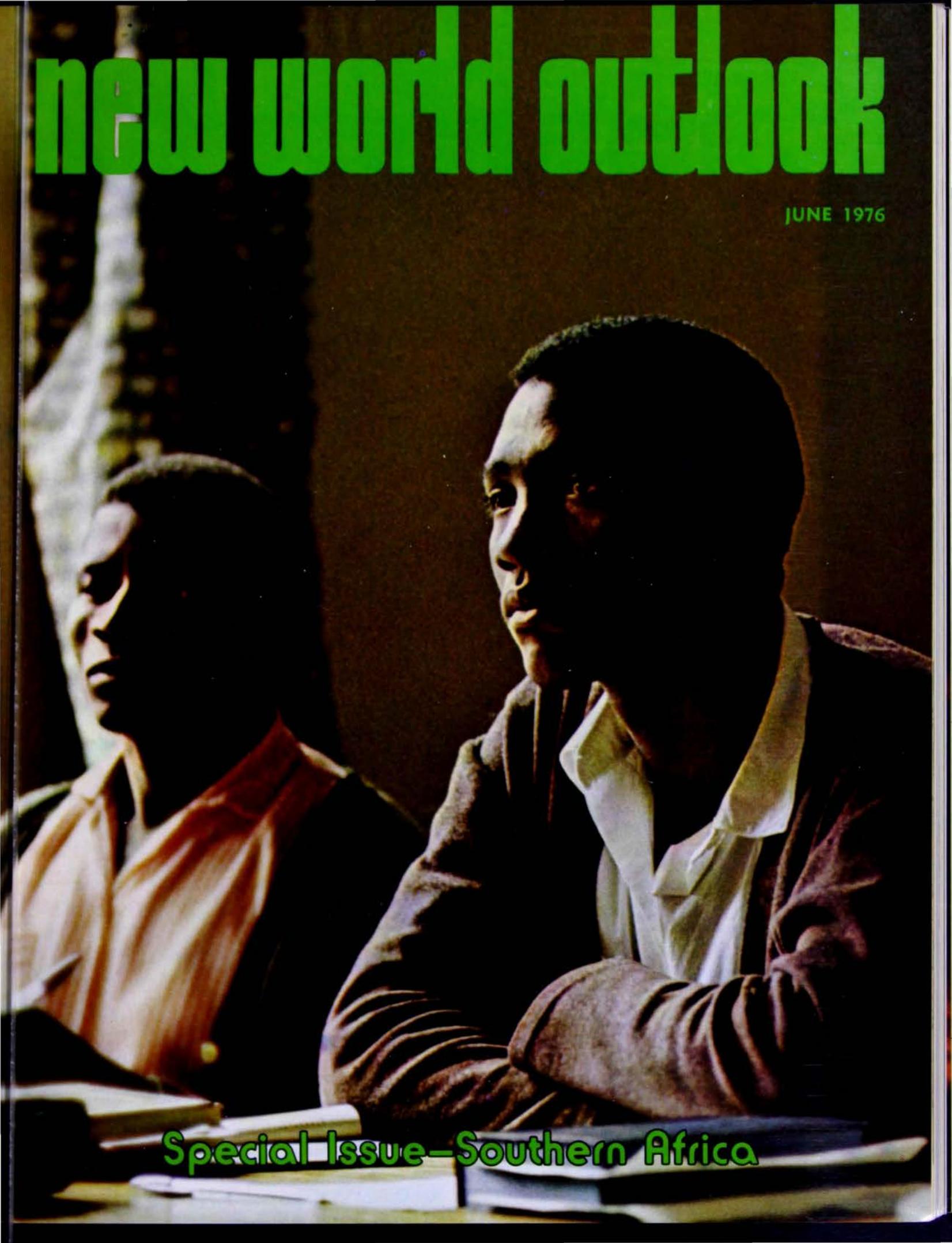


new world outlook



JUNE 1976

Special Issue—Southern Africa

new world outlook

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- 3 Mission Memo
7 Editorials
8 Southern Africa Conflicts—A Threat to World Peace? George M. Houser
16 U.S. Policy in Southern Africa Dick Clark
21 What Is the Future of the Christian Church in Southern Africa? Lawrence W. Henderson
28 Africa, 2000 A.D. and Christianity Isaac H. Bivens
32 The Church in Southern Africa Emilio de Carvalho
34 Angola
34 Mozambique Justin V. J. Nyoka
37 Rhodesia Rosemary Arnold
40 The Status of Black Women in South Africa
42 Namibia— A Land in Captivity
46 Books and Letters
48 The Moving Finger Writes

COVER Student Pastors, Mozambique Don Collinson Photograph

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MISSION MEMO

News and Analysis of Developments in Christian Mission

June, 1976

Rhodesia Missionaries. The Rev. and Mrs. Kaare Eriksson, UMC missionaries to Rhodesia for 25 years, were refused re-entry to that country in late May on their return from furlough although their permanent residence papers and supporting documents were in order. On church insistence, the immigration authorities have agreed to reexamine the case but it is considered doubtful that the Erikssons will be allowed to return to Rhodesia; they are currently at their home in Norway. No reason was given for the refusal, but it is thought to be related to Mr. Eriksson's former position as administrative assistant to Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Several other missionaries have also been refused re-entry. After Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's recent visit to Africa, the U.S. Embassy in South Africa "strongly advised" Americans not to travel to or within Rhodesia and warned those already there to make contingency plans for leaving. The number of U.S. citizens in Rhodesia is estimated at about 2,000. Included are several hundred missionaries, among them 76 Southern Baptists, 44 United Methodists and 4 from the United Church of Christ. Mission officials of these denominations have no plans to pull out personnel, leaving the decision to the individuals involved.

Church World Service. Paul McCleary, executive director of Church World Service, has urged U.S. churches to raise one million dollars toward a rebuilding program in Guatemala as a result of the earthquake there. As of mid-May, more than one million dollars had already been spent for emergency help and supplies but it is estimated that a two-year program concentrating on reconstruction and self-help development programs will be needed. The Protestant and Orthodox relief agency recently marked its 30th anniversary. In other current emergencies, CWS is working in Lebanon (where nearly 3,000 Arab Christian refugees were assisted to leave Beirut), Cyprus, Angola, Jamaica (aiding victims of political upheaval) and the Western Sahara (where 50,000 refugees are living in camps in Algeria). United Methodists participate in CWS through UMCOR. In another development, UMCOR has purchased \$10,000 worth of milk powder to ship to South Vietnam for the manufacture of condensed milk for children. The supplies are part of the Friendship Program.

General Assembly. The 188th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, USA, held in Baltimore, Maryland, took four ballots to elect Dr. Thelma Adair of New York City as Moderator; she is the first black woman to hold the office....Re-elected another layperson, William P. Thompson, to a third five-year term as stated clerk; the stated clerk is the executive and highest permanent officer of the General Assembly....Voted that the ministerial ordination of an avowed practicing homosexual would "at the present time be injudicious if not improper" but also ordered the

establishment of a task force to study the matter of homosexuality further. The assembly stated that "only by approaching the subject of homosexuality with love, compassion, prayer and honesty, can our church continue in its great Reformed tradition."...Approved a plan for setting and financing minimum salary levels for all UP pastors. The plan offers ways that salary supplements can be established and paid for through a fund to which wealthier congregations are asked to contribute....Heard that the number of UP women ministers has increased 83 percent in three years.... Urged, by a close vote, that the U.S. government recognize the effective sovereignty of Panama over the Canal Zone....Approved several statements and actions in support of programs to combat world hunger....Heard that membership of the 2.7 million member denomination decreased by 65,565 persons last year (which is less of a decline than in previous years) while there was an increase of 16,000 in church school enrollment. Overall giving increased by \$32 million to \$475 million....Affirmed church growth as a high priority for the church....Heard UM Bishop James K. Mathews say that American Presbyterians "laid the foundations of the thought, culture, and society out of which American freedom grew" and that to be Christian "is to be ecumenical, for our several communions are...part of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church."

(Note: A report on the UMC General Conference will appear in our July-August issue.)

Food Stamps. More than 100 organizations brought court action in late May to stop the U.S. Department of Agriculture from putting into effect Food Stamp regulations which might eliminate or reduce food stamps for some 10 million persons. Plaintiffs in the suit included 23 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish groups, labor unions, several states and cities, ethnic and women's organizations, groups such as the U.S. Conference of Mayors and individual families. Speaking for Protestant and Orthodox groups, A. Dudley Ward, chief executive of the UMC Board of Church and Society said that it is a "basic responsibility of the country to feed those in need."

Italy. An internationally-known Protestant pastor and the editor of the Italian Protestant Youth Federation magazine, as well as a number of noted Catholic laymen, are running as independents on the Communist Party slate in this month's parliamentary elections. The Rev. Tullio Vinay, a Waldensian minister, is known as the founder of the Agape Center near Turin and a second Christian center in Sicily. Among the Catholic candidates on the PCI ticket are several authors and scholars. Much interest has centered on this election as one in which the Communists might overtake the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

United Farmworkers. The United Farmworkers' Union is undertaking an initiative petition to make the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act part of that state's constitution and has appealed for full-time volunteers to help. The Act was hailed as a breakthrough in labor relations when it was passed last year but opponents have succeeded in cutting off funding by the state legislature. The UFW hopes to break through this impasse by getting the measure on the November ballot for inclusion in the constitution. They are appealing for organizers, doctors, nurses, mechanics, and "those who simply care" and are willing to help out for room, board and \$5 a week to volunteer, on both the East Coast and in California.

"Moonies". The political activities of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, whose followers have become known to the general public as "Moonies", will be the subject of a congressional investigation in mid-June. The basic charge against Mr. Moon is that he has used a web of groups, interconnected through boards and officers made up of members of his Unification Church, to mount lobbying efforts in the U.S. supporting South Korean president Park Chung Hee. The Unification Church itself is not the subject of the investigation. The Foreign Agents Registration Act requires the registration of those functioning as lobbyists or propagandists in behalf of foreign powers....A theological statement being prepared by the Commission on Faith and Order of the National Council of Churches says that the principles of Moon's Unification Church differ substantially at key points from accepted Christian theology, in particular the teaching that all the major prophets, including Jesus Christ, were failures and that the world awaits a new Messiah to be born in Korea....Moon's Unification Church has applied for membership in the New York City Council of Churches, the British Council of Churches, and the Korean Council of Churches and has been rejected by all three. A suit filed by Moon's church against the New York City Council of Churches after it was denied membership last June was dismissed in State Supreme Court on the grounds that courts should not interfere with church matters.

Theology and Public Policy. A new, ecumenical center for relating theology and public policy came into being in May with the election of a board of directors. The center, to be located in Washington, D.C., was first proposed by Paul Minear, professor emeritus of Biblical Theology at Yale University, and Paul Minus, professor of church history at Methodist Theological School in Ohio. Its announced aim is "to study the relationship between the Christian revelation and critical issues of U.S. public policy and to enable the churches to contribute more fruitfully, in a dispassionate and nonpartisan way, to public dialogue concerning those issues." The directors include United Methodists, United Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Southern Baptists, Friends, Mennonites, Episcopalians, and persons from the Christian Reformed Church, United Church of Christ, and Lutheran Church in America. Serving as temporary director is Rev. Edward Glynn, superior of the Woodstock Jesuit Community in Washington.

Abortion Rights. Far from dispassionate was a recent exchange over abortion by Catholic and Jewish and Protestant groups. Dr. Lowell A. Dunlap, assistant executive director of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, published a study called "Neo-Nazism in America?" in which he charged that the legal position of the American Jewish Congress in opposing efforts to ban abortion was "the very ideology that enabled Hitler to pursue his genocidal policies." In an angry reply Naomi Levine, executive director of the Congress, said that "Any comparison between the right of a woman to have an abortion and the Nazi slaughter of the Jews is an obscene and outrageous slur on the memory of the Six Million murdered in the Holocaust." The Congress is one of eight groups, including the UMC Board of Church and Society, which signed a brief asking the Massachusetts Supreme Court to reverse the manslaughter conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin for performing an abortion.

Deaths. P. J. Trevethan, executive vice-president of Goodwill Industries of America from 1949 to 1966, died May 21 of cancer in Bethesda, Maryland, at the age of

77....A well known Algerian Methodist layman and former Vice-President of the Protestant Church of Algeria, Hassan Kebaili, died January 25 at the age of 66. In a tribute to him it was said he maintained for nearly thirty years "an indefinable evangelical presence in the midst of the Kasbah of Algiers...Friend of the poor by the love of Christ, he received at his table all who came seeking aid and counsel, without discrimination, during the terrible war of independence."...Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, who was widely known in Protestant and Roman Catholic communities for his efforts in promoting Jewish-Christian relations, died May 16 in New York at the age of 49.

Personalia. Several new staff appointments are upcoming in BOGM's World Division: Dr. Malcolm J. McVeigh, a former evangelist in Angola and an expert on church growth in Africa, has been named functional executive secretary for Church Development and Renewal, a newly created office; Pat Rothrock, who has been Conference Director of Christian Education in Zaire since 1965, is a new executive secretary in the Africa office; L. M. McCoy, who has been an executive secretary in the Latin America office since 1964, is the new functional executive secretary for Urban/Rural Development, another newly created position....Dr. David H. C. Read, nationally known senior minister of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City, was elected President of the Japan International Christian University Foundation.

Canada. A large scale survey of religious habits and attitudes in Canada reveals that Canadians attend church much less once they grow up, and seem about equally happy whether they attend church or not. Scientifically designed questionnaires were mailed to 5,000 Canadians in all 10 provinces and more than 2,000 usable replies were gathered, thus offering "the most comprehensive information on religion in Canada to date," according to Professor Reginald Bibby of the University of Lethbridge. Two-thirds of the respondents said they believe in God, half that they had experienced God's presence. One-fifth said they'd experienced the devil's presence. About half could not state the Ten Commandments in their own words. People who never attend church, the report said, are more likely than those who do to accept communists, atheists, homosexuals, and ex-convicts as members of society. Commenting on the study, one religious leader said the church isn't adequately meeting "deep personal issues affecting people."

Day By Day. The longest running major production in New York is not "Pippin" or "Chicago" but a musical based on the Gospel according to St. Matthew called "Godspell," an archaic form of the word Gospel. Since May, 1971 it has chalked up more than 2,100 performances (the show was featured on an NWO cover in September of that year). Now in its sixth year, the award-winning musical is finally moving to "Broadway" this month. At one time there were eight productions running simultaneously in the U.S., plus eight foreign countries. It was the first "integrated" musical to play before an integrated audience in South Africa. Perhaps its best known tune is "Day by Day".

EDITORIALS

Kissinger on Africa— Getting Religion Late

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's recent visit to Africa, culminating in his declaration of support for Black majority rule in Southern Africa, has overtones of the sinner who hits the mourner's bench after a long lifetime of spectacular and rewarding sin. One can only rejoice that he has seen the light and welcome him into the fold while retaining some skepticism about motives and insisting on some deeds to back up his fine words.

As Senator Dick Clark of Iowa points out elsewhere in this issue, formal U.S. policy on Africa has always been correct. Actual policy, however, has been quite a different matter. The notorious Byrd Amendment, allowing purchase of chrome from Rhodesia in defiance of UN sanctions against the white minority regime there, is perhaps the most blatant example. This was the responsibility of Congress but administration support for its repeal has been feeble at best. Coupled with this went tacit backing of the Portuguese colonial government until its collapse and a benign attitude toward the government of South Africa. It was only after the fiasco of Angola, where the Congress very wisely put its foot down on covert intervention, that the U.S. government began to reassess its position in that continent.

Well, better late than never but the African nations and liberation movements may be pardoned if they wait a while before they begin dancing in the streets. They will be watching for tangible proof in the form of U.S. aid appropriations in repeal of the Byrd Amendment, and, most importantly, in increased signs of understanding of their legitimate aims and aspirations.

This basic question of understanding and sympathy is fundamental. As we have noted before, the U.S. government and the Secretary of State in particular have great difficulty in viewing the world as anything but an arena for American-Russian conflict. Dr. Kissinger still persists in talking about Angola this way, as if he does not yet know why his

policy there was a failure. He must be reminded that it was not a failure of nerve by the Senate that defeated that policy but the fact that it did not deal with the realities of Angola as a nation. Until we are able to look at Southern Africa in its own terms and not as an extension of our preoccupations, any shift in policy is only a question of tactics.

