman Empire. Until the late nineteenth century, a nation in the empire meant a religious group. The diversity

¹⁵¹ Ibid 54

¹⁵² President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on the country's commitment to offering assistance to needy countries. Turkey has been touted as a model for effective Aid and assistance programs. Recently following unprecedented drought which threatened Famine, Afyare Abdi Elmi wrote an opinion in Aljazeera calling the World to assist using the Turkish model which has proved effective. This is because such assistance is generally mutual aiming at alleviating the problem not exploiting Aid for other interests as has been reportedly done by other donors which led to debates in many intellectual quarters in aid recipient countries whether aid has been doing more harm than good in those countries.

See <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/03/famine-somalia-turkish-170319101255256.html>. Retrieved on 2.05.2017

was harnessed into bedrocks of cooperation and development as opposed to conflict.

4.2 The Question of Identity and the Politics of Recognition

The triumph of universality presents yet another question that has been a subject of controversy among scholars of multi-culturalism. The key question is how should the public institutions treat people? Should they be difference blind and treat all citizens the same? Or to paraphrase Amy Gutman¹⁵³, in what sense does our being Muslim or Christian matter in public? If society treats us all as equals, what happens to those minorities with special needs?

Solving this problem is an enormous venture. One view that has been proposed is that the impersonality of public institutions is the price that citizens should be willing to pay for living in a society that treats us all as equals, regardless of our particular ethnic, religious, racial or sexual identities¹⁵⁴. Freedoms and equality as citizens refer only to our common characteristics- our universal needs, regardless of particular cultural identities¹⁵⁵. According to proponents of this school primary interests and goods such as income, health care, education among others are shared by all people regardless of a particular religion. Brian Barry¹⁵⁶ favors strict insistence on equal treatment for all regardless of any difference. He argued that recognition politics distracts from matters of greater concern to people's lives and that social identification encourages social conflict, sectarianism and similar such evils¹⁵⁷. Yet on the same basis of servicing primary goods as the main motivation of public institutions, a

¹⁵³ Amy Gutman, (ed.), "Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition", (Princeton University Press, 1994)

¹⁵⁴ Ibid 4

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Barry 2001

¹⁵⁷ M. Barry "Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism", Harvard University Press

contrasting view points out that certain people require a cultural context to give meaning to their life choices. Amy Gutman argues that if this is the case then a secure cultural context also ranks among primary goods¹⁵⁸. According to him, it is an obligation of liberal democratic societies to help disadvantaged societies preserve their cultures, stressing that treating people equally would now require public institutions to acknowledge rather than ignore cultural particularities. This problem can better be solved in the light of Recep Senturk two ways of managing diversity; Multiplexity and Multiplicity. The Multiplex approach structures thought in different layers which fortify against limiting thought to binary logic. The multiplex structure of thought *allows different views to coexist in the culture without reletavising them*¹⁵⁹ In the context of Multi-religious relations, it is not hypocritical if we call for both group mobilization and then condemn exclusionism and separate living. Both are necessary. The former is crucial for people who require a cultural context to give meaning to their lives and the latter is strategically important to prevent inter-religious conflicts accruing from misunderstandings and intolerance.

Rationally the reason why people organize themselves in an identity group is to be able to reap economies of scale benefits. The image that is developed of an identity is *dialogically*¹⁶⁰ constructed in the course of people's relations with each other. As most of the identities are created by the dictation of nature, belonging to one would be the easiest means of survival for a minority whose members would have otherwise languished into neglect as a result of the natural selection process. In this case, collective action is a remedy through

¹⁵⁸ Amy Gutman, *ibid*

¹⁵⁹ Senturk, Recep, *Unity in Multiplexity: Islam as an Open Civilisation*, JISMOR 7, 58

¹⁶⁰ Amy Gutman, (ed.), *"Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition"*, (Princeton University Press, 1994) 7

which recognition, pride, and other such benefits can be gained. Yet others may organize to perpetuate their domination of the others.

We can note that since identity relations are mainly perceptual, developing out of people's perception amidst competition for resources, diversity management initiatives must invest considerable effort in symbolism. In multi-religious communities, this symbolism is more expressed through politics. In Tanzania and Nigeria which have large percentages of both Muslims and Christians, the presidency is symbolically shared in rotation between Muslims and Christians. In Tanzania, for instance, the first president Julius Nyerere, a Christian was replaced by Hassan Mwinyi, a Muslim, himself replaced by Benjamin Mkapa a Christian, then Jakaya Kikwete a Muslim and currently John Pombe Magufuli, a Christian. In addition, it has become common practice for presidential candidates to select as vice president a member of a different religion. This strategy has proved effective both politically by attracting support from both groups and at the same time managing interests and perceptions of people in such multi-religious societies.

4.3 Ethno-religiosity dangerous in Multi-Religious Communities

The default feeling in any heterogeneous society in which communalism dominates is that of mistrust of the Other. Sometimes because there is no separate existence, when identity groups are not isolated from one another it is difficult to easily give a conceptual face to a particular group that could be a target of persecution, isolation, and hatred.

In many Multi-religious communities, there are several identities that one may oscillate in and avoid targeted mobilization. In Africa for instance, both religious and ethnic identities are of significant value. In such instances, the line between religion and tribe is thin

as they are both held in high esteem. At one point the individual may be in the congregation of tribe mates who includes members of different religions and at the other be in the congregation of his religion mates who are members of different tribes. In such cases, there are many openings for understanding and even cooperation. In contrast, if a community especially one in minority is both religious and ethnic there is limited access to sharing experiences, understanding, and cooperation. Thus, we can rightly argue that violence between Muslims and Christians is more rampant in communities that are separate and closed with distinct religion. In Ivory Coast despite the presence of the Inter-religious council which is highly respected, political manipulation of ethnicity succeeded in causing a wave of violence in 2011 following disputed elections between Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara because both Muslims and Christians lived a separate existence. The South of Ivory Coast is dominated by Christians while the North is dominated by Muslims. The same is true in Nigeria where Muslim Hausa dominate the North and Christians dominate the South. This division has often times been exploited for political reasons and violence was common.