With these reservations, we must still applaud the Administration for doing what needed to be done. The mere fact that it can be claimed that President Ford lost the Texas Republican Primary to Ronald Reagan because of Kissinger's affirmation of majority rule in Africa shows how politics can paralyze American foreign policy. It also shows how strong the racist and colonialist strain in our national life remains, for there is no other accurate way to characterize that reaction but by those terms.

Let us welcome then the repentant sinner and keep an eye out that he doesn't take to backsliding. That, of course, means keeping an eye upon ourselves for while foreign policy may be made by experts, it depends upon the acquiescence of the people before it can be put into effect. If we had been doing our job all these years, there would have been no need for a change in policy.

The Pentecostal Experience

Because the terms "pentecostal" and "charismatic" are sometimes used interchangeably the season of the birthday of the Church is often associated incorrectly with the phenomenon of speaking in tongues. But in fact the experience of the disciples and their friends described in Acts 2 is exactly the opposite of speaking in tongues or glossalalia. The Jews who were gathered from all parts of the known world heard the disciples *each in his own language* telling the great things God had done. Instead of cutting off communication through an ecstatic experience, the coming of the Holy Spirit actually created communication.

The miracle of Pentecost was not that

"tongues like flames of fire" appeared with a noise in the sky louder than a Concorde plane at takeoff. The miracle was that a unity and harmony was created in the Church while at the same time individual uniqueness was recognized and celebrated.

A fairly respectable history of the Christian Church might be written with the idea of showing that the Church has generally tried harder to sacrifice individualism for the sake of corporate harmony rather than risking internal unity for the sake of individual freedom. Certainly, throughout much of its history the Church has been loathe to recognize what the prophet Joel (2: 28-32) foresaw: God's Spirit is poured out without regard to age, race, sex, or station in life—"even upon slaves and slave-girls." (Had the prophet been at General Conference he might have added: without regard to denominational affiliation.) Instead, we have often sought an artificial unity based on determining ahead of time the thought patterns by which the Spirit is poured out to the Church.

The season of Pentecost is as good a time as any to give thanks that there are more divergent voices heard within the Church than ever before and that many groups historically under-represented in leadership—racial minorities, women, "senior citizens," young people—are able to speak with boldness of the vision they have for God's creation and His Church.

Unfortunately, because we have so often sought to freeze the patterns in which the Spirit speaks to us these fresher voices may sound like Babel to our ears. The problem is most acute when the Church attempts a response to these voices, especially to those who feel the most hurt by the Church's past ignorance and inaction. What was once called the "suburban captivity of the Church," with its relatively homogenous congregations, prevents the Church from effectively dealing with what is being said. At heart, we fear diversity more than we cherish it and we tend to look on new voices as new battlegrounds instead of fresh opportunities to hear what the Spirit may be saying to the Church.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa is an area of racial, political, and economic exploitation. Internal conflicts there can produce major big power confrontations.

The articles in this issue, including those dealing with American policy in Africa, were written prior to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's visit to Africa. The editors feel that these articles are in general still valid assessments of American policy and the directions it must take in the months ahead.



SOUTHERN AFRICA CONFLICTS- a threat to world peace?

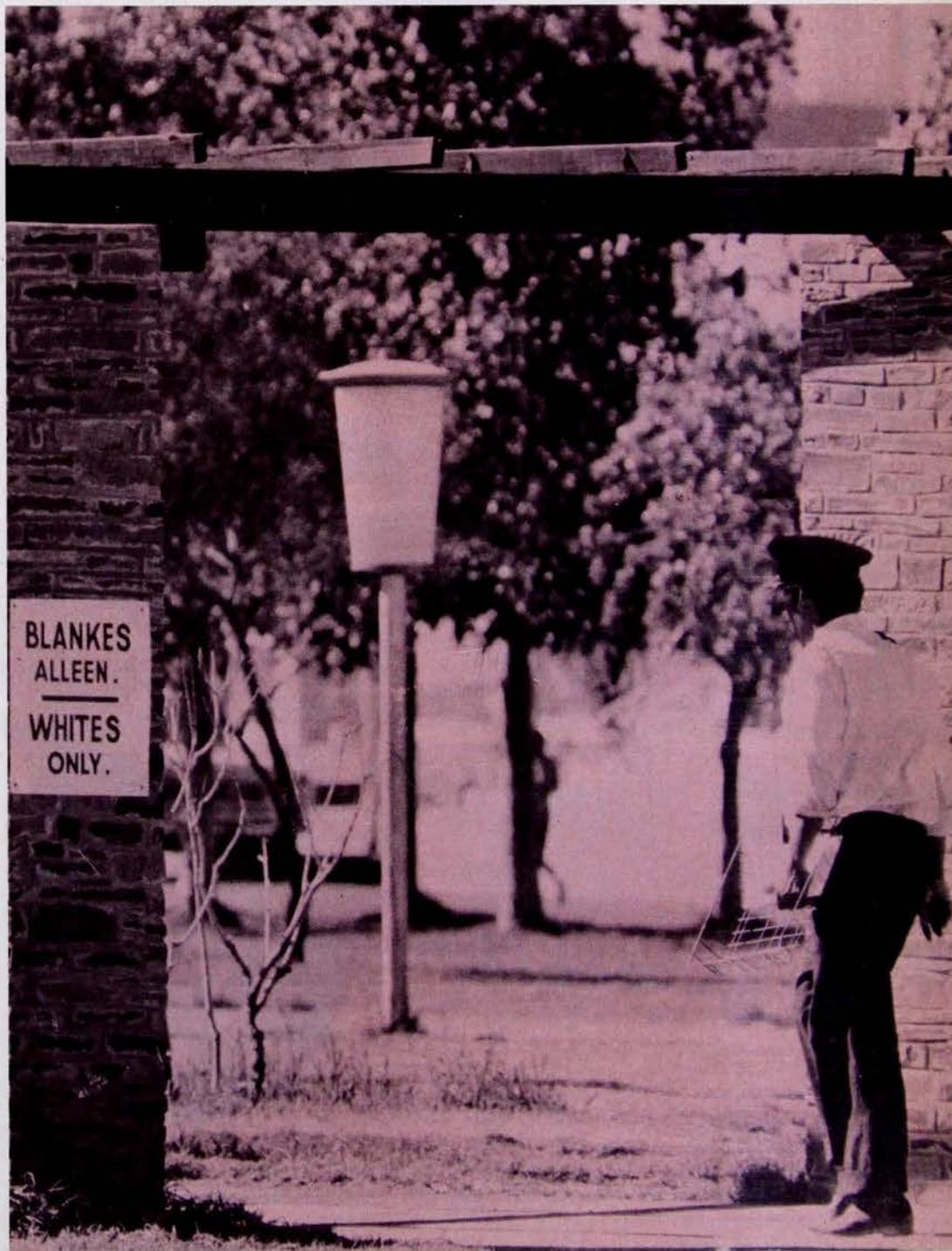
George M. Houser



The world is full of little-known places which most Americans only become conscious of when a catastrophe brings them to notice, or when they become the focus for a clash of big power "interests" threatening world peace. Vietnam was such a place. Until the middle 1960's when American soldiers were sent there in the thousands, few Americans would have known where to look for Vietnam on the map. Africa is another area of the world which has been obscure for many Americans. Only a few times have African countries been brought dramatically to world attention. Ghana's independence in 1957 brought the continent into focus as symbolic of a new era of Africa's emergence from colonial domination. The Congo was headlined in 1960 when long years of Belgian colonial domination was ending and Patrice Lumumba was briefly the Prime Minister of a new country with Russian backing and American opposition. In the last few months Angola has been the center of world attention.

A relatively small number of Americans would have known Angola was an African country until late in 1975. The fact that there had been an armed struggle against Portuguese colonial domination for 13 years in Angola, and that this, together with similar struggles in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, had triggered the army coup of April 1974 in Portugal, was secondary news to most. But quite suddenly Angola was catapulted into the headlines. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made a speech in

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The stakes in southern Africa

Detroit on November 24, 1975, in which he accused the Soviet Union and Cuba of intervening in an internal struggle for power in Angola and warned that continued intervention would affect "other relationships." For about three months after this Angola events were featured in the news because the near confrontation between the United States and the USSR threatened the uneasy detente between the super powers. Following the lead of President Ford and Secretary Kissinger, the American people began to see the Angolan conflict in terms of a "communist take-over." Patrick Moynihan, at the United Nations, accused the Soviet Union of being a new colonial power.

The crisis in Angola has quieted down now. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the political organization which the U.S. Government opposed and which was backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba and in a less prominent way by other countries, has won victory. It is now the government of the Peoples Republic of Angola. The two movements supported by the United States, by South Africa, and certain African countries (the most prominent of which was Zaire), have been defeated. The critical question now is whether this near confrontation between the big powers in Angola has ended as far as Africa is concerned or whether it will emerge again over the issues at stake in southern Africa. My conviction is that conditions are present which make southern Africa one of the areas of the world where internal conflicts can produce major big power confrontations and that this can threaten world peace. This conviction needs analysis and is based on the following factors:

are great. The areas as a whole is rich, but not all countries in it are.

The Stakes in Southern Africa

First, the stakes in southern Africa are great. Geographically the area stretches from Zaire and Tanzania in the north to the Republic of South Africa in the south, encompassing twelve nations in a region larger than the United States. Whites are something less than 5% of the total regional population of 100 million, and live mainly in South Africa (about 4.2 million), and Rhodesia (280,000).

The area as a whole is rich, but not all the countries in it are. Every important mineral is found there. The region is the world's number one producer of manganese, gold, diamonds, chrome, cobalt, and platinum. In addition there is vast hydroelectric power and an abundance of fisheries, and productive agricultural and pasture lands. It is suspected that there are large untapped resources of oil such as was found in the Cabinda region of Angola and offshore from Zaire. South Africa alone is a very rich country. It is responsible for 60% of the world's gold production and is the third ranking producer of uranium.

Military strategists point to the critical location of southern Africa. In the east it fronts on the Indian Ocean and in the west on the South Atlantic. The shipping lanes around the Cape of Good Hope are used constantly and are the only effective alternative to the Suez Canal.

Oppressive Conditions Persist

Second, oppressive conditions and resistance to change in the areas of southern Africa still under minority white control make for bitter conflict. Southern Africa is an area of racial, political, and economic exploitation. In Rhodesia only about 5% of the total popula-

tion of some 6½ million are white. Yet the whites have 50 of the 66 seats in parliament. African protest has been strictly controlled by the Unlawful Organization Act (under which major African political organizations have been banned). Thousands of politically active Africans have been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. The Law and Order Maintenance Act grants further powers to the police to arrest nationalists and ban meetings. The Land Apportionment Act and the Native Land Husbandry Act puts the best land in the hands of the whites. 71% of the country's most arable land is owned by Europeans. The Africans have only 13% of this best land.

The Industrial Conciliation Act limits trade union rights so that Africans are virtually powerless to change their working conditions. The average annual income of blacks in 1974 was \$641. For whites it was \$7,152. The white-controlled government spends only \$68.14 per black child in school while spending \$746.00 for each white child. Henry Kamm wrote in the *NY Times* March 17th, "There are no visible poor whites, no whites in menial jobs and it seems unlikely that there is a white who has one of this country's 6.1 million blacks as his working superior. There appeared to be few (white) Rhodesians to whom this state of affairs does not seem to be worth fighting for. . . ."

Since the independence of Mozambique, which borders Rhodesia on the east, tremendous pressure has been put upon Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to accept rapid change toward majority rule, but to no avail. The negotiations between Ian Smith and the African leader, Joshua Nkomo, which had been going on for several months, finally

broke down on March 19th. Nkomo stated that Smith was only prepared to concede majority rule in something like 15 years.

In Namibia, out of a population of something less than a million, only 13% are white. Africans do not have voting rights and none are represented in the legislature. 65% of the land is in the hands of the whites. All African land is under an agency called "The Bantu Trust." The South African government has controlled Namibia since the end of the First World War when the territory, previously a German colony, was put under the Mandate system of the League of Nations with South Africa administering it. The South African government has encouraged the division of the country among ethnic groups. At present a Constitutional Conference is in session which may take several years to do its work if it follows the South African proposal. It is assumed that out of these discussions will emerge a loose federation of tribal groups that then can be controlled economically and politically by South Africa. The principal liberation movement in the area, The Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), recognized by the United Nations and the OAU, (Organization of African Unity) as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, refuses to participate in the Conference under the restrictive terms and framework established by South Africa.

The Economy of South Africa

In South Africa, approximately 19% of the nearly 25 million population are white. Yet the black majority is not allowed to vote or be elected to public office. The major African political organizations have been banned. 87% of the land



Preceded by the Mace Bearer and the Speaker, Senators of the Upper House and Prime Minister Ian Smith file into the assembly for the opening of Rhodesia's Parliament. Even though Rhodesia has severed her links with Britain, the Mace still retains the symbol of the Crown.

is reserved for whites, and only 13% for Africans. Africans are not permitted to travel within the country without special permission. An intricate system of passes regulates the Africans if they wish to leave the areas designated for them.

The economy of South Africa rests upon the labor of the Africans. Theoretically Africans are permitted to live only in their "homeland", ethnic areas which only a few years ago were called "native reserves." A system of migratory labor has been imposed on the Africans, who cannot sustain themselves economically in the areas to which they are restricted and therefore must travel periodically, with special permission, either to European farms or to urban areas for jobs. About 47% of the African people live in the "homelands" or Bantustans. Over half of the blacks live below the poverty datum line which for a family of five is set at \$120.00 monthly. The ratio of white earning power to black is 6:1 and higher.

The white minority in South Africa intend to hold on to their privileged way of life indefinitely. As in Namibia, the South African

government, under its system of apartheid, is imposing the division of the country according to tribal origins. And yet this division is being carried out in such a way as not to hinder the economic growth of the white areas. A myriad of laws curtail African nationalist opposition through the Suppression of Communism Act, the Sabotage Act, etc. Africans who are in active opposition to the regime are working deeply underground, are in prison, under banning orders, or in exile. In spite of the highly touted "changes" which are supposed to have taken place in the pattern of apartheid (with some few hotels now open to black overseas visitors, or park benches no longer designated "for Europeans only") there has been no shift whatsoever in the basic laws of prohibiting the Africans from participating in the political or economic decision-making of the country.

The Resort to Violence

Third, African reliance on violence as a means of bringing change has been accepted as a necessity. The struggle for independence in Africa

over the last 20 years has not primarily been characterized by violence. Up until 1961, most African countries achieved independence through negotiations with the colonial power involved. With the exception of the independence war in Algeria against the French and the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya, the French, British, the Belgian Congo, and the Spanish colonies gained their freedom with little violence. The African National Congress of South Africa was one of the movements most dedicated to non-violence until 1960. But this changed suddenly and dramatically with the Sharpeville Massacre of March, 1960, in South Africa when police fired on unarmed Africans peacefully demonstrating against the pass system, killing 69 and wounding about 170. The African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa were banned. Constitutional methods of change were impossible.

But it was not initially in South Africa, where the odds against the African people were so great, that armed struggle against colonialism and white minority domination was

to become an effective instrument. Rather it was in the Portuguese colonies. In February and March of 1961, a 13-year war against Portugal began in Angola. In 1963 the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), following a period of careful preparation, launched its war for independence. A little more than a year later, in September, 1964, the armed struggle began in Mozambique under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo). More than 150,000 Portuguese troops were sent to Africa to try to defeat the forces demanding freedom and independence. These African wars were Portugal's Vietnam, but Portugal did not have the resources to withstand the long years of struggle either politically or economically without substantial support from the U.S. and other western powers. Thus the period of these overseas wars ended for Portugal with the army coup of April 1974. The downfall of the Salazar-Caetano regime was a direct result of and a victory for the liberation movements in Africa.

The Lusaka Manifesto

In April, 1969, independent states of East and Central Africa met in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, and adopted what became known as the Lusaka Manifesto. This was directed toward the white minority regimes of southern Africa. It reflected the desire of African independent states for change by peaceful methods. The statement said in part "We would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in states of southern Africa, we have no choice but to give the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors." In effect this statement was saying, "We hope that change can be peaceful, but if not then we will support the armed struggle."