In Uganda, ethno-religiosity was abandoned following the ouster of Idi Amin whose regime had encouraged the Nubi project. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Nubians were Northern Ugandan Muslims drawn from different ethnic backgrounds. When Idi Amin rose to power, becoming a Nubi, that is, a Muslim Northerner was a source of social mobility. When political violence increased, the Muslims were seen as accomplices to the extent that when Amin was eventually forced out many Muslims suffered retaliatory attacks or were forced to flee out of the country. Upon their return, the ethno religious identity of Nubi was dropped and replaced by binding religion and tribe to become Muslim Kakwa, Muslim Madi, Muslim Lugbara, and Muslim Acholi among others. Under the umbrella

common umbrella of tribe, an individual is guaranteed security of belonging and rights that are indispensable.

The traditional justice systems in the tribes ensure that individual transgressions are handled without prejudice. The following cases are examples of traditional justice systems and rites of reconciliation among several ethnic communities in Uganda and how they assist in social management.

The Acholi people of Northern Uganda invested tremendously in reconciliation efforts. The consequences of disputes and in-fightings were seen as detrimental to the Acholi social and political structure as well as to the Acholi deity, *Jokwho* always wished the Acholi to live harmoniously with one another in unending happiness.¹⁶¹ According to the working paper authored by the Uganda Coalition for International Criminal Court (UCICC) elucidates that the main focus of reconciliation rites have: “a) *individual (psychic) nature to purify i.e. to cleanse and thus reconcile an acholi individual with his own conscience. This is the rite of purification which consists in the symbolic act of breaking the egg (nyonno tong-gweno) and b) communal nature i.e i) reconciling the Acholi individual to another individual say – husband and wife (tummukir and tummuburu) or ii) group of persons involving even clans and chiefdoms (mattoopwut and gomme tong)*”.¹⁶² These platforms provided space to solve social disputes including those involving members of different religious backgrounds for as long as they still bore allegiance to the social establishment of the Acholi.

Another important case of how the tribal system promotes harmony among Multi-religious communities can be found in the culture of the Iteso people. For the Iteso, a clan

¹⁶¹ Uganda Coalition for International Criminal Court, Working Paper, *Approaching National Reconciliation In Uganda: Perspectives On Applicable Justice Systems*, 5

¹⁶² Ibid

mate was forbidden from killing a fellow clan mate irrespective of crime. The most serious of crimes; witchcraft was punishable by banishment or death, but since it was considered abominable for a clan mate to kill another, the punishment was executed by betraying the villain to another clan. Other general disputes were amicably handled by elders and clan members in case they were intra-clan disputes or family matters. For the case of inter-clan disputes, the whole clan was involved in settling the disputes through compensation otherwise war could break out. Similar justice and dispute management systems existed across the country and were kept largely intact to date through Local Council system which vested considerable conciliatory and dispute resolution authority to the local leaders who continued practicing their traditional justice systems.

In short instead of isolating and establishing a separate ethno religious identity, I believe it is safer for members of different religions to keep their clan and tribal affiliations to avoid marginalization and being targeted for persecution. This is more important if the group exists as a minority. More recently, events in Myanmar where the minority Rohingya Muslims are targets of persecution by the majority Buddhists proves our point. One can also argue that the policy of separate existence was responsible for the rise of nationalism that eventually led to the collapse of powerful empires such as the Ottoman, Austria-Hungary among others.

4.4 Managing Core Interests

Whether an identity group which is well mobilized and devoted to their cause lives separately or is scatter, they always have some core interests and red lines which have to be understood, tolerated or managed by those in authority in order to rally the people together for

a shared common good.

For the case of Muslim communities around the world, there is an emphasis on the principle of permissible (halal) and impermissible (haram) products. A devout Muslim is concerned with pork and always tries to avoid it even if it appears in very small quantities. A Muslim also expects his meat is prepared according to Islamic guidelines including among others that it is slaughtered by a Muslim. It was the disagreement over the understanding of this principle that resulted in the brutal inter-religious wars in Buganda at the end of the 19th Century. At first, the Muslims and Christians in Buganda had been allies against the traditionalists who regarded them as a threat to the authority of the king. The Muslims and their Christian fellows worked in concert to depose the defiant King Mwanga but the alliance was broken because of the misunderstanding on who would take the position of the Chief cook (Kauta) in the palace. This position was particularly important to Muslims because slaughtering of animals is under its supervision. The Muslims were keen on eating only halal meat. However, the insistence of the Christian chief Antoni Ddungu who wanted the position for himself was what sparked off the war when one of Ddungu's servants stabbed and killed a Muslim chief Sirimani Lubaga. Eventually, under colonial administration, the Muslims earned monopoly over the meat market.

Today one of the major threats to inter-religious peace in local communities is disputes that arise out of Muslims' disdain for pork. On many occasions, the Muslims and pork-loving clients have been engaged in bitter fights over the location of pork butchers with Muslims accusing the butcher owners of provocation by setting up butchers in Muslim dominated quarters a claim which is always refuted by the other side which stresses that even if they were indeed in Muslim quarters, they are free to do whatever they want to do with their

money as long as it is licensed under the law. Perhaps this is one area the Inter-Religious Council ought to critically watch. The same issue is pertinent in other countries as well. In Tanzania, April 1993, thousands of Muslims staged demonstrations over the sale of pork and destroyed several Christian Butcher shops¹⁶³ In the West, where the policy of integration often overlooks the significance of halal consumption among Muslims. I argue that one of the main impediments to integration is the want to impose one culture over the rest. By culture, I mean to include even the foods that are provided in public. In Uganda, for instance, it has come to be known publicly that Pork is not served at public functions and that is served in designated places with the full consent of the client. In European countries, the same requirement ought to be implemented.

In response to the global need to sort and certify permissible foods, an ingenious solution was conceived that would make it easy for Muslims and other interested people to identify products which are in conformity to their belief systems. The Halal certification is a process of having a qualified independent third-party organization to supervise the production of consumable goods to ensure that they were produced in conformity with the preparation and ingredient standards of the Halal lifestyle¹⁶⁴ The Uganda Halal Bureau and the Halal Food Council of Europe are examples of this growing trend. They offer certification to enterprises which are now increasingly interested in the market of up to 1.6 billion Muslims around the world and the locally practicing Muslims for locally based enterprises.

In the financial sector, the growth of the Islamic banking has been well documented. Islamic jurisprudence explicitly prohibits interest, *riba*. During the twentieth century, a

¹⁶³ Arye, Oded, *Islam and Politics in Kenya*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2000) 167

¹⁶⁴ Halal Food Council of Europe, <http://www.hfce.eu/whyhfce.html> retrieved on 03.05.2017

number of Muslim intellectuals began discussing the prospects of a Sharia-complaint, interest-free finance system. Experiments were carried out in Egypt (MitGhimar, 1963-1967) and the *Tabung Haj* scheme for Sharia complaint saving for pilgrimage. The success of the early experiments coupled with the rich corpus of intellectual works that followed decades of intellectual discourse on the subject provided an impetus for the growth of the Islamic financing model which has spread to many non-Muslim countries as well. With such systems in place, people have real options and the freedom to choose their destiny. Indeed, the development of such diverse measure does not symbolize failure to lead a common life where all are equal, rather it symbolizes our ability as humans to invent solutions that bridge gaps and make us closer and more equal with each other through the different life choices we make.

4.5 Diversity Management through Elite Interest Management

Diversity Management in practice is about managing diverse interests of people. The antithesis of diversity management is conflict. If we mean conflict as Jeong defines it as what is manifested through adversarial social action, involving two or more actors with the expression of differences often accompanied by intense hostilities¹⁶⁵, we can deduce that what is important, almost always in managing diversity is ensuring that actors who are often the elites in the given community are prevented from escalating competition for resources into social conflict. How then can this be achieved?

For the case of Multi-religious communities, it is vital that the elites in the different factions do not stock illegitimate religious sentiments for petty bourgeoisie gains. Peter Wallenstein

¹⁶⁵ Jeong, 3

describes conflict as consisting three components; Action, Incompatibility and Actors¹⁶⁶. One can argue that the problem of the Tabligh Jamaat youth movement in Uganda was escalated by neglecting the influence of student graduates from the Arab universities who upon returning were denied platforms that would eventually neutralize some of the ideas. Institutions have the ability to tame individual demands if they are subjected to them. The Uganda Muslim Supreme Council should put in place measures to reach out to young scholars, and other Muslim elite, constantly look out for their members who have special skills, talents and other elite abilities and update the composition of top leadership instead of keeping a rigid structure that could easily get out of touch with the dynamic and fast moving world. The first step in the peace maintenance strategy is a cessation of hostilities that is observable through preaching and public addresses by religious leaders.

4.6 Institutions of Diversity Management

We have discussed how actors are a key component of conflict and proposed that managing the elite interests is required to manage diversity. Successful implantation of this strategy requires espousing institutions such as faith-based organizations like the Inter-religious Council of Uganda and other similar organizations.

Religious-based organizations have special attributes that they offer in promoting peace and managing diversity. Douglas Johnston states these attributes as including; Credibility as a trusted institution, a respected set of values, moral warrants for opposing injustice on the part

¹⁶⁶ Wallensteen, 15

of governments, unique leverage for promoting reconciliation among conflicting parties including an ability to re-humanize situations that have become dehumanized over the course of protracted conflict, a capacity to mobilize community, nation, and international support for a peace process, and ability to follow through locally in the wake of a political settlement and a sense of calling that often inspires perseverance in the face of major obstacles¹⁶⁷ These attributes are in play in Uganda's Inter-religious council which has managed to maintain peace among the religious denominations in the country for at least a decade. The same can be said of other countries with similar organizations. The Interreligious Council of Sierra Leone has been cited in many scholarly works as a successful case of the role of religious cooperation in conflict resolution and peace management. The IRCSL which was founded in 1997 was instrumental in negotiation and signing of the Lome Peace Agreement¹⁶⁸ between the government of Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah and the rebel Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone led by Corporal Foday Saybana Sankoh in 1999. The religious leaders were called upon by people to take a more active role in stopping the violence because as Turay noted, "*both mosques and churches were key players in the spiritual, cultural and socio-economic development of Sierra Leone before and after independence*"¹⁶⁹ Religion was a significant factor for both parties in the conflict. In the first place, it is possible conflict would not have occurred had there been in service that institution that would manage the interests of both parties for peace.

Needless to say, the Interreligious Council of Sierra Leone and the Inter-Religious

¹⁶⁷ Douglas Johnston, "The Religious Dimension," Unpublished paper, based upon Johnston, ed. *Trumping Realpolitik: Faith-based Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 4

¹⁶⁸ Turay, Thomas Mark "Civil Society and Peacebuilding: The role of the Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone." *Accord*. London: Conciliation Resources(2000). in Bercovitch J., Kadayifci-Orellana (International Negotiation 14 2009) 184

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

Council of Uganda operate almost using a similar model. Similar organizations were formed in Kenya (The Inter-Religious Council of Kenya), in Ethiopia (The Inter-Religious Council of Ethiopia) among other bodies.