The African independent states hoped that the white minority governments of Rhodesia, Namibia and

South Africa would learn something from the Portuguese experience. The independence of Mozambique and Angola flowing from the coup of April 1974, brought new realities into southern Africa. Rhodesia was now bordered by three independent states—Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana; South Africa by Mozambique and Botswana; Namibia by Angola and Botswana. Because of South Africa's great strength, the two countries most exposed to the pressure of change were Rhodesia and Namibia. The white minority government of Rhodesia faces new pressures of isolation. South Africa has reacted to this development not with a change of internal policy, but with a change of international tactics. A "correct" policy has been adopted towards Mozambique. At least limited pressure has been applied to the government of Ian Smith to come to terms with the African nationalist movement there. A policy of "detente" was attempted by South Africa with black African states to the north. The objective of Prime Minister Vorster is to try to stave off an external attack against

The economy of South Africa rests upon the labor of Africans. In the depths of the mine the quarters are often cramped and low at the working face of the reef.



his country's security while tightening up internal machinery to preserve control. Efforts toward communication with African leaders such as President Kaunda of Zambia, the attempt to normalize relations with Mozambique, speeches for external consumption about changes due to come inside South Africa, the removal of South African troops from Rhodesia, speeches whose purpose was to make South African policy on Namibia sound reasonable, all of this designed to make the international community think that basic change is taking place in South Africa.

The approach of independent African states to detente has a limited objective. It is not designed to lessen pressure for change within South Africa, but to try to remove South Africa economically and militarily from Rhodesia and Namibia. A statement proposed by Tanzania and adopted by the Organization of African Unity session in April, 1975, in Dar es Salaam dealt with the question. It read: "The willingness to talk to Vorster and his government about the transfer of power in Rhodesia and in Namibia is quite a different thing from cooperating with him as he attempts to make friends in Africa in order to weaken the struggle for human rights and dignity within South Africa."

Rhodesia's Vulnerability

Rhodesia is the most vulnerable to change, and yet the small white minority of that country seems determined to hold on to the bitter end, inviting a conflict which Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa has called "too ghastly to contemplate." On March 3rd, 1976, in spite of the sacrifices that were involved, Mozambique closed the border with Rhodesia. This meant that Rhodesian goods could no longer be sent by rail through Mozambique to the Indian Ocean port of Beira. President Samora Machel of Mozambique said that his country would now go on a war footing. An estimated 20,000 troops of Zimbabwe, the Africans' name for their country, are in Mozambique prepared for attacks on the white minority regime of Rhodesia. The negotiations between Smith and Nkomo have been halted. Even President Kaunda has said that there

now is no alternative except armed struggle.

In Namibia and on its borders, SWAPO has been rapidly building up its military potential and now has thousands of men trained for military action. Despite the recent internal conflict in Angola and despite the presence of South African troops in northern Namibia and possibly still in southern Angola, Angola is a sanctuary for the forces prepared to act for majority rule by military means.

Recognizing the pressures, South Africa has gone to great lengths towards the creation of a militarized police state. Within the last three years military expenditures in South Africa have more than doubled and now amount to more than a billion dollars a year. South Africa produces about 80% of its light weapons, more than 100 kinds of ammunition, rifles, explosives and armored cars. White South Africa is preparing itself for a struggle which will in part take military form.

The International Implications

Fourth, the struggle in southern Africa has assumed major international dimensions. Those who may have thought that the conflict in southern Africa would remain local or regional should now have learned differently from the Angolan experience. Angola reflected at least two things about the struggle in southern Africa: (1) That South Africa was prepared to commit significant military force in the southern Africa conflict. The Defense Minister of South Africa said that at least 4000 to 5000 South African troops were either in southern Angola or in northern Namibia near the Angolan border during the contest for control of that country. (2) The major powers of the world could very easily be involved in southern Africa. The Soviet Union had been giving support to the MPLA on a low-keyed basis for many years. This was escalated as the internal struggle became intense. China, for a limited period of time, was giving support to the FNLA. Internationalization of the struggle was re-enforced by the presence of Cuban troops. The United States had given some covert assistance to the FNLA for a decade or more and escalated this appreciably as the fighting intensified in

Angola in mid-1975.

The struggle for majority rule in Rhodesia does not appear to invite super power involvement. South African troops have presumably been removed. The United States has no major interests in the territory. International economic sanctions have been imposed by the U.N. No country recognizes the independence of the Ian Smith regime. As far as is known, the United States has not supported any of the Zimbabwe nationalist movements. China and the Soviet Union have, but it is unlikely that military forces from non-African countries will be introduced into the Rhodesian conflict. A large number of Zimbabwean nationalists have received military training and are ready for action. South Africa does not want to suffer another military and political setback in Rhodesia as it did in Angola and probably will not commit troops to help support the white minority government. It is doubtful that the United States would make a commitment to uphold the white supremacist regime even though white Rhodesia tries to include itself among the western nations of the so-called "free world." Secretary of State Kissinger warned Cuba not to send its forces into Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Foreign and Defense Ministers thank Kissinger that "at least somebody in the western world is beginning to realize the menace that threatens the west. . . ." Yet, at this point, it does not appear that the United States will become involved militarily.

The struggle for majority rule in Namibia and South Africa is quite a different story. The conflicts are internationalized inevitably. The United Nations, with support from all the major powers, has voted to end South Africa's administration of Namibia. A Council for Namibia and a Commissioner for Namibia have been established. SWAPO has received assistance politically and militarily from both the Soviet Union and China. South Africa has been defying the United Nations and the present Constitutional Conference which it is sponsoring runs counter to basic principles which the UN General Assembly has adopted calling for a united and independent Namibia. It is very likely that South Africa would make Namibia its first



South Africa has armed African police officers and trained them in anti-guerrilla operations. These are members of the South African Counter-Insurgency Police.

line of defense and would make a major commitment of military force against black nationalist encroachments.

The apartheid system and racism in South Africa have been international issues ever since the United Nations was created after the Second World War. Virtually all the nations of the world have condemned apartheid including the United States. Yet the United States maintains a vested interest in the economy of white-ruled South Africa. American investments have risen by a billion dollars within the last decade and now are approaching 1.5 billion dollars. Between 300 and 400 American corporations have interests in South Africa, including such major companies as International Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors, International Business Machines, and Union Carbide. Although the United States has time and again attacked the scheme of apartheid in public statements, the government has avoided any known assistance to the African liberation movements there. In con-

trast with the position of the United States, the other two major powers, China and the Soviet Union, have no economic interests in South Africa and have actively been supporting one liberation movement or another. These movements are not likely to appeal to the United States or Western Europe for assistance as their struggle against the white minority regime of South Africa develops. Some of the same issues may be involved in the South African struggle as were involved in Angola. The difference may be that white South Africa is committed to an all-out military defense and has strength to back it up. Also American interests in South Africa both economically and logistically in a geo-political sense are extensive. White South Africa already depicts the issue, not just in South Africa but in all of southern Africa, in communist vs. anti-communist terms. Judging from Angolan experience, this fits entirely within the frame of reference of the United States. The consequences of the United States commitment to give any degree of sup-

port to the preservation of a white supremacy government of South Africa will be disastrous.

Can Armed Struggle be Avoided?

Can a growing armed struggle be avoided in southern Africa? Certainly this is possible. But it is only possible if the white minority are prepared to accept an end to white supremacy, an end to special privilege and a willingness to live in countries where Africans exercise the full political rights they are entitled to as the majority. An international confrontation of major proportions, even if there is an escalation of the armed struggle for majority rule, can be avoided if the major powers, including the United States, commit themselves to work together to press for genuine change. This will mean the end of policies by the United States which back up South African power in both Namibia and in the Republic itself. Without a shift in American policy the chances of avoiding a major international conflict in southern Africa seem slight. ■

U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Dick Clark



It could be said that the United States has painted itself into a corner in its southern African policy. It chose to provide economic and military assistance to its NATO ally, Portugal, during the anti-colonial struggles in Angola and Mozambique. Policy-makers here ignored the liberation movements and their appeals that, if the U.S. could not help in their struggle for freedom, at least it could deny aid to the colonial power. The Zimbabwe and Namibian liberation movements have also been ignored. The United States has professed a commitment to peaceful transition to majority rule in southern Africa and expressed concern about the tragic consequences of war in that part of the world.

At the same time, the United States has taken very few steps to encourage peaceful change in southern Africa and has opposed many of the initiatives in that direction taken by the African states in the United Nations. The majority of the United States' Security Council vetoes have been on southern African issues. The U.S. has vetoed resolutions strengthening international sanctions against Rhodesia and imposing a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa during its illegal occupation of Namibia. While rhetorically advocating non-violent international pressure as a viable alternative to military solutions in southern Africa, the United States has in fact blocked

proposals for increasing that pressure without initiating proposals of its own.

Policy Being Eroded

Those policies that the United States has adopted to promote peaceful change in southern Africa were formulated long ago and have been gradually eroded. In 1963, the United States adopted the policy of not exporting arms to southern Africa. However, since the adoption in early 1970 of certain proposals made in NSSM 39, this policy has been relaxed, and such "gray area equipment" as civilian light aircraft and C-130's (or L-100's) have been sold to South Africa. Although it is argued that these are for non-military use, a South African Cessna was shot down in Angola, and C-130's were used to transport troops and equipment. In 1964, the United States adopted the policy of not encouraging trade with South Africa through the Export-Import Bank. This policy has also been eroded. United States companies can now obtain small direct Ex-Im Bank loans for business with South Africa, and much larger loan guarantees are available. Recently, business interests and 21 Senators appealed to the Administration to grant a request for a \$225 million direct Ex-Im loan to a South African government-owned corporation and an additional \$225 million loan guarantee. Finally, in 1967 and 1968, the United States agreed to comply fully first with partial then full economic sanctions against Rhodesia. In 1971, however, the Byrd Amendment was passed, and

the United States became the only country to require by law that sanctions against Rhodesia be broken.

The United States' actual support for peaceful change in southern Africa has been half-hearted at best. The U.S. aided Portugal economically and militarily throughout the liberation struggle in its African colonies, and it now continues to support Rhodesia with its trade and South Africa with its trade and investment. The liberation movements have had to go to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba for support. America has come down consistently on the side of the "has beens" in southern Africa rather than the "will be's"—leaving them no alternative but to go to the Communist powers. And now, when it is apparent that majority rule will come to Rhodesia in the near future and to Namibia not long after, the Administration is responding with expressions of concern about Soviet and Cuban intervention in southern Africa and statements that it will not tolerate further Cuban activities in the area. From the Administration's "global view", further Soviet and Cuban successes in southern Africa will only encourage similar ventures elsewhere in the world.

Soviet and Cuban Activities

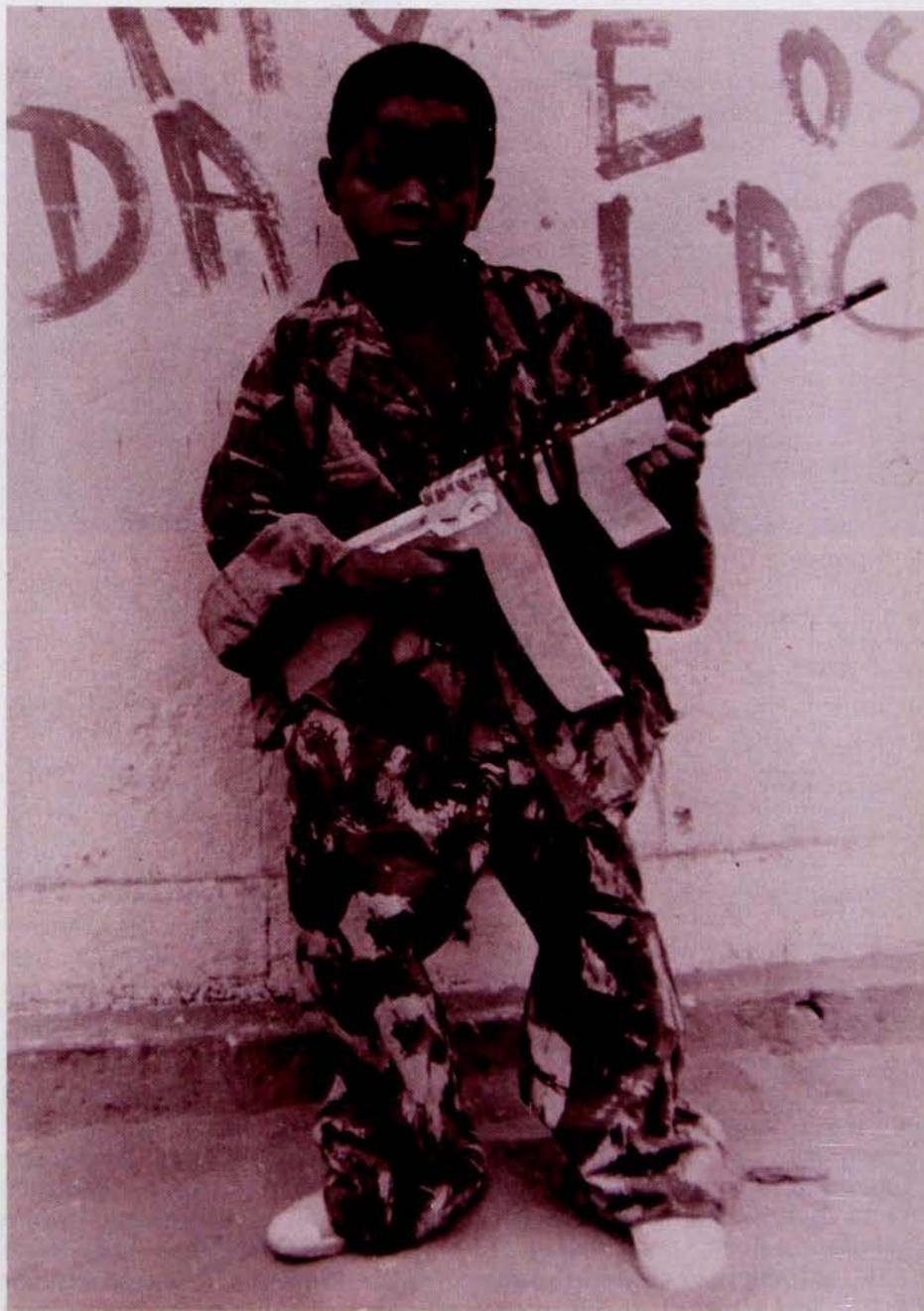
Soviet and Cuban activities in southern Africa are indeed cause for concern. The fact that the Soviet Union invested \$300 million and Cuba sent 12,000 troops to assure that the faction they backed would win in Angola cannot be taken lightly. But if what is going on now

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in southern Africa is viewed entirely from the perspective of countering Soviet and Cuban military intervention, far too much is left out to make this an accurate "global view."

First, the Administration does not seem to understand that, not only in Africa, but in most of the world, racial domination in southern Africa is perceived as a far greater problem than Soviet and Cuban intervention on the side of the liberation movements. Racial domination is a particularly offensive form of oppression to most of the world—especially to the former colonies. As concerned as African countries are about the Soviet and Cuban presence in southern Africa, they could not oppose any support these countries gave to the struggle for freedom in southern Africa. In that sense, Rhodesia and Namibia are entirely different from Angola. Although I opposed United States involvement in Angola, a much better case could be made for countering Soviet and Cuban intervention in an African civil war than for countering their assistance to Zimbabwe and Namibian liberation movements with U.S. assistance to the racist regimes.

In stating that the United States "will not accept" Cuban intervention in Rhodesia, the Secretary of State has given the impression that this country might well provide assistance to the Smith regime if it were attacked by a Cuban-supported liberation movement. It may be that the Administration does not fully understand how disastrous this would be for our relations with



Africa and for our image in the world, or how little support this particular anti-communist venture would have.

A Military Solution?

A second problem with the Administration's response to the threat of Communist-supported military action in southern Africa is that it has increased the likelihood that the solution to the Rhodesia problem will be a military one rather than a negotiated settlement. Immediately after Secretary Kissinger's statement that the United States would not tolerate Cuban intervention, the following took place: one Rhodesian government official expressed "thanks" to the United States for its understanding of the gravity of the Communist threat in southern Africa; another Rhodesian representative stated that the United States might provide Rhodesia with material assistance in its struggle against liberation movements but was not likely to provide troops unless "Russia were directly involved"; Ian Smith asserted that he would not accept majority rule for Rhodesia; and Dr. Gabela, a representative of the ANC in Rhodesia, said that negotiations were a waste of time.

Clearly, the Secretary's statement gave the Rhodesians cause for hope that the United States might help them preserve the status quo there. In taking the "global view", the Administration overlooked the fact that its warning to the Cubans might make the white Rhodesians more intransigent and a Cuban-supported military solution more likely. Undoubtedly, the Administration did not take into consideration the special affinity Rhodesian whites have always felt for the United States or the influence this country can have on them—arising from the numerous sympathetic tourists who go to Rhodesia from here every year, the parallels Rhodesians see between their Unilateral Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution, and the Rhodesians' belief that they are in the forefront of the fight against communism in southern Africa. The Secretary's statement reinforced the Rhodesians' hope that the U.S. would not allow a country with which it had so much in common

to be taken over by the "Communists."

A Losing Proposition

A third problem with the Administration's response to Rhodesia is that politically and militarily it is a losing proposition if the Cubans do decide to help the liberation movements in Rhodesia. If the United States "will not accept" Cuban intervention, it will have to do something about it—otherwise, America's prestige will be weakened and its commitments will appear to be empty threats. The U.S. could not do much to Cuba itself that it is not doing already—it couldn't break diplomatic relations or cut off trade. One possible United States response to Cuban intervention in Rhodesia would be to provide military aid to the other side—to the Smith regime. And that would put this country on the losing side morally, politically and militarily. The Secretary of State has wisely ruled out any direct aid to the Smith regime. But he has not ruled out direct military action against Cuba—either a blockade or invasion. This would constitute indirect support for the Smith regime, and it would mean running serious risks of a confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Finally, the Administration's refusal to state that it will not under any circumstances defend the racist minority regimes in southern Africa could cause serious domestic problems. After Nigeria, the United States has the greatest number of black citizens in the world. If there is a race war in southern Africa, race relations in this country are bound to be strained no matter what U.S. policy is. But the problems will be by far most severe if the United States government defends white supremacist regimes.

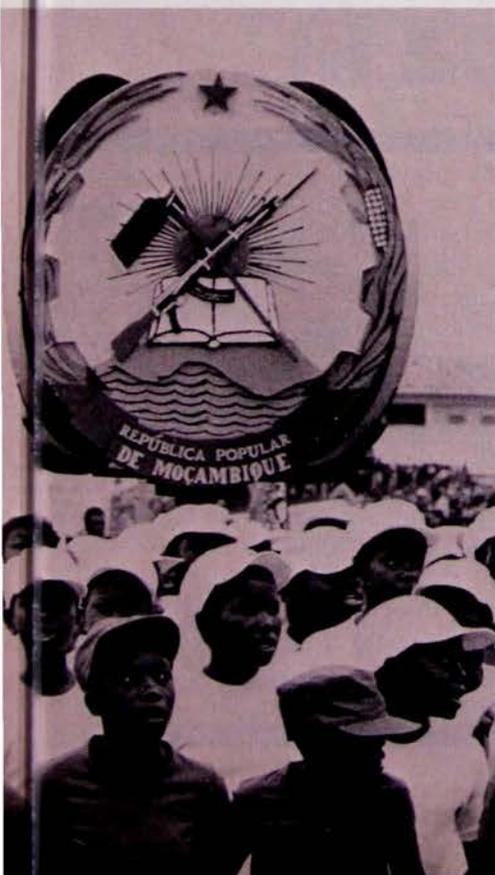
Policy Alternatives

Fortunately, the situation in southern Africa still poses policy alternatives for the United States other than either cutting its losses and leaving southern Africa to the Soviets and the Cubans or countering the Soviet and Cuban presence by providing assistance to the white regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. In fact, the prospects for success of a policy of non-violent



pressure for peaceful change in southern Africa have never been better. According to the African countries that have made the greatest effort and the greatest sacrifices to achieve peaceful change, such a policy is exactly what is needed. Southern Africa could still be spared the tragedy of a major race war in Rhodesia and Namibia. Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana could avoid the serious problems that would be caused by the presence of heavy foreign military equipment and foreign troops on their soil. However, to assure a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia, the United States would have to make more than a verbal commitment. This country has bought all the time it could with fairly empty statements about human rights, self-determination, peace and stability in southern

Out on the golf links, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, hands in pockets, discusses his country's handicap with South African Prime Minister John Vorster. His problem is symbolized by these two photos: above, white refugees from Angola board a South African ship at Walvis Bay while, below, children of newly independent Mozambique march in the streets. Before independence, Mozambique provided Rhodesia with vital rail connections to the sea.



Africa. The costs of peaceful change in southern Africa—diplomatic, political, and financial—will be real, but they will certainly be worth it.

Recently, I have held a series of hearings in the African Affairs Subcommittee on the future of United States policy in southern Africa, concentrating on the major powers in southern Africa and United States relations with the liberation movements. During the course of these hearings, several proposals have been discussed that deserve the serious and immediate consideration of the United States government.

Specific Actions

The first action the United States should take is to make it clear that this country will not defend the minority regimes in southern Africa under any circumstances. A declaration of our unwillingness to

side with the white supremacist regimes, even against the Soviet Union and Cuba, is probably the greatest contribution the United States could make to pressure for negotiated settlements in Rhodesia and Namibia. At the same time, it would be no more than an acknowledgement of the only realistic alternative the United States would have if serious war did break out. If there is concern that such a statement would be an invitation for the Cubans to intervene immediately, it could certainly be made privately to South Africa and Rhodesia rather than publicly.

Second, the United States should give maximum diplomatic support to the African states which have been working so hard to achieve negotiated settlements in Rhodesia and Namibia. Representatives of two of those countries have told me personally how important American

diplomatic pressure is at this time. We need to listen to and act on their appeals for diplomatic assistance. And we need to assure them that the United States will not agree to any settlement in Rhodesia or Namibia that the African states find unacceptable. At the same time, we should assure them that the United States will provide whatever economic or diplomatic assistance is needed to help guarantee that any settlement that is acceptable to the African states works.

Third, the United States should provide economic assistance to Zambia and Mozambique to help them overcome the serious hardships that have resulted from their compliance with international sanctions against Rhodesia. This would be tangible evidence of a United States commitment to peaceful change. And it would demonstrate the U.S. recognition that the countries which are prepared to support a military struggle for liberation in southern Africa are also willing to make the greatest sacrifices to make non-violent pressures work. The Administration has said it is willing to consider favorably requests of assistance from these two countries.

Fourth, the United States should recognize and seek to establish good relations with the government of Angola. This would make it clear that U.S. relations with the black

African states are more important to this country than simply opposing everything the Soviet Union supports. And it would give Angola an alternative to dependence on the Soviet Union and Cuba, an alternative that the other African states in the area badly want Angola to have.

Fifth, the Administration should itself initiate an effort to secure repeal of the Byrd Amendment. The recent House repeal effort failed largely because of a lack of significant Administration support. It would take the maximum commitment of the White House for such an effort to succeed, but, given the international visibility of the Byrd Amendment as a symbol of the failure of U.S. southern Africa policy, this effort would be worthwhile.

Sixth, the United States should make a greater effort in the United Nations to increase international pressure on South Africa to give up its illegal occupation of Namibia. Specifically, United States opposition to a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa should be dropped. The U.S. can no longer make a credible case in the Security Council that Namibia is not a threat to international peace.

Finally, the United States should urge South Africa to put additional pressure on Ian Smith to agree to a negotiated settlement of Rhodesia's problems. As Rhodesia's only re-

maining trade route, South Africa can pressure the Smith regime to accept peaceful change in a way that no other country can. While South Africa has strongly opposed economic sanctions in the past out of fear that they might use against itself next, it also has more than any other country to lose if serious race war does break out in Rhodesia.

Stated Policy Is Right

The stated policy of the United States—favoring a peaceful transition to majority rule in southern Africa—is the right policy. It has a better chance of working now than ever before. But it will require the real commitment of both Congress and the Executive Branch, and the question remains whether this government yet takes the problems of southern Africa seriously enough to make such a commitment.

Some argue that it is best for the United States to make no commitments at all in southern Africa—to let events take their course and not become involved. In my opinion, this would be a serious mistake. As a nation that is committed to racial equality, majority rule and the protection of minority rights, the United States can make a unique contribution to settlements in southern Africa that would replace racial domination with effective multi-racial societies. There is no reason that the Soviet Union, China and Cuba should be viewed as the only supporters of those striving for human rights, freedom and racial justice in southern Africa. The liberation movement leaders were all educated in mission schools—many of them American mission schools. What they are fighting for comes not out of Marxist doctrine but out of our own political and religious traditions. They have persistently asked us to help in their struggle for the principles that are most fundamental to our way of life. We can and must help now. If we do, there might well be peaceful change rather than a destructive race war in southern Africa. And we might be able to counter Communist intervention in southern Africa in the only truly effective way—by taking the initiative away from them in the struggle for human rights and racial equality. ■





WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF



THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?

Lawrence W. Henderson

The Christian Church has played an ambiguous role in Southern Africa. At the same time that it was supporting colonialism and the white minority regimes, it was criticizing the same regimes and stimulating the nationalist movements which would lead the peoples to political independence.

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Some Africans consider the missionary movement an integral part of Western colonialism and imperialism, so anti-colonialism implies hostility to Christian missions and the church. This view expresses itself in the old aphorism: "When the white man came to Africa, he had the Bible and we had the land; now we have the Bible and he has the land." The Africans did in fact receive the Bible and found in it the people of God with whom they could identify. The Christian Church has been growing more rapidly in Africa in the twentieth century than

in any other continent.

Seventy percent of the population of Southern Africa is Christian:

	Total Population	Christians
Angola	5,597,000	4,944,250
Mozambique	8,076,000	2,745,840
Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe	5,433,000	2,933,820
South West Africa/ Namibia	666,000	554,400
South Africa	21,185,000	17,583,000
	<u>40,957,000</u>	<u>28,761,310</u>

SOUTH AFRICA GRAPHICS

The art shown on pages 21-31 is the work of contemporary Black South African artists who studied at the Arts and Craft Centre in Rorke's Drift, in Natal on the border of Zululand. The Centre was begun in the 1960s under the aegis of the Evangelical Lutheran Church by two Swedish artists. The program there

includes instruction in the graphic arts, painting and sculpture, weaving and textile printing, and ceramics. An exhibition of this work was recently held by the Brooklyn Museum and the Public Library. All of these illustrations are from that show. Included are a number of untitled Biblical scenes by Azaria Mbatha.

Let us examine the situation of the church in each of these countries.

Angola

The Roman Catholic Church was the official church in Portugal and in all of her colonies. The State gave substantial subsidies to the Catholic Church, and in return, the Church provided schools, civil registers and moral support for the Portuguese colonial system. The Protestant missions in Angola were always considered subversive by the Portuguese government. They received no subsidies for the extensive educational and social services which they provided and Protestant Christians suffered various social and civil disadvantages. The sharp contrast between Catholic and Protestant relations with the Portuguese State accounts in part for the fact that there are 3,693,340 Catholics and 1,250,910 Protestants in Angola.

The first three Protestant missions to arrive in Angola at the end of the nineteenth century established themselves in the center of the three largest ethno-linguistic groups. The Baptist Missionary Society of London founded its first station in the north in the capital of the Kingdom of the Kongo, Sao Salvador, in 1878. The United Church of Christ, later joined by the United Church of Canada, sent its first missionaries to Angola in 1880, and they built a mission station in Central Angola among the Ovimbundu. The United Methodist Church arrived in Luanda in 1885 to found missions from the capital to the hinterland among the Kimbundu peoples.

The missionaries of each church learned the language of its area and began to translate the Scriptures into the regional African language. The identification between the

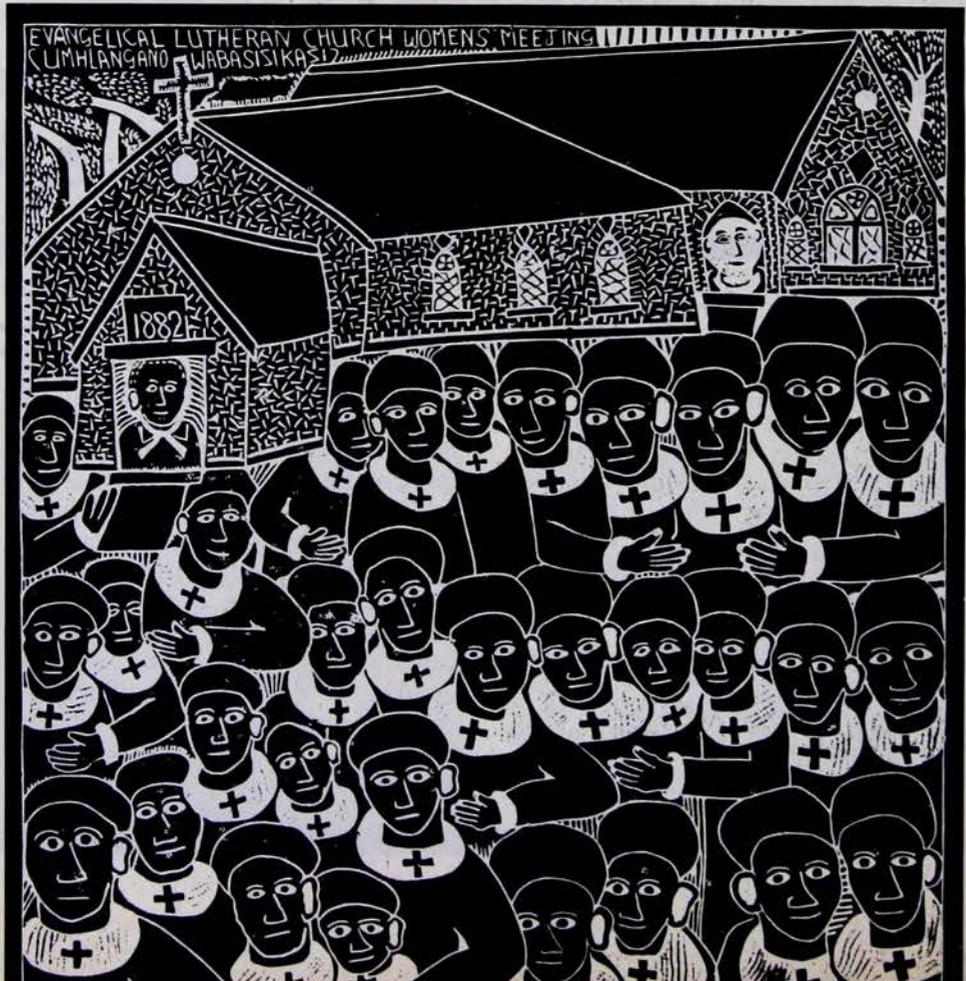
church and the people of each of these three areas became very strong. These three regions produced liberation movements which led the struggle for independence from Portuguese colonialism from 1961 to 1974. Consequently strong regional alliances were formed: Bakongo-Baptist-FNLA, Kimbundu-Methodist-MPLA and Ovimbundu-Church of Central Angola-UNITA. The alliances were personalized in the presidents of the three movements: Holden Roberto of FNLA, who was trained in a Baptist Mission; Dr. Agostinho Neto of MPLA, son of a Methodist pastor who studied medicine with a Methodist scholarship; and Jonas Savimbi, son

of a prominent lay leader of the Church of Central Angola.

As Portugal colonialism began to crumble after the coup in Lisbon, April 25, 1974, the relations between church and state changed in Angola. The Catholic Church regretted its close ties with Portugal and appointed African bishops to identify with the peoples of Angola. The Protestants hoped that they could at last become first-class citizens and some even expected that their churches might be given special privileges and responsibilities by the new government. During the civil war in 1975 the churches acted according to the regional alliances. The MPLA won and January 29,

Evangelical Lutheran Church Women's Meeting

John Muafargejo





A Sacrament for the Last Supper

Judus Manlangu

1976, the Methodist Church solemnly declared: “. . . that it expresses solidarity with the policies defined by the Government, *without reservation.*” (underlined by LWH) The Churches more closely aligned with the losing parties have not, as yet, expressed their political positions.

Mozambique

The Christian Church in Mozambique included only 34% of the population while in Angola 83% of the population was nominally Christian. About a million Mozambicans (12%) are Muslim, making this the only Southern African nation with a considerable Muslim population.

The Roman Catholic Church in Mozambique revealed the ambiguity of the Christian role in Southern Africa. While the Archbishop of Lourenco Marques was exhorting the faithful to support Portuguese colonialism as part of their Christian responsibility, the White Fathers, a Roman Catholic missionary order,

withdrew from Mozambique in protest against Portugal's policy in that colony.