The inter-religious council trend has grown, with continental and global bodies affiliated with national and grass root religious structures. The implication of this is the necessity to increase scholarly investigations to find out how relevant these structures are. I believe the impact has been significant. The adopted model allows for members of different faiths to simultaneously have deep commitment to their faiths while at the same time tolerant and not hostile towards the others. The Pew Research Institute's surveys on the state of inter-religious relations in sub-Saharan Africa¹⁷⁰ indicated that the vast majority of people are deeply committed to their religions and yet there are few incidences of widespread anti- Muslim or anti-Christian hostilities. It also noted that generally Muslims are significantly more positive in their assessment of Christians than Christians are of Muslims¹⁷¹

4.7 Jihad as a struggle for Justice and Human Rights

Perhaps one reason why Muslims have been assessed more negatively in the recent decade has been the misunderstood concept of Jihad and the horrors of terrorism that have often been attached to Muslims.

The Muslim community by embracing universality embraces the idea that human

¹⁷⁰ Pew Research Center, Report, *Tolerance, and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa* (2010)

¹⁷¹ Ibid

rights are entitled to all mankind by virtue of being humans. Valuing human life is at the center of the Muslim Universalists. This is very important for diversity management because the central tenet is respect for individual rights especially life. The Quran succinctly elucidates that, “to put a life to death without justice means to put all humanity to death”¹⁷² This is because God honored human life with the highest level of dignity and sanctity. God created man in the most perfect and fairest mold¹⁷³ He made angels and jinn bow before man¹⁷⁴ made him His viceroy on earth¹⁷⁵ and harnessed everything in the world to his service¹⁷⁶ . In his farewell sermon, the prophet said: "The greatest sins are to associate something with God and to kill human beings"¹⁷⁷. Abdul Hameed Siddiqi concluded that: *“On close analysis of those verses of the Holy Qur’an, we find that human life has been made sacred by God and its security is, therefore, the foremost duty of mankind”*¹⁷⁸

Following the above Islamic teachings, the Muslim leadership in multi-religious communities has a spiritual basis for pursuing peace and cooperation with their non-Muslim compatriots.

The understanding of the concept of Jihad, which has been loosely understood as holy war has featured prominently in the Muslim's quest for peacemaking. Many Muslim scholars have ventured to explain the detailed meaning of Jihad, and how the prophet espoused it in his

¹⁷² Quran: 5:32, see also 6: 151, 25:68.

¹⁷³ Quran: 15:29; 38:72; 95:4.

¹⁷⁴ Quran: 2:34; 17:61; and 18:50

¹⁷⁵ Quran: 2:30

¹⁷⁶ Quran:14:32; 27:60-61; 31:20; 36:71-73

¹⁷⁷ Abu'lA'laMawdudi, "Human Rights in Islam," Al-Tawhid 4, no. 3 (Rajab-Ramadan, 1407 /1987) 63 In Köylü, Mustafa, "Islam and Its Quest for Peace: Jihad, Justice, and Education" *Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change Series IIA. Islam, Volume 15* The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2003

¹⁷⁸ Abdul Hameed Siddiqi, Jihad in Islam (Lahore, Pakistan: Kazi, 1979) 14

daily interactions. Tariq ibn Shihab reported: "A man asked the Messenger of Allah, peace, and blessing be upon him, "What is the best jihad? The prophet said, "A word of truth in front of a tyrannical ruler"¹⁷⁹ The above Hadith shows clearly that jihad is not just about a bloody war. It has a universal meaning in the Quran and in the Hadith. When God states: "*And those who strive for Us- we will surely guide them to Our ways. And indeed, Allah is with the doers of good*"¹⁸⁰ The Arabic word 'jihad' as used in the verse and in other verses in the Quran does not always refer to fighting but rather it refers to striving hard to win the pleasure of God. And there are many paths that lead to the pleasure of God. These could be intrapersonal and interpersonal paths to God. As an individual, a devout Muslim is required to struggle to lead a spiritual life, perform righteous deeds and follow the teachings of Islam; Believe in God and His messenger, pray five times a day, pay alms (zakat), fast during the month of Ramadhan, and make pilgrimage to Mecca. Struggling to fulfill this is an intrapersonal struggle, one between the urge to fulfill them or not. At the interpersonal level, a Muslim is expected to please God through his relationship with the others, his/her kin and family, his/her fellow Muslims, his/her fellow humans and even fellow creatures that are non-human. Striving to create the best intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships is the best path to earning the pleasure of God.

What is required of a Muslim is to enjoin good¹⁸¹ and forbid evil¹⁸² . It is the obligation of Muslims to promote social order, peace, and justice. Sometimes to pursue those ends war is

¹⁷⁹ Musnad Ahmad 18449, from Abu Amina Elias, 2013, Hadith on Jihad: The best Jihad is to speak the truth in front of an oppressor. <http://dailyhadith.abuaminaelias.com/2013/01/29/hadith-on-jihad-the-most-virtuous-jihad-is-to-speak-truth-in-front-of-an-oppressive-ruler/>

¹⁸⁰ Quran 29:69

¹⁸¹ Quran 3:104

¹⁸² Quran 3:110

necessary. But Islam imposes strict conditions on waging war. Generally, Muslim scholars agree that war is necessary for the defense of religion, property, life, progeny and intellect. Other Muslim scholars believe that war is also necessary for efforts to expand Muslim territories. Both are dependent on the concepts of *dar al-Islam* (Muslim land) and *dar al-Harb* (Enemy Lands). However, it is important to note that these conceptions were relevant in the medieval international relations systems. In the contemporary world, the categorization of dar al Islam and dar al Harb is inapplicable.