Since Mozambique became independent June 25, 1975 the role of the Christian Church in the new nation has been seriously discussed. Much of the discussion is based on speeches by President Samora Machel. For example, he said:

“Another point about which I would like to speak is religion. We conquered this in our liberated zones. For some, religion is like a disease . . . We will not permit the Catholic Church to go around obliging people to be Catholics. The Catholic Church is not the government or the party. You can clap hands or not, but this is the Frelimo line. It is hard, but it has to be applied here in Mozambique. It is a question for individuals to believe or not to believe. No religion can oblige anyone to follow its belief. The Moslems also must not go about mobilizing so that people become Moslems. Both the Catholic

Church and the Moslems supported Portuguese colonialism to defeat Frelimo, thus to destroy the Mozambique people. The colonialists here in Mozambique used religion a lot. We want to liberate the people and permit them to be free.”

The Mozambican government not only points to the dangers which it sees in the Catholic Church and the Moslems. In a circular dated October 14, 1975 the National Political Bureau condemned the Jehovah's Witnesses and ten other churches as enemies of the people. While some Christians are fearful of the policies of the new government, others are very supportive. The Fathers of Burgos, a Catholic missionary order, made the following statement August 19, 1975:

1. “Based on a scientific analysis of reality, which has shown us the great inequalities in our world between the exploited and the exploiting classes, we opt for socialism.

2. “We understand the present

"The conflict in southern Africa has been a struggle in which the Christian Church has been officially identified with both sides."

process in Mozambique as a class struggle, the only means to create a new society free from any exploitation of men by men. We support the achievements of the Mozambican people, especially the decisions of the Council of Ministers made on July 24, 1975 (nationalizations).

3. "In such a process we intend to side with the working masses, the sole powers able to carry to its completion an authentic revolutionary process.

4. "As foreigners who are working in Mozambique in solidarity with all exploited peoples in the world we want to take part in this process, according to our possibilities, knowing that we ourselves shall be freed through it.

5. "We recognize FRELIMO as the revolutionary vanguard and the sole leader of the Mozambican people.

6. "In this context we recognize the validity of our involvement in the Mozambican revolution.

7. "We reject any attempt to appropriate the faith as an instrument of ethnic or moral convictions deeply tied to the bourgeois ideology of man and the world.

8. "As believers we actualize the history of brotherhood in the revolutionary process, and we actualize the message of Jesus of Nazareth. We recognize ourselves as sons of the same Father in such a brotherhood.

9. "We disassociate ourselves from any reactionary or reformist attitude or action of the Church.

10. "Within the Church itself class struggle is present, often masked by a false sense of unity. Our participation in the revolutionary struggle is a step towards true unity in the Church, because unity in the Church is possible only if unity exists among people.

"Remember that many priests of the Congregation of Burgos were imprisoned, condemned and then expelled from Mozambique by the former colonial fascist government because they had denounced the various crimes of that regime." (IDOC Bulletin n.37 Nov. 1975 p. 10-11)

Rhodesia/Zimbabwe

The Christian Church has played the same ambiguous role in Rhodesia as it has in other parts of Southern Africa. The leaders of the African nationalist groups are either leading churchmen or have their roots in the Christian heritage. The Reverend Abel Muzorewa, president of the African National Council, is a bishop of the United Methodist Church. Joshua Nkomo, president of ZAPU, is an active Methodist lay preacher and the Reverend Nda-baningi Sithole, president of ZANU, is an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ. The Roman Catholic bishops in Rhodesia have been strongly critical of the Ian Smith regime. On the other hand, Smith contends that his government is defending Christian civilization, and several white church leaders have lent their support to this racist interpretation of the Christian faith.

While these comments are being written the Zimbabwe nationalist forces are escalating their military attacks on the white minority regime all along the Rhodesia-Mozambique border. Although negotiations are going on between the Rhodesian government and one faction of the African National Council, the military struggle will undoubtedly continue until the white minority regime falls.

The current war in Rhodesia and the prospects of increasingly violent

confrontations in Namibia and South Africa sharpen the issue of violence for Christians in Southern Africa. It is now generally agreed that colonialism and white minority regimes have been based on violence. Since 1961 African Christians have been responding to violence with violence in Southern Africa, and some of their more articulate leaders have given a theological rationale for their actions. Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, facing the issue of violence in 1975, affirmed:

"Whereas I have always tried as a Christian to deal non-violently with the great problems in Zimbabwe of non-justice, detentions, economic exploitation and torture, others have come to other conclusions.

"Today in Zimbabwe, ANC (African National Council) has properly affirmed a double strategy. We will pursue an internal policy of non-violence and there will be an external policy to protect our people from the violence of the Ian Smith government.

"If we come to a point where we are absolutely convinced the Smith regime and all the imperialists that support him do not want any more for us to follow the peaceful way, I think it is now an open secret the alternative is that the people of my country are going to use armed struggle as the FRELIMO has done . . ."

Namibia

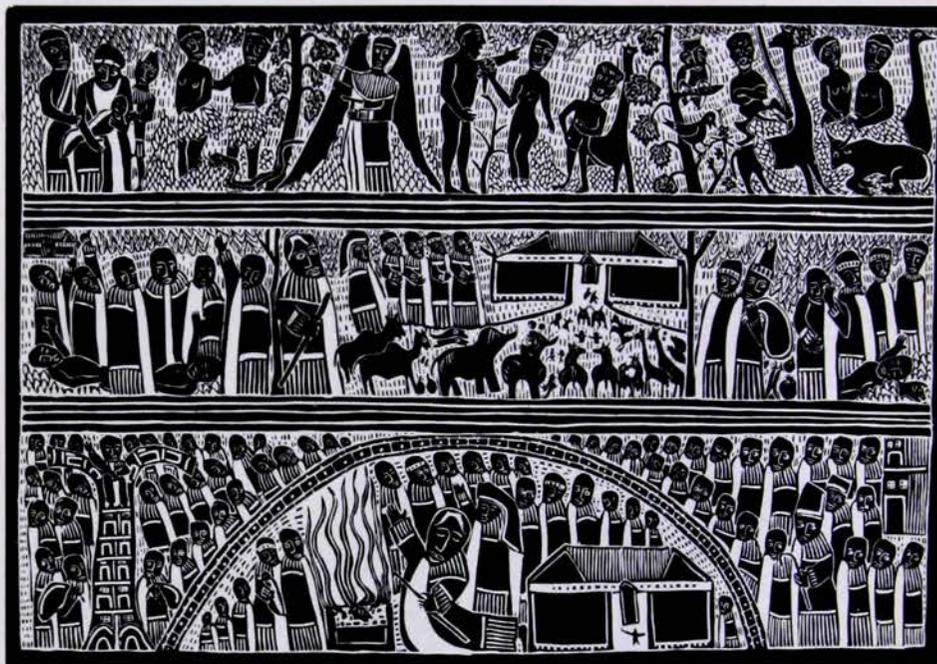
Namibia, the former South West Africa, was a German colony until the end of World War I, when the League of Nations gave the territory to South Africa to administer as a "sacred trust" on behalf of the League. Since the United Nations was formed, it has been trying to persuade South Africa to administer

the territory in the spirit which was intended; to move toward Namibian self-determination and independence.

Protestants compose 69% of the population of Namibia and Catholics 15%. As the United Nations has kept the issue of independence for Namibia before the world politically, the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches have repeatedly shown solidarity with the people of Namibia. The Reverend Canon Burgess Carr, General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches, spoke before the Security Council of the United Nations on the question of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Republic of South Africa:

"African Christians . . . have protested loudly and clearly against the misuse of the Christian message to bolster this system of exploitation and oppression. We are more than aware that it has been and still is very largely Western elements of Christian forms of thought and organization, developed through the history of the Church and in the history of European theology, which has favored the oppressive structures in Southern Africa, structures which constitute a stumbling block to national independence, unity and human freedom.

". . . I come here to speak today in the name of the Christian Church in Africa, because too often we Christians, by our silence on the burning issues of social and political injustice and by our active support of a social order that denies millions of persons their birthright, have helped to sow the seeds of violence and to cause these seeds to spread, thereby hindering any possibility that non-violence could be a realistic or desirable alterna-



Untitled (Biblical Scenes)

Azaria Mbatha

tive. But violence and non-violence are symptoms of an evil social order which requires radical change. No people—and certainly not the peoples of Africa, just coming into national independence and confronted by the enormous problems of human development—wishes to embark on a course of violence for the sheer joy of it. But we are driven to this position by the sheer force of the intransigence of the political system and social order that we know as *apartheid*.

". . . The goal of Christian reconciliation is liberation and redemption for both the oppressed and their oppressors. It is only insofar as the churches actively support the liberation of the oppressed black people in Southern Africa in their just demand for the redistribution of power and wealth that we shall

gain the credibility to redeem the white minorities in the region from the stigma that characterizes them as racists and oppressors."

South Africa

The conflict in Southern Africa has been a Christian struggle in that the majority on both sides has been Christian and the Church has been officially identified with both sides. This is supremely true in South Africa. The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) has been called "the Nationalist Party at prayer." The President, Prime Minister and all cabinet members of the white minority regime are active members of the DRC, which has provided the Biblical and theological basis for apartheid. Condemning apartheid is the South African Council of Churches, which includes mainly the "En-

“The Protestant missions in Angola were always considered subversive by the Portuguese government.”

GRANTS TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Since its beginning in 1969 the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism (PCR) has made grants totalling \$1,529,000 to more than 50 organizations around the world working on behalf of racially-oppressed peoples. By far the lion's share of these grants, \$913,000, has gone to the liberation movements of Southern Africa.

In every case, the World Council specified that the grants were to be used for the humanitarian work of these organizations, such as literacy centers and medical facilities, and not for military purposes. There is no evidence that these requirements were not followed by the recipient organizations, although it is possible that these grants did permit the liberation movements to invest other resources in their war efforts.

The totals to the liberation movements for the years of the Program thus far are as follows: (Guinea-Bissau was considered part of Southern Africa because it was ruled by the Portuguese, even though it is geographically in West Africa.)

Guinea-Bissau

African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC)—1970, 71, 73, 74 \$170,000

Angola

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)—1970, 71, 73, 74\$78,000

The Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE or FNLA)—1970, 71, 73, 74\$60,500

National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—1970, 71, 73, 74\$37,500

Mozambique

Mozambique Institute of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front)—1970, 71, 73, 74\$120,000

Namibia

South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)—1970, 71, 73, 74, 75\$163,500

South Africa

Lutuli Memorial Foundation of ANC (African National Congress)—1970, 71, 73, 74, 75\$77,500

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC—South Africa)—1973, 74, 75\$62,500

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

African National Council (ZANU and ZAPU)—1970, 71, 74, 75 \$143,500

The liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau were taken off the PCR list in 1975 after those groups had won independence for the three former Portuguese colonies, however humanitarian and development aid will continue to go to those countries through two other World Council sub-units, the Commission on Interchurch Aid, Refugee and World Service (CICARWS) and the Commission on the Church's Participation in Development (CCPD).

According to the World Council, grants to the ANC in Rhodesia were used to open offices throughout the country to enable the leaders to communicate with the masses and also to provide social and welfare services to Africans. SWAPO in Namibia asked money to furnish legal defenses for detainees, relief for their families and health, educational and rehabilitation services to Namibians who fled to Zambia to escape South African harassment.

The grants to the organizations in South Africa were to help them in their political education work via radio and other means.

At its annual meeting in 1969 the United Methodist Board of Missions appropriated \$100,000 to the WCC's Program to Combat Racism. The action was considered significant at that time because the Fund was having a hard time getting off the ground and was being heavily criticized, especially in Great Britain. Although criticism of the program in the United States was fairly muted, there is little evidence that American churchgoers were anxious to contribute to the Fund. For the 1972-76 quadrennium the United Methodist Church set "askings" of \$40,000 for the Advance for the Program to Combat Racism; a grand total of \$215,000 was given. The United Presbyterian Church gave \$10,000 to the Fund in 1971 and \$20,000 in 1974.

Both the United Methodist and United Presbyterian Churches, like other member Churches of the World Council, contribute to the General Budget of the World Council. In 1974 the United Methodist contribution was \$170,474, or approximately 1.5 cents per member. Because of financial strains in the World Council the Ecumenical and Interreligious Concerns Division contributed an additional \$21,347, making the total UMC contribution \$191,821. The United Presbyterian contribution works out to about 6 cents per member. In 1974 13.4% (or \$54,486) of the Program to Combat Racism's total budget of \$405,930 came from the World Council's General Budget.

—Editors

glish-speaking" churches—Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational and Lutheran. In 1969 the Council sent "A Message to the People in South Africa" stating:

"In South Africa, everyone is expected to believe that a man's racial identity is the most important thing about him: only when it is clearly settled can any significant decisions be made about him. Those whose racial classification is in doubt are tragically insecure and helpless . . . This belief in the supreme importance of racial identity amounts to a denial of the central statements of the Christian Gospel.

" . . . A policy of separation is a demonstration of unbelief in the power of the Gospel; any demonstration of the reality of reconciliation would endanger this policy. Therefore, the advocates of this policy inevitably find themselves opposed to the Church if it seeks to live according to the Gospel . . . A thorough policy of racial separation must ultimately require that the Church should cease to be the Church . . ."

(*Violence in Southern Africa* p. 87)

The Christian struggle in Southern Africa has stimulated some very creative theological thinking. A series of essays which was banned as soon as it was published in South Africa, has now been republished in the United States under the title *The Challenge of Black Theology in South Africa* (ed. Basil Moore, Atlanta, Georgia, John Knox Press, 1974).

Perhaps as many as a quarter of the African population of South Africa belongs to African Independent Churches (AIC). They are seeking an African expression of Christianity. "In their zeal to save the souls of Africans from eternal damnation, the early missionaries mixed



Untitled (Biblical Scenes)

Azaria Mbatha

Christian principles with Western culture, not to say beliefs. Christianity became identical with Westernism . . . The need for a spiritual revolution became urgent, and it soon became manifest that the Holy Spirit could speak directly to the African to save the Church in Africa from the extinction that had been the fate of the North African Church centuries before. The Holy Spirit descended and called out Africans to express Christianity in language that would be understandable and meaningful to the people. Thus came into existence the phenomenon of the African Independent Churches." (*The Challenge*, page 85).

Conclusion

It is impossible to answer our

question: "What is the future of the Church in Southern Africa?" It is possible, however, to identify certain issues which the Church in Southern Africa is facing. The shape of the church in the future will depend in great part on the way in which it deals with these issues.

1. What is the proper relation between church and state in each country?

2. What is the role of the church in providing health, education and welfare services for the people?

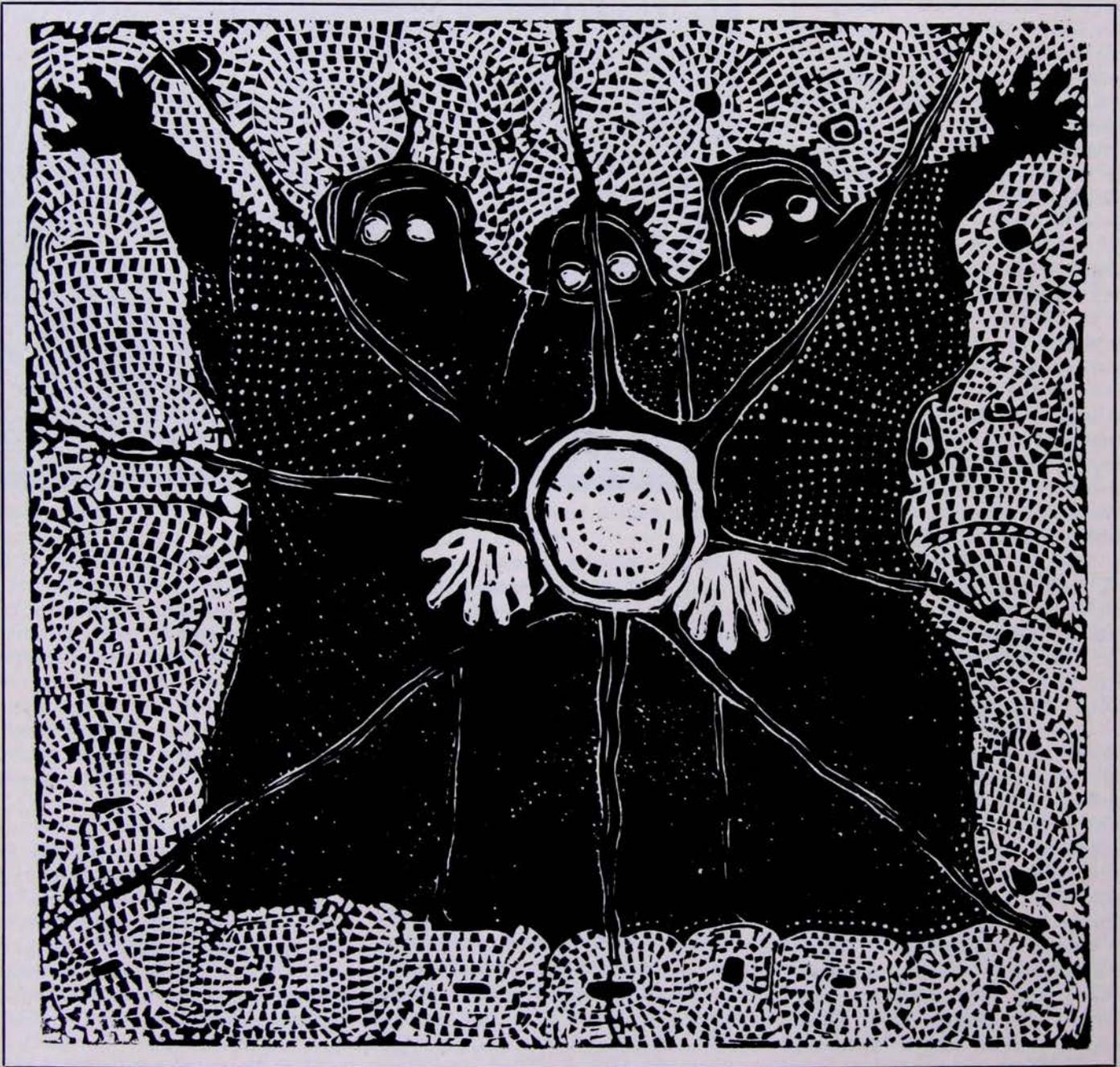
3. How is the Good News of the Christian faith proclaimed, by word and deed, in a socialist society?

4. What is the role of individual Christians and churches who participate in violent conflict? Can Christians do this?

5. Is there a peculiarly African expression of the Christian faith? ■

Isaac H. Bivens

AFRICA, 2000 A.D.



Cosmic Trinity

Dan Rakgoathe



AND CHRISTIANITY

Africa is dynamic. Traditional Africa is not now nor has it ever been static. To stereotype Africa today is to label oneself as being among a fast vanishing breed of academics, religionists, and anthropologists. Africa and the world will be better informed, better involved and better motivated with their demise.

Change, which is fundamental, never comes easy. In situations where the natural cultural expressions and indigenous aspirations are frustrated and prevented from ventilation, normal change which leads to development is inhibited. Social platitudes are enforced and development is arrested by forces which often have their own interest at stake. Colonialism is a case in point.

It has not always been to the advantage of the colonialist in Africa to aid in the development of the African people. Certainly, the full development of colonized people would result in the end of colonialism. For the colonialist, it has been better to form a static view of African development and ability and to coerce that image upon the African to maintain control. In this way, change which was desired by the colonialist in Africa could be monitored and controlled for the benefit of the colonist.

Often change was encouraged. To free the African from animism was

encouraged. Animism (or dynamism, as some call it) runs counter to the scientific or the purpose-oriented approach of western concepts of labor, profits and efficiency. Animistic fear is a dominant negative social force in Africa. Too much progress, too much good luck or profits, can be attributed to evil doings or witchcraft. Thus, one should not work too hard, acquire too great a success, or be innovative for fear of public condemnation. But industry, diligence in work, objectivity and fearlessness before a command were essential for efficient colonial administration. Clearly a change from animism to theism would enhance the position of the colonist. In assessing the negative role of dynamism on the development of the African society, note Edwin Smith—

"Who can measure its baneful effect in preventing the progress of the Bantu? Men simply do not dare to be more industrious and to accumulate more wealth than their fellows; they dare not to show great skill; they do not venture out upon new paths of progress, for fear they will be condemned by public opinion of being concerned with witchcraft."

Science, industrialization, and, more significantly, Christianity are forces for change in Africa. The most recent catalyst, of course, has been the achievement of political independence for many African natives. Nationalism is thus a powerful force to be dealt with in the new dynamics of the African continent.

Our chief concern here is the impact of Christianity upon change in Africa.

In assessing the various forces affecting change in Africa, we must not forget that there is in Africa, as in all places, the unpredictable consequences of the innovation of a specific technology or idea. Christianity has been a powerful force in the move toward independence in Africa. With its emphasis upon the dignity of the individual, the right and obligation of all people to be equal and free under God, it has been the single force introduced by westerners beyond their power to control.

Christianity did not create the desire for freedom or liberation in Africa. But undeniably it provided an ethical moral basis that stimulated action in Africa and denied any rational religious or political basis for opposition to it in the West. So those who opposed African freedom were morally disarmed. Now, with the political disarmament of the colonist in Africa, a new day has appeared.

Africa and her people are winning the moral and political victories. Old platitudes and stereotypes are giving way. We are and will be witnessing a radical continuity toward development. Let us admit that we will have difficulty in understanding all of this continuity. It will be contrary to our ivory tower theories of development and will challenge our most scientific and hallowed predictions.

Let me interpret what I mean by

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**"The Christian faith has been a tremendous
Can it be an equal force in the**

radical continuity. I am not thinking about radical dis-continuity, which in my opinion is very rare and generally disastrous. But, there are situations in human history where the natural will of a people, race or society is thwarted by colonial oppression, ignorance or physical catastrophe until these are dramatically and unexpectedly eliminated. Then, when all of the previously inhibited forces for development of the people are set free, we can witness *radical continuity*. This is taking place in Africa. This process will not be orderly, rational, democratic, religious, or planned. But people will rush into the future as the old Israel rushed into the promised land. Any predictions about the fame and fortune of Christianity in Africa must deal with this phenomenon. For the future of the faith in Africa will have many forces playing upon it.

Thus, we come to my personal view of the possible future of Christianity in Africa. It is with deep concern and caution, lest I be misunderstood, that I state this opinion. By no means would I challenge those, eminently qualified by experience and integrity, who make positive predictions in relation to the rapid expansion of the faith in Africa. I would, however, be a little more conservative in overall expectations.

Furthermore, by voicing caution about the rapid advancement of Christianity, I do not question the intent or ability of Africa to advance the quality of life after the scourge of colonialism. I suspect that what I am calling into question is the rationale of the sweet predictions of the future of Christianity in Africa. To what extent do the predictors of this rapid advance of the faith identify the Christian conquest or its acceptance as being based on a western interpretation? When

Christianity is Africanized, when it is indigenized and made African, will we still call it Christian? Or will we withhold that privilege? If the latter occurs, the prediction by Dr. David B. Barrett that by 2000 A.D. there will be 350,000,000 Christians in Africa may have to be revised.

Look at two eminent scholars of African religion, Edwin Smith and Dr. Malcolm V. McVeigh. Both of these men have tremendous credentials.

Smith (according to McVeigh) believes that traditional African religion cannot bear the burden of the invasion of science. Christianity, he believes, will be able to replace the traditional moral values questioned by science. Dr. McVeigh himself believes that the most important contribution that Christianity makes to Africa is its emphasis on theism.

Today's Africa presents problems for both positions. In the case of Edwin Smith, we must remember that Christianity is not the exclusive or even the most elite ideology to "rescue" the African mind in the scientific era.

In the position of McVeigh, we have another problem. If Christianity brings to Africa "an assurance of the reality of a personal God who is Creator and Redeemer, King and Father," as McVeigh says, there are some problems for the pragmatic tradition of the African mind-set. Keep in mind that in most of the Bantu languages there is no word for person. There is one for man and for woman. This refusal to deal with human experience in non-existential terms may be a strength and not a shortfall. The concept of God as a person may in its practical reality be an objectifying of the abstract that is illogical and unacceptable to African pragmatism. And well it might be, considering the African's experience with western theism. Grave damage to total

African conceptualization could take place if African Christians bought western theism without African analysis. So their treatment of the subject may produce a Christianity that we would scarcely recognize as Christian. What happens then with our predictions?

My own thesis is this. The task of Christian mission in Africa is to keep Christianity as a strong, live option to African people in rapidly changing situations. This is the challenge. The challenge is not to enlist 350,000,000 Christians. Our hope is that in the process of nation building, which is the African task today, that the seeds of the Christian faith will be an integral part of the roots and branches of each new nation and of every society.

Challenging the minds of the African masses and leaders will be a host of ideas, economic, religious and methodological. To assume that Christianity will easily emerge as the inevitable choice is to ignore the realities of Africa.

African leaders of new nations must deal not only with economics and social problems. They must develop infrastructures as they create production systems against great odds. But they must also deal with the psychological scars of colonial history. The spirit of impotence and dependency fostered by the past is a real burden that slows progress. How they and their people view the Christian church is important. Is it a resting place for post colonialism or is it a launching pad to the future?

Africans tend to be pragmatic and they read the world and religion in a certain literal way. God is power and acts. Religion provides access to change by approaches to the Power that controls.

Fantastic changes have, are, and will be occurring in Africa. To what extent will the Christian faith relate

... in the elimination of colonialism.

... of the new Africa?"

to and be identified with them? African nations are facing tremendous problems—economic, political and social. You name the problem and you will find it in Africa. What does it mean when understanding of these needs and aid is coming from non-Christian nations?

Many African youth are caught up in transitional crises from animistic religions to religions of the scientific age. In a world which misses or misconstrues the religious value of traditional African religions many claim Christianity as a label rather than to be called "pagan". Shall we call the growth of "nominal Christians" development? Is it growth minus development?

One of the most important questions is whether or not African Christianity will be "accepted" as Christian by western Christians. For example, if African Christians accept a different form of marriage and family relations from the monogamous pattern, what will the West say? Christians in the West have made peace with capitalism. What will be their response when Africans and others make peace with various forms of socialism?

It is my opinion that the future of Christianity depends on the ability of Christians in Africa to deal with these questions. We are just beginning to witness the debate, the struggle and dialogue for the mental turf of Africa. Our challenge is to attempt to be supportive of African Christians as they assume the responsibility for these activities before and with government, with women, youth and the poor and rich in their nations.

To predict that Christianity will sweep over Africa can be coded racism or dangerously naive. It can even be an example of cultural imperialism. It can imply the immature state of African religion, emotion, and understanding. To do this

would be a disservice both to the African and to Christian mission.

The Christian faith has been a tremendous force in the elimination of colonialism. Can it be an equal force in the faith of a new Africa? Can it provide the qualitative and quantitative optimism for Africa to move ahead with the radical continuity that is needed to eliminate the deep suffering and harmful isolation that has been her lot? Can it supersede the offering of socialism, communism and atheism in a practical way to capture the loyalty of

Africans with minds blown open to the politics of the modern world?

I believe that it can. But that ultimate victory must come through patience and moderation that will help us to strive to keep the faith as a live option today. Africa will provide the Christian heroes and heroines for this needed task. It will not be our money or our insight that will be demanded. It will be African feelings, intellect and volition that will produce the power, insight, and lives. It will be their achievement. We will all praise God together for His victory. ■

Awaiting Trial

Vuminkosi Zulu

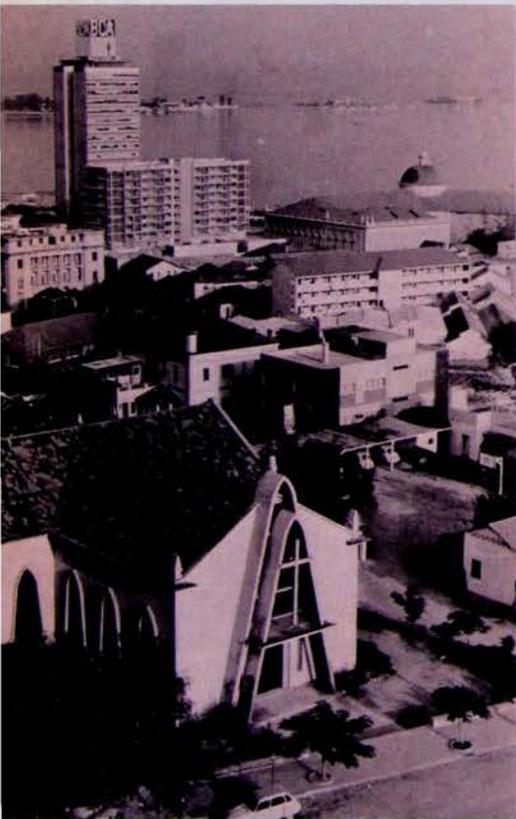




the church in southern africa

Emilio de Carvalho

ANGOLA



The cry of the Angolan people has been heard once more, from the depths of a tormented and coveted country that won, thanks to the blood of her best sons and daughters, the right to liberation and dignity. It was a cry of oppressed people, that was beautifully transformed into an exultant cry of freedom. The Church, as a community of believers directly involved in this struggle, is also an integral part of the suffering people.

With this significant turning-point in our history, the Church in Angola saw the end of an era of religious discrimination and the coming of a new era of religious freedom that it had never enjoyed. The new Constitutional Law of complete separation between church and state, by which all religions will be respected and churches protected, and under which freedom of conscience and faith is not liable to suffer violation, is a fulfilment of our hopes. The new law also guarantees the equality of all faiths and their practical programs, thus throwing a ray of hope after the former 500 years of deteriorated relations between church and colonial state in Angola.

Some new opportunities have just come for the Church in Angola. To be herself. To speak for herself. To become a truly indigenous community. To recover her own identity. To be with the suffering people, whose cry is an urgent appeal to participation in the ministry of liberation. Confronted with a new social, political, religious and economic reality, the Church in Angola is now being challenged to effectively respond—as a reality not separated from the present revolutionary process—to the radical transformations of societies in Southern Africa, by taking a clear position on the side of people that cry and still struggle for their true liberation.

During the past troubled months, there have not been significant changes in the global situation of the Church. Some of the events and possible disgraces that came upon parts of the Christian community in

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Angola must not be considered as tragic setbacks in the life of the Church. The instability caused by the war brought the problem of displaced populations. In some areas regular church work had to be interrupted, to be resumed a few months later. Also, because of lack of communications, churches remained isolated one from one another. But communication is now possible and we feel optimistic about new possibilities of exchanging concerns in an attempt to build up a truly Angolan church in a new society. The sudden withdrawal of more expatriate personnel (not at the initiative of Angolan Christians) from the north, central and south of Angola, gave the churches in those parts of the country a supreme chance of relying upon their own leadership and of integrating the "dying mission" with the "living church."

These last weeks have been, for me, very rewarding. Dr. R. Bréchet and Pastor Eliseu Simeão, of Caluquembe, came to see me at my office. News about the church in that area was simply encouraging. The Church in Central Angola, though still surrounded by uncertainties, is very much alive. Yesterday, Pastor João Makondekwa visited me, as well as Pastor Daniel Nzinga, both from the Baptist Church in Northern Angola. They told me that in spite of working without salaries for months and walking hundreds of kilometers to visit the villages (cars for evangelistic work was a privilege of foreign missionaries in Angola!), they are still in Angola to continue to build up the Church.

The great task before us today is to join the valid forces in the country, engaged in the reconstruction of our nation. The cry of our people is heard from the mountains of the north to the plains of the east, from the sea to the plateaus of the center. God's mission is also our mission—"to hear the cry of the people," and to be at the service of the people. Suffering has made us a strong and courageous church. We believe that the Church in Angola will be totally devoted to the cause of liberation, and willing to become directly involved in the task of reconstruction.

It has been widely propagated that the Church in Angola is po-



Opposite page, the Central Methodist Church in downtown Luanda, Angola. Left, The "suburbs" of Luanda, where there are also many United Methodist churches, are depressing and poverty stricken symbols of the legacy of colonialism. Below, left, a demonstration for the Popular Movement in Luanda. Below, Bishop Emilio de Carvalho, who was 21 months in a Portuguese prison in the early sixties.



litically divided. The idea of political divisions within the Church in Angola is a myth. It is true that individual members of local congregations are divided as far as their political allegiances. It is also true that there have been some missionaries and Angolan pastors who have gone too far in their political zeal. This is one thing. But this evidence does not allow us to conclude that the Church in Angola is politically divided. On the contrary, recent political developments in the country taught many of us who really are our enemies, and who are our friends, and on which side the Christian Church should stand firm.