In contemporary terms, Abu al-A'la Mawdudi equates defensive war to the struggle for human rights. *“If anyone attempts to seize your human rights, commit oppression, expel you from legitimately occupied land, deprive you of your faith and conscience, attempts to thwart you from religious life, and disrupts your social life with the aim of forcing you away from Islam”*¹⁸³ If this happens and the people do not have the capacity to defend themselves, it becomes *fardayn* (compulsory) for other Muslims to come to their defense. The second legitimate just war Maududi calls reformative war which is envisaged at “commanding the right” and ‘forbidding evil’ to Mawdudi means inviting others to adopt Islam and this cannot be pursued with force. Al-Zuhaylis concept of legitimate wars are of three forms, wars waged against those who prevents preaching of Islam or against dissenters, wars waged in defense of oppressed communities or individuals and defensive wars.¹⁸⁴

Maintaining a stable social order is one of Islam's main guiding principles. Justice is at the core of the Islamic philosophy. Concerted efforts to achieve justice are for sure

¹⁸³ Hashmi, Sohail H. in Brockopp, Jonathan E. (ed.). *Islamic Ethics of Life. Abortion, War, and Euthanasia*. Columbia, South Carolina: (University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 135-136. In, Magnus Nilson, “Just War and Jihad: A Cross-cultural Study of Modern Western and Islamic Just War Traditions”, Lunds Universitet.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid* 137

embraced by Islam. Today in many multi-religious communities the best way to achieve justice is by working together with members of other faiths. I argue that it is necessary to work in concert if that relationship guarantees that Islamic principles are upheld. Indeed, if the protection of faith, property, life, progeny and intellect is best achieved through dialogue and collaborating with religious leaders of other faiths, then it is necessary that such cooperation is embraced.

Contemporary scholar Mustafa Köylü summarized the issue as follows,¹⁸⁵

1. Muslims should interpret and evaluate the Qur'an verses regarding jihad both in the light of the total teaching of the Quran and of contemporary conditions.
2. Muslims should keep in mind that they live in a different world from that of earlier generations.
3. Muslims should always consider the benefits and losses for the Islamic community when they decide something.
4. Muslims should give priority to missional jihad instead of thinking to use military power to compel people to Islam.
5. The non-Muslim world should be seen as a sphere in which there are opportunities for Muslims to cooperate with non-Muslims in good works of many kinds.

4.8 Recep Şentürk's Open Civilization and diversity management theory

¹⁸⁵ Köylü Mustafa, "Islam and Its Quest for Peace: Jihad, Justice, and Education" *Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change Series IIA. Islam, Volume 15* (The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2003) 51

In each multi-religious society, there are several civilizations that are interacting with each other. Multi-religious communities, the gist of our thesis are also multi-civilizational societies. The term Multi-civilization follows from the Ibn Khaldunian approach of civilization which means society. Every society, to him, represents a civilization. Culture is part of the civilization. Multi-religious countries like Uganda are multi-civilizations because each religion represents a separate system of life. The people, however, have a multiplicity of identities to identify themselves with. One, for instance, may call himself an African, a Ugandan, Muganda, and a Ugandan Muslim, a Muslim a Muganda Muslim or simply a Muslim. Each identity comes with its separate implications. Each identity conforms to a civilization that is different from the other. The Ugandan Muslim, for example, follows an Islamic civilization with practices and cultures more similar to those of other Muslims in Asia or Europe than the culture of his fellow Ugandan who practices indigenous religion or Christianity. Recep Senturk refers this civilization Cosmopolitanism as ‘Open Civilization’¹⁸⁶. An Open Civilization, Şentürk argued¹⁸⁷, accepts the existence and values of the others and coexists with them in peace. The closed civilization, on the other hand, does not recognize the right of others to exist alongside it. The goal of diversity management institutions should thus be cementing Open civilization, pushing for values that are tolerant and accepting of the others as significant and accord them respect. The Inter-religious council’s value is enshrined in this principle as expressed by the motto, Religions for Peace. The peace here is the end of Open Civilization. The Closed civilization on the other hand always leads to clashes and conflicts. Therefore, we can argue that in order to manage diversity, Open Civilizations, Open

¹⁸⁶Şentürk, Recep, *Civilization and Values: Open Civilization-Istanbul Approach* (Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, Istanbul, 2013) 14

¹⁸⁷ Ibid

culture must triumph over the Closed Civilization.

Managing global diversity thus requires organizing a global ethics based on the axis of values that cherish Open interactions. Recep Şentürk argues against universalizing a particular value system; the Western Civilization to other parts of the world. Attempting to impose one civilization on others cannot be successful since it was tried in the past and it failed. The Westernization project that was alluded to by such scholars as Francis Fukuyama cannot help bring about a healthy social order. Instead, Senturk argues, a global ethics can regulate and manage the ever-increasing diversity. Is Open Civilization Possible?

I have discussed how the Inter-religious cooperation that is evidenced in Uganda and other countries is a manifestation of Recep Şentürk's Open civilization. In Uganda, the IRCU has been supporting the establishment of 'Khadi' courts which deal with minor family related issues involving Muslims such as gender-based violence, inheritance among others. The operation of such a system symbolizes a possibility of having legal systems that are open to divergent values. It is possible to have both secular and religious legal systems to cater for the same country. The Khadi courts are established under Article 170 of the Kenyan constitution¹⁸⁸ and under Article 129, as one of the subordinate courts of Uganda¹⁸⁹. Open civilization was also practiced in the past Muslim empires.