The Church in Angola is still divided by denominationalism. We are still surrounded by barriers created by missionary societies, thus perpetuating tribal divisions and regional differences. It is hard to speak of concrete ecumenical relations in the Church in Angola,

while still struggling to overcome those barriers. Some churches are still too anachronistic, too loyal to related mission boards, thus reinforcing their foreign origin instead of promoting the identity of the Angolan church. With independence and the growing sense of nationhood, we hope to implement ecumenical relations and to begin a National Council of Churches, in the context of African and world Christianity.

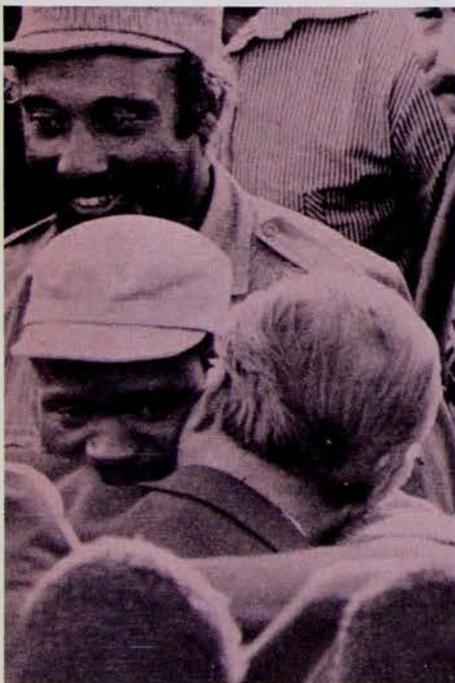
The Church in Angola is still lacking a well trained indigenous leadership, able to respond to demands of the present days. Basic general and theological education for pastors and full-time lay workers in the church is almost nonexistent. On the other hand, attention must also be given to the ministry to women, helping them to attain liberation from enslaving forms of marriage and social behavior, which

still place women in my country in an inferior status. Signs of hope can already be seen: the Bethel church in Luanda has elected its first woman lay leader, and we hope this will be the beginning of a tremendous revolution in the status of women in the Church in Angola.

We are facing a situation of emergency and reconstruction, created by war, death, disgrace and hunger. Emergency and development projects to help needy populations attain abundance of life can be a positive response to the cry of our people. We have nothing to fear about the present and the future. The Church in Angola will continue to be a salvific reality in the new country, adapting her forms of apostolate to the demands of today, and promoting its selfhood under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. ■

the church in southern africa

MOZAM- BIQUE



On June 25 it will be exactly a year since Mozambique's nine million people attained full independence from Portugal and formed the People's Republic of Mozambique under the leadership of President Samora Machel.

The country's transition from the dark night of Portuguese colonialism to one of the most rigidly Marxist states on the continent has been viewed by some with cautious hope for one of Africa's most impoverished lands, by others with considerable disappointment at increasing totalitarian rule, and by everyone with a lack of precise data on exactly what has been happening there.

Most Americans are only now hearing of Mozambique for the first-time—as a possible launching pad for African nationalists against Rhodesia. A little historical background is necessary.

Mozambique was discovered by Vasco da Gama six years after Columbus discovered America. Situated on the Southeast coast of Africa, it occupies 304,000 square miles, somewhat more than Texas.

The first Portuguese settlers were adventurers who acquired large holdings of land from local chiefs. From this the *prazo* system developed under which the owners had unlimited powers over all their inhabitants. They imposed taxes, admitted and expelled people by decree, and sold slaves. For the ordinary African, *prazo* and oppression were synonymous. Angola supplied more slaves than Mozambique, but there is evidence that the relationship that developed in Angola between the white settlers and the Africans was more benign and "integrated" than the more hostile relationship that grew up in Mozambique where far fewer Portuguese settled. In 1869, slavery was abolished by decree throughout the Portuguese empire, but forced labor systems continued in several different forms.

The Africans resisted Portuguese control, sometimes with considerable success. In the 19th century the Ngoni people in the Gaza prov-

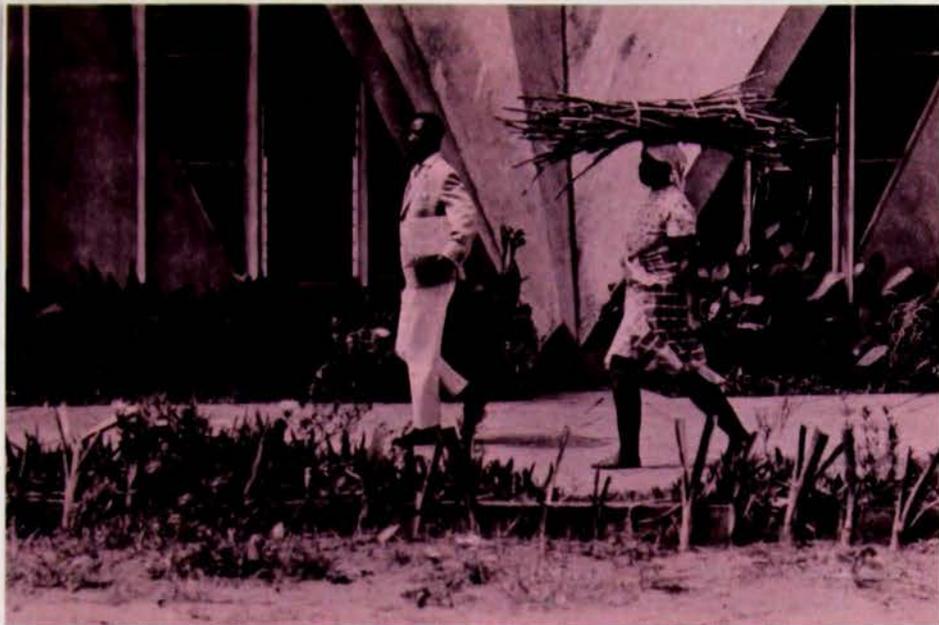
ince in southern Mozambique attacked many towns, overran the *Prazos*, and even established a kingdom before finally being defeated by the Portuguese, who were aided by the British. Interestingly, the area of that defeat, Manjicaze, was the area in which Eduardo Mondlane, the founder of FRELIMO, was born.

In the twentieth century the Portuguese evolved a way of looking at their colonies as "overseas provinces" or "greater Portugal" rather than as colonies or territories. The tie was supposed to be based on the Portuguese culture, the common interests of the Lusitanian community, rather than on color. Streets in downtown Luanda, or Lourenco Marques, were named after Portuguese explorers and writers. Schoolbooks endlessly described the glories of the Portuguese culture and history, with rarely a mention of another European country, much less African civilization.

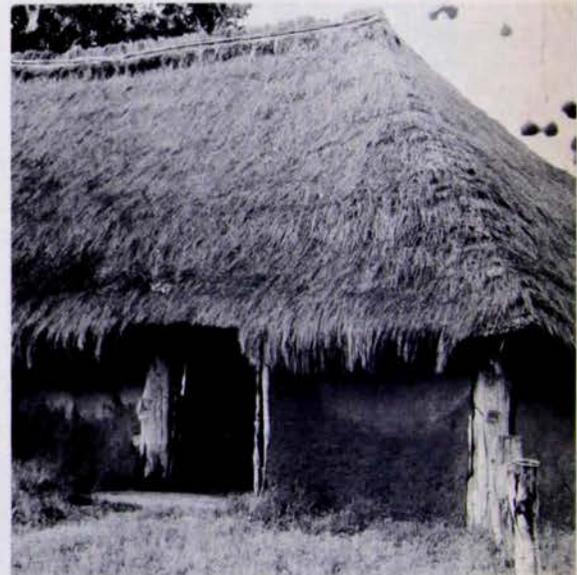
With all its defects, the Portuguese concept of colonialism was less "racist" than that of other European countries. There was far more intermarriage in the Portuguese colonies. Theoretically, an African could be "assimilated" into European citizenship if he met the standards for being civilized; speaking Portuguese, ridding himself of all tribal customs, and being regularly and gainfully employed. An African who could not meet those standards—probably 99 percent—was declared *indigena* and had no rights of citizenship. This is different from the rigid color bar of *apartheid* in South Africa, though its effect was the same for the vast number of Africans. Actually, the tests to become an "assimilado" were so difficult many Portuguese could not pass them, but of course they didn't have to take them.

Even by African standards, Mozambique is an underdeveloped country. Few Africans can afford a plow. The chief agricultural tool is the hoe. The country's principal export is cotton. Other cash crops are sugar (the world's largest plantation is near Sena), sisal, tea, tobacco, and cashew nuts. The gold and silver mines are now practically exhausted. The vast majority of the people live at a subsistence level and the country has been called a perfect example of what happens

(This report was compiled from various sources.)



Opposite page, the new president of Mozambique, Samora Machel, embraces a white friend on his emotional return from many years exile in Tanzania. Left, an urban street scene. Below left, many whites have identified with the new government. A rural church in Mozambique.



to a colonial possession when the sole interest of the colonizers is in extracting a quick profit from its raw materials and there is no interest in teaching the inhabitants skills and techniques.

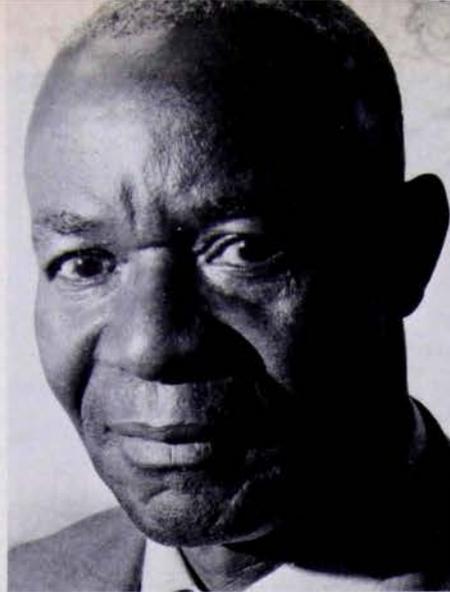
In the mid-twentieth century, as France and Great Britain were granting independence to their colonies in Africa, the regime of Antonio Salazar was tightening the controls from Lisbon and expressing its determination to hold on to "greater Portugal" forever. An uprising in 1961 in Angola was brutally repressed by the Portuguese who imprisoned many of the Angolans who are now that country's leaders today. There was no similar uprising in Mozambique at that time, but in 1962 three African political parties merged to form FRELIMO—

Freedom and Liberation for Mozambique—under the leadership of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane.

Mondlane was the quintessential proof of the familiar statement that there is hardly an African leader today who is not the product of a mission school. The son of a tribal chief who spent his boyhood herding goats until his unusual intellectual capacities were recognized by a Swiss Presbyterian pastor, Mondlane studied at mission schools, then in Lisbon, and then came to the U.S. as a United Methodist Crusade Scholar at Oberlin College, where he met his wife, Janet Johnson. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in anthropology from Northwestern University and became assistant professor of anthropology at Syracuse University. In

1961 he and Janet visited Mozambique where they were discouraged by the increasing exploitation and oppression they found there. By 1964 they had moved to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where Eduardo became the undisputed leader of the liberation movement. In one of the great tragedies of the African struggle, Dr. Mondlane was killed by an assassin's bomb on February 3, 1969, while he was working in his small beach house in Dar es Salaam. It was never discovered whether the assassin was a dissident Mozambican or a Portuguese. Dr. Mondlane was 48 years old.

For ten years FRELIMO waged a guerrilla war against the Portuguese, chiefly in two northern provinces of Tete and Cabo Delgado, while also maintaining literacy programs and



United Methodist Bishop Escrivao Zunguze.

clinics for the increasing numbers of Mozambican refugees in Tanzania. The Portuguese responded by herding Africans into "pacified" areas in the northern provinces and using napalm in anti-guerrilla attacks. The long struggle came to a sudden and unexpected end on April 25, 1974 when Portuguese military forces overthrew the government of Premier Marcello Caetano, heir to Salazar's long dictatorship. The process by which Europe's oldest and most stubborn colonial empire was dramatically changed had begun, and by September 20 of that year a transition government was in charge in Lourenco Marques led by Samora Machel, a former male nurse and second in command to the late Eduardo Mondlane. Full independence was achieved on June 25, 1975. Among those who attended the ceremonies were three staff and board members of the Board of Global Ministries.

From the beginning, Machel made it clear that Mozambique's political ideology would be Marxist. "We are anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist," he said. "We are against the exploitation of man by man and against Capitalism." Disagreement with the policies of FRELIMO was not to be tolerated, and freedom of expression (in the Western sense) was to be either narrowly limited or abolished. A vast program of nationalization was begun, including the nationalization of schools, hospitals, funeral parlors, etc. Private medical practice was officially abolished. At the same time, the new government began a concerted attack on prostitution, alcoholism, vagrancy, idleness, health and sanitation problems, and self or group

interest. Machel has said that his government is not opposed to whites and in fact welcomes those who agree with the economic and political goals of the country. And while many whites have left Mozambique, perhaps more than half of the 160,000 who were there, some have returned after disappointing experiences in Portugal and many observers believe that Mozambique has a better chance than many other African countries, including Angola, to achieve a truly multi-racial society. FRELIMO actually has many white members who are as dedicated as the Africans to creating a new society in Mozambique.

There is no doubt that some of these developments have been disturbing to many people. After the direction of the new government became obvious, foreign capital investment in Mozambique virtually dried up. The international affairs editor of the *Wall Street Journal* has written that Mozambique has collapsed "into anarchistic Communist rule" and that the country "now incarcerates more political prisoners than did Portugal . . . and most of those prisoners are black." To former United Methodist missionary Bruce Broughton the situation in Mozambique "is as bad or worse than it used to be under the awful Portuguese rule."

While the new government proclaimed that Mozambique would have a total separation of Church and State—in contrast to the favored position of the Catholic Church under Portuguese rule—the President began to attack the churches in his public speeches and made little effort to distinguish between

the Catholic Church and Protestants. As one Protestant pastor has said, "Throughout the period of colonialism we were crushed by the Portuguese authorities and contained, humiliated, and discriminated against by the dominant Church. . . . As Mozambicans desirous for the independence of this nation, we did not expect thanks for our contribution, but what was not anticipated was to find ourselves hedged in and slandered by the new government and, as churches, our participation in the 'new society' rejected." However, despite the President's speeches, there is no evidence of systematic measures against the Church. According to Lukas Vischer, of the World Council of Churches, "the government does not seem to wish to eliminate the churches from the life of society." The churches have generally accepted the nationalization of their medical and educational institutions. The question of the status of missionaries, who are now required to work under government contract, is unclear. At this writing, the only United Methodist missionaries in the country are Mary Jean Tennent and Mr. and Mrs. Borje Persson. Dr. and Mrs. Robert Simpson, who had hoped to return to Mozambique, have not been able to return, while Dorothy and Bill Anderson, who had been at Ricatla seminary, have been reassigned to work in Kenya. The Methodist Church's constituency in Mozambique is about 40,000, under the leadership of Bishop Escrivao Zunguze. The Swiss Presbyterian Church is approximately the same size, but unlike the more rural Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church is centered in urban areas.

According to one recent church observer, the word which best characterizes the situation between the churches and government is "uncertainty". There is not yet any clarity as to how the progress of the revolutionary change in Mozambique is going to effect the life of the churches. The churches do not seem to have any background experience in taking initiatives in public life. They are not equipped for this task, and their leadership is not prepared in this respect, so it will take time for the churches to find their way in this new situation. ■

the church in southern africa

Justin V. J. Nyoka

RHODESIA

With its head, Bishop Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa, now in exile in neighboring Mozambique and leading the armed struggle against Ian Smith's white minority regime, with several of its missionaries having been deported and with a number of black pastors now in political detention, the United Methodist Church in Rhodesia can rightly be said to be caught in the crossfire of political, social and economic events in Southern Africa.