According to Recep Senturk the Islamic legal tradition that was employed set a precedent in theory and practice for an Open Law¹⁹⁰ Within the Islamic legal tradition, there were several schools *Madhhabs* each practicing its own law. The Hanafi, Maliki, Shafii and Hambali are

¹⁸⁸ Khadhi Courts, <http://www.judiciary.go.ke/portal/page/kadhis>

¹⁸⁹ Inter-religious council of Uganda, <http://ircu.or.ug/news/khadi-courts-in-busoga-region-to-be-empowered-to-resolve-gender-based-violence-matters/>

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 24

the four well-known schools of thought that practiced in the same social milieu¹⁹¹. The other religious communities also practiced their own separate laws, the Jews practiced the Jewish Law, the Armenians, Copts and other communities in the Ottoman Empire practiced their separate laws. This was the same in several other Muslim empires such as the Mughal Empire in India which allowed Hindus to practice their religious law.

We can also guarantee an Open civilization for now and for the future through Open Education. Education is one of the most effective technologies for social order. Governments have used education to inculcate values of statehood, patriotism, nationalism among others and produced the kinds of people to serve them. Peace, social justice, appreciating and managing diversity requires an education curriculum that is designed to produce diversity-conscious citizens.

Diversity Management as a social science discipline can help offer the epistemological and methodological direction in peace and diversity management research because its central tenet is to ensure that incompatibilities and actors in any competitive community do not turn diversity into social conflicts. Currently, Conflict resolution studies, albeit popular cannot solve that because they are reactionary in nature, dealing with situations where conflicts have occurred already. It is my proposal, echoing Recep Senturk that research in diversity management be increased so that it can replace conflict resolution studies.

¹⁹¹ Ibid

CONCLUSION

I have argued in this thesis that in order to forestall conflicts, it is important to manage the interests of group members through engaging with elites in the communities. This is what distinguishes conflict resolution studies from diversity management, the former being reactive and the latter being newly developed- a proactive field of study that envisages the prevention of conflicts from occurring in the first place. In multi-religious communities like Uganda, members of the different religions often distinguish themselves from others and in the process, they form distinct identities. These identities once mobilized can take either of the two ideological forms; Communalism- (Lower identity) which emphasize particularity or the Universalism (Higher identity) which emphasize treating others in the same way as they treat themselves.

Identities are often responsible for conflicts in the case where interests of people in the diverse groups collide and are incompatible. The conflicts are as a result of actions triggered by actors who espouse their mobilization abilities to incite members.

My research argues that diversity management has been employed successfully in the past and has also been espoused in the present as the case with the Interreligious council of Uganda. However, prior to my thesis, the activities of such organizations had not been rightly conceptualized as activities of diversity management as we have done in this thesis. Thus, this thesis sought to introduce the concept of diversity management, which was formulated for social science research by Recep Şentürk. Before him, the concept of diversity management was used narrowly in the field of business and human resources management which I argue was a narrow understanding of the concept.

Islam and Muslims from the time of the prophet Muhammad to the present have

encouraged good relations with people of other religions especially the Jews and Christians. However, tensions and conflict have also been common. In the cases where diversity management was employed such as in the Ottoman Empire which employed the Millet system, the Mughal Empire among others, the differences in religions were turned into opportunities for cooperation on shared destiny and common goals. The same has been used in the present form of interreligious cooperation with the interreligious councils around the world envisaging to bring together members of the different religions to work together on projects such as poverty alleviation, promoting justice, democracy and the rule of law among others. This model has proved successful in many countries such as Uganda, Kenya, and Sierra Leone among others. However, in some other countries like Ivory Coast, Nigeria among other similar countries where Muslims and Christians live separately, the success of the venture is compromised by the high risk of conflict which is brought by separate existence. In other communities, the failure to manage the core interests of particular groups increases the risk of overt conflicts.

Therefore, to forestall future conflicts, up to date research on the needs and interests of the diverse peoples need to be conducted and followed by informed social management actions. The above, in essence is diversity management research and practice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdul Hameed Siddiqi, *Jihad in Islam* (Lahore, Pakistan: Kazi, 1979)

Abu Amina Elias, *Hadith on Jihad: The best Jihad is to speak truth in front of an oppressor.*

2013 <http://dailyhadith.abuaminaelias.com/2013/01/29/hadith-on-jihad-the-most-virtuous-jihad-is-to-speak-truth-in-front-of-an-oppressive-ruler/> retrieved 05.08.2017

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abi Sahl al-Sarakshi, *Usul al-Sarakshi* (ed. Abu al-Wafa al-Afghani 1984)

Abu' ala Mawdudi, *Human Rights in Islam*, *Al-Tawhid* 4, no. 3 (Rajab-Ramadan, 1407 [1987])

Abu-Munshar Y. Maher, *Jerusalem and its Christians: A History of Tolerance and Tensions* (Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2007)

Aldous Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy* (Chatto and Windus,1948)

Al-Faruqi, Ismail, *Islam and Other Faiths* (The Islamic Foundation and International Institute of Islamic Thought, Leicester 1998)

Aljazeera, Opinion, *Ending Famine in Somalia, the Turkish way* 03.19.2017
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/03/famine-somalia-turkish-170319101255256.html>. Retrieved on 2.05.2017

Al-Qaradawi, Yusuf, *al-Infatih Ala al-Gharb, Muqtadayatuhu wa Shrutuhu* (2000) in *Islamic Jerusalem and its Christians, A History of Tolerance and Tensions in Risalit al- Muslimin fi bilad al-Gharb*, ed. Abu-Shamalah, M.A. Irbid, Jordan: Dar al-Amal,

- Al-Qarafi, Abu al-Abbas Ahmad Ibn Idris. *Al-Furuq wa Anwar al-Buruq fi Anwa'' al-Furuq*. Beirut: Mansurat Muhammad Ali Baydun, (Dar al-Kutub al-„LLmiyyah. Vol.3, 1998)
- Amy Gutman, (ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, (Princeton University Press, 1994)
- Anver M Emon, *Religious Minorities, and Islamic Law: Accommodation and the Limits of Tolerance*, Oxford University Press.
- Arye, Oded, *Islam and Politics in Kenya*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2000)
- Arye, Oded *Religion and Politics In Uganda: A Study of Islam and Judaism*. (East African Publishers, Nairobi, 1995)
- Barak, MorEveret. Michalle, *Managing Diversity; Toward a Globally Inclusive Workplace*, 2nd Edition; (Sage Publications, USA P. 2014)
- Bercovitch, Jacob and Allison Houston, *Influence of Mediator Characteristics and Behavior on the Success of Mediation in International Relations* (International Journal of Conflict Management, 1993)
- Bercovitch, Jacob *Mediation in International Conflict: An Overview of Theory, A Review of Practice* in I. William Zartman (ed.), *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace 2007)
- Bercovitch, Jacob and R. Jackson, *International Conflict Management, 1945–1995: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Conflicts and their Management*, (Congressional Quarterly, Washington, DC:1997)
- Brian M. Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*, (Harvard University Press, 2001)

Communiqué of Sir Harry Johnston to Sub-Commissioner in Busoga, 3.12.1900, Entebbe Secretariat Archives, Busoga outward, A11/1/53

Cessian. Spiss in Tanganyika (Notes and Records, No. 62/63, 1964).

Douglas Johnston, *The Religious Dimension*, Unpublished paper, based upon Johnston, ed. *Trumping Realpolitik: Faith-based Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Engholm, Geoffrey *Political Parties and Uganda's Independence* Transition No. 3 (Jan.1962)

Faustin Mugabe, Sunday Monitor, June 21, 2015 *Police Officer tips Obote on coup plot*

Retrieved on 19th.04.2017 from

<http://www.monitor.co.ug/Magazines/PeoplePower/Police-tips-Obote-coup-plot-Muteesa/689844-2759192-1016jjz/index.html>

Geert Hofstede, Gert Jan Hofstede, and Minkov Michael, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival* (Mc Graw- Hill, New York, 2010)

Gray Sir John M, Sheikh Ahmed bin Ibrahim, the first Arab to reach Buganda', *The Uganda Journal* vol. XI No. 1, 1947

Halal Food Council of Europe, <http://www.hfce.eu/whyhfce.html> retrieved on 03.05.2017

Hashmi, Sohail H. in Brockopp, Jonathan E. (ed.) *Islamic Ethics of Life. Abortion, War, and Euthanasi* Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press In, Magnus Nilson, *Just War and Jihad: A Cross-cultural Study of Modern Western and Islamic Just War Traditions*, (LundsUniversitet,2003)

- Ho Won, Jeong, *Conflict Management and Resolution; an Introduction* (Routledge, London, 2010)
- Huntington. P. Samuel, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, (Simon and Schuster, 1996)
- Huntington P Samuel, *The Clash of Civilisations?* (Foreign Policy, Vol. 72, No. 3, 1993)
- Iman Amrani, *Why don't we think of North Africa as part of Africa*, Algeria, *A Week in Africa*, the guardian published on Wednesday 9th September 2015
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/09/north-africa-algeria-black-africa-shared-history> retrieved on 25.12.2016
- International Crisis Group, *Eastern Congo: the ADF-NALU's Lost Rebellion*, Policy Briefing, Africa Briefing N°93 Nairobi/Brussels, 19 December 2012. *Translation from French*
- Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *Archbishop Odama given Peace Award*, 09.24.2012
<http://ircu.or.ug/news/archibishop-odama-given-peace-award/> retrieved on 07.05.2017
- Interreligious Council of Uganda, Final Report, *Solidarity visit of senior religious leaders of IRCU and the elders of TEFU following violent clashes in Bundibugyo and Kasese districts*. (May 2016)
- Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *IRCU calls upon political groups to desist from forming militias*, 08.29.2015 <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-calls-upon-political-groups-to-desist-from-forming-militias-2/>
- Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *IRCU hands over Care packs* 04.24.2012
<http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-hands-over-care-packs/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *IRCU Launches the Interreligious Institute for Peace*
08.21.2012 <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-launches-the-inter-religious-institute-for-peace-irip/>
retrieved on 07.05.2017

Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *IRCU Launches the Peace and Stability Forum for Western Uganda* 08. 15.2015 <http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-launches-the-peace-and-stability-forum-for-western-uganda/>

Inter-religious Council, *IRCU-TEFU take custody of memorandum of protocol between the Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu and Obundigya BwaBamba* April 16, 2016
<http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-tefu-take-custody-of-memorandum-of-protocol-between-the-obusinga-bwa-rwenzururu-and-obundigya-bwa-bamba/> retrieved 05.10.2017

Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *IRCU Trains Mukono Women in Soap Making* 03.11.2014
<http://ircu.or.ug/news/ircu-trains-mukono-women-in-soap-making/> retrieved on
07.05.2017

Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *Khadi Courts in Busoga Region to be Empowered to Resolve Gender Based Violence Matters* 03.28.2016 <http://ircu.or.ug/news/khadi-courts-in-busoga-region-to-be-empowered-to-resolve-gender-based-violence-matters/>

Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *Our Profile* <http://ircu.or.ug/about/#history> retrieved on
01.05.2017

Inter-religious Council of Uganda, “Over 400 Delegates Attend IRCU National HIV/AIDS Conference” 07.17.2012 <http://ircu.or.ug/news/over-400-delegates-attend-ircu-national-hiv-aids-conference/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

Inter-Religious Council of Uganda, Profile, 2015.

Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *Report on Religious Leaders* 06.2012 <http://ircu.or.ug/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Research-Report-Religious-Leaders-June-2012.pdf> retrieved on 07.05.2017

Inter-religious council of Uganda, *Why a presidential debate?*, 03. 2016 <http://ircu.or.ug/news/why-a-presidential-debate/> retrieved on 07.05.2017

Ioanna Kucuradi, *The Question of Universality Versus Particularity In The Light of Epistemological Knowledge of Norms*, Conference Abstract.

Jeong, Ho Won, *Conflict Management and Resolution: An Introduction* (Rutledge, London, 2010)

Kadayifci-Orellana, S. Ayse, *Standing on an Isthmus: Islamic Approaches to War and Peace in Palestine*. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007)

Kateregga, Badru, *The Cause of Muslim Wrangles in Uganda- and the possible remedies*,

The Campus Journal published on Monday, 13 August 2012 retrieved on 18th.04.2017

<http://campusjournal.ug/index.php/special-report/analysis/537-the-cause-of-muslim-wrangles-in-uganda-and-the-possible-remedies>

Kiyimba, Abas, *The Problem of Muslim Education in Uganda: Some Reflections*, (Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 1986)

Köylü, Mustafa, *Islam and Its Quest for Peace: Jihad, Justice and Education* Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change Series IIA. Islam, Volume 15 (The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2003)

Locke, John. *Commentary on Locke: Of Identity and Diversity* (Self and Subjectivity, 2008,

19–32) <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470774847.ch2>

Louis Kriesberg, *Conflict: Phases in The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, (Oxford University Press, 2010)

Lugard Fredrick *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda* (William Blackwood and Sons, London. 1893)

Mawlawi, Faisal, *al-Mafahim al-Asasiyyalil Da'wah al-Islamiyya fi Bilad al-Gharb* (2000), in *Risalat al-Muslimin fi bilad al-Gharb*, ed. Abu Shamalah, M.A Irbid, Dar al-Amal.

Mazrui, Ali *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (BBC Publications and Little Brown Company, 1986)

Mbaziira, Hamidu, *Ebisago N'ebibala by'obusiraamu mu Uganda* (Pains and Gains of Islam in Uganda) unpublished

Mitchell, Christopher, *The Structure of International Conflict* (London: Macmillan, 1981)

Mukisa Farahani, *Recounting The Attack On Uganda Muslim Supreme Council Headquarters*, *The Daily Monitor*, Tuesday, August 4, 2015, retrieved on 29.04.2017
<http://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/Recounting-the-attack-on-Uganda-Muslim-Supreme-Council/691232-2818364-wsk4ndz/index.html>

Mutibwa Phares, *Uganda since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Hopes* (Africa World Press, New Jersey, 1992)

Nabifo Wamimbi, *Religious Tolerance And The State In Uganda* (Utah, USA, October 2010)

Nakabiri Hafiswa, Mutyaba Mustafa *Prince Nuhu Kyabasinga Mbogo* translated from Luganda (Omulangira Nuhu Kyabasinga Mbogo) Crane Books Ltd, Kampala,

Unpublished.

New Vision, 19th November 2007; *Muteesa Writes to the Queen*, retrieved from

www.newvision.com on 18th February 2017

Öztürk, Fatih "*The Ottoman Millet System*" In (The Ottoman and Turkish Law, Universe, 2014)

Pawlikova-VilhanovaViera, *White Fathers: Islam and Kiswahili in Nineteenth Century Uganda*, Asian and African Studies, (Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, 2, 2004, 198-213)

Pawlikova-VilhanovaViera, *Rethinking the Spread of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa* (Asian and African Studies, 19, 2010, 1, 134-167)

Pew Research Center, Report, *Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 2010

Şentürk, Recep *Adamiyyah and Ismah" The Contested Relationship between Humanity and Human Rights in Classical Islamic Law* (İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi, No, 8. 2002)

Şentürk, Recep, *Civilization and Values: Open Civilization-Istanbul Approach* (Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, Istanbul, 2013)

Şentürk, Recep, *Diversity Management in the Era of Open Civilisation: A Call to Multiplexity*

Şentürk, Recep, *Sociology of Rights: Inviolability of the Other in Islam between Universalism and Communalism*

Şenturk, Recep, *Unity in Multiplexity: Islam as an Open Civilisation*, in the (Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions, 7th Issue, 2011)

St. Augustine, *City of God* (Book XIX), Church Fathers, Ch. 10

Stanley, Henry Morton, *Through the Dark Continent* (London, George Newness, Vol. I, 1899)

Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peace Makers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution* (2007)

The Judiciary, *Khadhi Courts*, <http://www.judiciary.go.ke/portal/page/kadhis>

Turay, Thomas Mark, *Civil Society and Peace building: The role of the Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone* (Accord, London: Conciliation Resources, 2000)

USIP *Faith-Based NGOs and International Peace Building* Special Report No. 76. (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2001)

Wallensteen, Peter, *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System*, (Sage Publications, London, 2002)

Why Ugandan Muslims have lagged behind, New Vision, April.15.2016
http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1422185/ugandan-muslims-lagged#sthash.kk07gneT.dpuf retrieved on 5th05/2017

Wijzen, Frans *Seeds of Conflict in a Haven of Peace: From Religious Studies to Interreligious Studies in Africa* (Rudopi B. V., Netherlands, and Amsterdam, 2007)

William McNeil, *The Rise of the West: a History of the Human Community*, Chicago: (University of Chicago Press 1991, xxv-xxvi), quoted in RecepSenturk, Adamiyyah, and Ismah: The Contested Relationship between Humanity and Human Rights in Classical Islamic Law, (Islam Arastirmalari Dergisi, No 8, 2002, 39-69)