The United Methodist Church, like many pioneering churches in Rhodesia at the turn of the century, has contributed to the full life of the

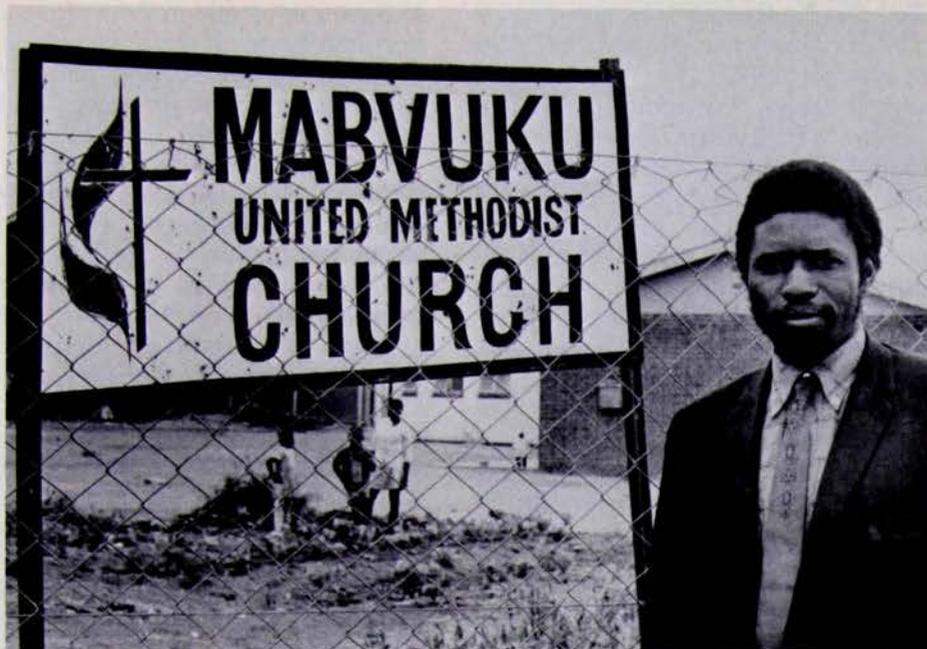
indigenous blacks in education and hospitalization. Some of the church's products are now serving their country in government service in hospitals and education.

The church would have failed in fulfilling its service to the blacks directly and indirectly and to the white population as well if it did not extend service to helping the people to stand on their own. It was perhaps as a result of this process that the white authorities started keeping an eye on the activities of the church in the early sixties, and particularly on Bishop Ralph Dodge who was later deported.

In recent years the Rhodesian authorities have kept a systematic check on the activities of United Methodist Church missionaries, re-



Zimbabwe guerrilla fighters camp out somewhere near the Rhodesian border. Left, United Methodist Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, who for years engaged in fruitless talks with the Smith regime, is now in exile.



The pastor of a church in one of the townships surrounding Salisbury.

sulting in several of them being deported, and others being refused residence permits.

Anti-United Methodist Church sentiments have been voiced at the annual conferences of the ruling Rhodesian Front Party, with some government members calling for the banning of the church for what they called subversion, particularly in the eastern districts of the country where Methodists are heavily concentrated.

The Bishop in Exile

It is this harassment of the church and its leaders that has forced Bishop Muzorewa into exile. The regime had first barred him from entering the rural areas where in fact three-quarters of his church followers live. This was done, according to the authorities, in the public interest, when in fact not only Methodists, but other church leaders protested.

This persecution of The United Methodist Church by the authorities has tended to endear the church to the black population so that when the African National Council was formed in 1972 to oppose the settlement proposals formulated by the British government and the Smith regime, Bishop Muzorewa was the natural choice to lead the black masses in opposition to the proposals.

In the period that followed,

Justin V. J. Nyoka is a well-known Rhodesian journalist.

Bishop Muzorewa, with other black nationalist leaders, sought a peaceful solution to the country's constitutional crisis by negotiating with Mr. Smith and his ministers.

These negotiations led to the release late in 1974 of nationalist leaders, such as Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole, so they could participate in constitutional talks.

The Final Crunch

The final crunch came in August, 1975 when constitutional talks collapsed at the Victoria Falls on the Zambia-Rhodesian border on the Zambezi River, because Mr. Smith was not prepared to make any meaningful concessions.

There was talk after the breakdown of these talks that should Bishop Muzorewa return to Rhodesia from neighboring Zambia, he would be detained. The consensus of opinion, both in the church and among the Blacks, was that Bishop Muzorewa should remain in exile and reassert the armed struggle which had been slowed down to give detente in Southern Africa a chance.

Bishop Muzorewa has since moved from the Zambian capital, Lusaka, to Maputo (formerly Lourenco Marques) in Mozambique. It is from there that he is now calling on White Rhodesians to lay down their arms and come to peace terms with their Black compatriots.

I have given details of the events leading to the exile of Bishop Muzorewa to clarify a picture that may look confused, especially if one is looking at it from a distance.

The Rhodesian United Methodists are now under the temporary leadership of Bishop Muzorewa's Administrative Assistant, American-educated Dr. J. W. Zvomunondita Kurewa. I asked him what political and administrative difficulties The United Methodist Church was undergoing and these are his words, "As a church, we do not have political difficulties as such, but because we are church members as well as citizens of this country, we share the political difficulties with the rest of the country. This shows that, as a church, we don't believe in a theology of isolation, and whatever the difficulties people face on a national level, they become our difficulties as a church as well. We therefore, like all Blacks in this

country, crave for liberation like anyone else."

On the administrative side, Dr. Kurewa had this to say, "Administratively we do have some difficulties caused by the current situation. For example, there are new structures caused by protected villages." (Writer's note: protected villages are like concentration camps, the only difference being that in these villages where people have been forced to settle so as to be isolated from the guerillas, the inhabitants are allowed to go out during the day to work on their fields. But should they be found outside the protected villages by night they are shot on sight).

"We have had eight of our pastors arrested and five of them have appeared in court, with two remaining in detention indefinitely. This has caused a great deal of inconvenience in the smooth running of our church work."

What should be noted here is that the pastors had been picked up on trumped-up charges which could not be substantiated in the courts, and consequently had to be discharged after some of them had spent up to six months in prison.

On the future of the church in Rhodesia, Dr. Kurewa forecasts, "If we are to judge the future by what has already happened, we should be ready for more problems to come. We can't say right now what precise form they will take, but we have to be prepared for whatever comes."

Church Finances

On the finance side, the new field treasurer, Rhodes Chimonyo, who has just taken over from missionary John Shryock, says the church is experiencing its own problems. The Board of Global Ministries has cut down its appropriation (budget).

While the finances from abroad have been cut, Mr. Chimonyo observes that the nationals have increased their contributions. "At the time the Board is decreasing funds, it is the time we mostly need them," says Chimonyo.

And according to him the areas where money is urgently needed are the education field—scholarships, appropriation and projects (non-recurring expenses). These three areas affect the church most urgently, especially at this time of the

country's political life.

Something which United Methodists themselves tend to overlook, which strikes an outsider, is the question of indigenization of the personnel in the church's institutions. There can be no doubt that The Methodist Church has led in this field, thus giving the Black leadership the necessary training and experience needed for the indigenous people to take their rightful place in the running of their country.

For example, The United Methodist Church was the first church institution to appoint suitably qualified Black principals to its high schools. It is interesting to note that even with hostilities between the church and the authorities, the government has found some of The United Methodists so capable that they have been appointed to the schools inspectorate as education officers.

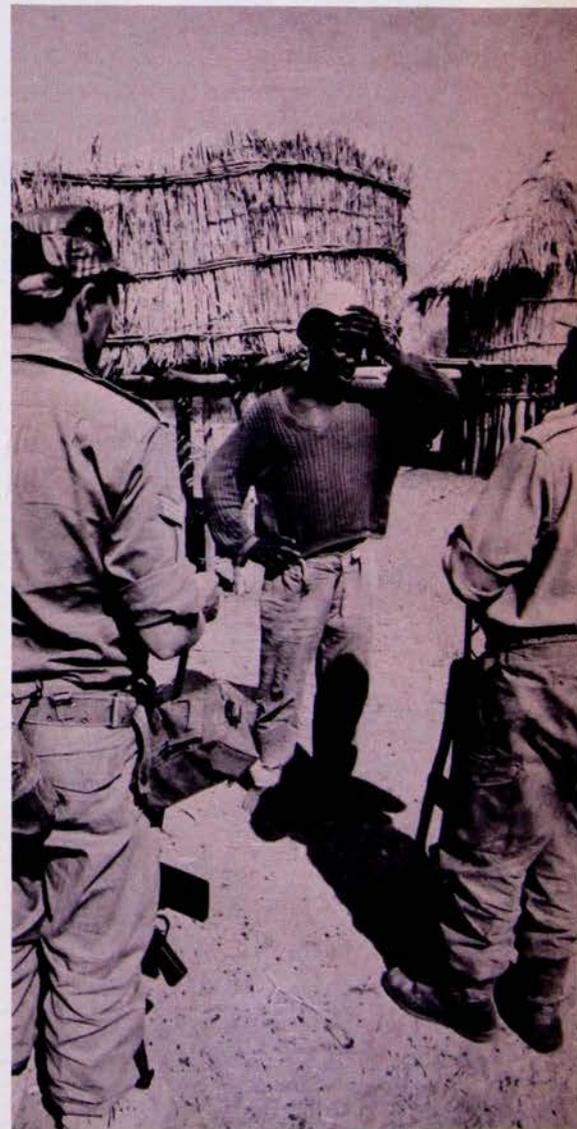
With this indigenization program, the number of missionaries has of necessity decreased to just above twenty as compared to more than double that figure five years ago.

Observes Chimonyo, "The decrease in missionary numbers must not be taken to mean that we no longer want them here. The circumstances have changed and we have to adjust to new situations, and we will continue to need certain missionaries in vital fields and these will remain with us for a long time to come."

The missionaries Chimonyo is talking about are in education, hospitals and in administration.

Whatever the present and future circumstances of The United Methodist Church and the changing situation of Southern Africa, one thing can be said of the church: It has nothing to be ashamed of. Where it has been expected to play its part, it has more than discharged its full share of its duty, both at church and national level. It can be said without fear of being disputed that The United Methodist Church has led in the field of church endeavor in Rhodesia and the future can only witness the fruits of contributing agencies in the United States and Scandinavia, the missionaries who have brought the skills and knowledge and the efforts of the indigenous people in making full use of the benefits. ■

Members of the Rhodesian security forces question an African villager in the Zambezi valley.





THE STATUS OF BLACK WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Rosemary Arnold

The oppressive and retrogressive traditions of our forefathers have for centuries relegated the African woman to a subservient role in society." This cry was echoed time and again by African delegates to International Woman's Year gatherings throughout the world. Their western sisters shared their anger and frustration as the image of the burdened figure hoeing the parched earth emerged.

And this has been the image of the African woman in the western mind from the Victorian missionaries' first encounter with African womanhood—an encounter apparently not with people but with institutions, with polygamy and *lobola* (bride price), institutions to be easily and vehemently denounced—to the climax of United Nations sponsorship.

Yet, as memories of 1975 begin to fade, queries about this single image of the African woman remain. Ghanaian women readily testify to their independence and economic power. The Bemba and Ashanti peoples reckon their descent through the female line. That single image shifts to encapsulate the immense differences in character and tradition of the peoples of Africa and therefore the role of their women.

Equally diverse are the traditions of the Black peoples of South Africa, or would have been but for white violence, occupation and rule. And even beneath the blanket imposition of alien customs, religion and laws, the strength and legitimacy of traditions developed over centuries are retained.

The now extinct Khoi Khoi and San peoples of the Cape were the first African people to suffer the confiscation of land and cattle, followed by the Xhosa-speaking groups of the Eastern Cape. Political domination, the introduction of Colonial or Roman Dutch Law in place of traditional law, and the influence of the Christian religion rapidly changed the life-style of the Black man, and of the Black woman.

Status

The traditional Xhosa woman never attained legal majority. She remained a minor under the guardianship of her father, and after marriage, of her husband. However, she was allowed the ownership of property, independent of her husband. The

cow given to her by her family at the time of her marriage, along with its offspring, was inherited by her son and could in no way become part of her husband's belongings.

This right she lost under Roman Dutch Law. Like her white counterpart who lost her majority after marriage, she could no longer own cattle. Furthermore, the land left by her deceased husband was frequently confiscated by the courts.

Marriage

The transfer of marriage goods, *lobola* or *bogadi*, was a vital custom, still practiced by the predominantly Christianized Black people of the South Africa of today. Termed the "bride price" in the west, this practice is erroneously seen as a process of buying and bartering.

The marriage goods serve as compensation to the bride's family for the costly loss of her fertility and her labor. And it could be used in turn to acquire a wife for her brother.

These goods also serve as a guarantee of good behavior. If a man ill-treats his wife she may return to her parents and he then forfeits claim to the goods.

In addition, this practice serves to establish the legality of the marriage and the social status of the children.

The enforcement of Colonial law assisted Black women in asserting their right to choose a partner—a right only recently established by women in the west. Yet today professional women are known to pay financial compensation to their parents in order to resist unwanted marriage.

Occupation

The Xhosa woman's traditional role was confined to the caring of the children and the cultivation of the land. But the confiscation by the white government of these traditional lands resulted in over-grazing, the loss of soil fertility, poverty and mass migration of adult males to work in the mines and on white farms.

This white-imposed poverty has forced the women to follow, leaving their children in the care of their mothers-in-law. In the towns they are permitted to work as domestic servants but are not allowed to live with their husbands. Their children, described by the government as "superfluous appendages," cannot join them. Thus the horror of the



pass laws, of migrant labor, and of the destruction of family life adds to the burden of the rural Black woman. The role of subservience has been transformed into one of degradation and enslavement.

Black women born in urban areas, through great sacrifice on the part of their parents have attended mission schools and become teachers and nurses. Some are doctors, lawyers, social workers and business women. But they too do not escape the restrictions and political oppression. And how do they distinguish between oppression as a woman and oppression as a black person?

Resistance

The forced urbanization of Black people has resulted in various forms of inter-group cultural transmission as well as "westernization." For the Black woman this acculturation process has taken the form of the bleached skin, straightened hair and the wearing of wigs, practices often regarded by the traditional woman as evidence of promiscuity.

The political spectrum is constantly changing as Black people become better organized and reject white values. For them the new emphasis is upon their consciousness as Black people, their traditional culture, language and values as the only means to attaining human freedom and self-assertion.

In this atmosphere of rapid and forced change, of constant violence in human relations if not yet of constant violence on the streets, where can the Black woman, the Christian Black woman stand? As the single image of the African woman toiling under the broiling sun has been shown to be but one of the many realities, so too with the image of the Black mission woman. The Christianity which the Victorian missionaries brought to South Africa also brought the seeds of a questioning and of a searching which is today beginning to show itself in a sense of liberty through tradition and oppression. It is no easy process. The conflicts and contradictions are constant but the choices are either to succumb to yet an even deeper sense of destruction or else to face up to the future and a full realization of what may be to come. ■



Muffled against the high winds which blow across the South African veldt, women and young girls work in the fields, regardless of temperature. Women carry their babies on their backs when they walk the two miles to the nearest water to do their washing. At this town, 2,000 Africans had no running water, only three latrines, and the nearest shops were 28 miles away with only one bus a day.



NAMIBIA--A LAND IN CAPTIVITY

Namibia, also known as South West Africa, is bounded on the north by Angola, on the east by Botswana, and on the south and south-east by South Africa. A narrow sliver of land in the north known as the Caprivi Strip stretches 300 miles to give the country a border with Zambia. With about 318,000 square miles Namibia is approximately the size of Texas and Arkansas combined. It is one of the world's largest producers of diamonds.

Except for a small enclave at Walvis Bay which was annexed by the British, South West Africa came under German control in the 1880's.

This historic photo taken in 1904 shows chained Herero tribesmen taken prisoner by the Kaiser's troops.

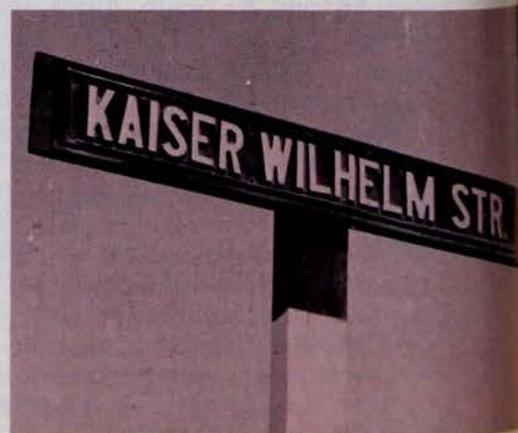
Although German occupation ended during World War I, there are still many reminders of that time, including the fact that about 25% of the white population speaks German. The palatial mansion on the hill (opposite page) behind Luderitz was built for a visit by the German Crown Prince, who never got a chance to stay there. A street sign in Windhoek, the capital,

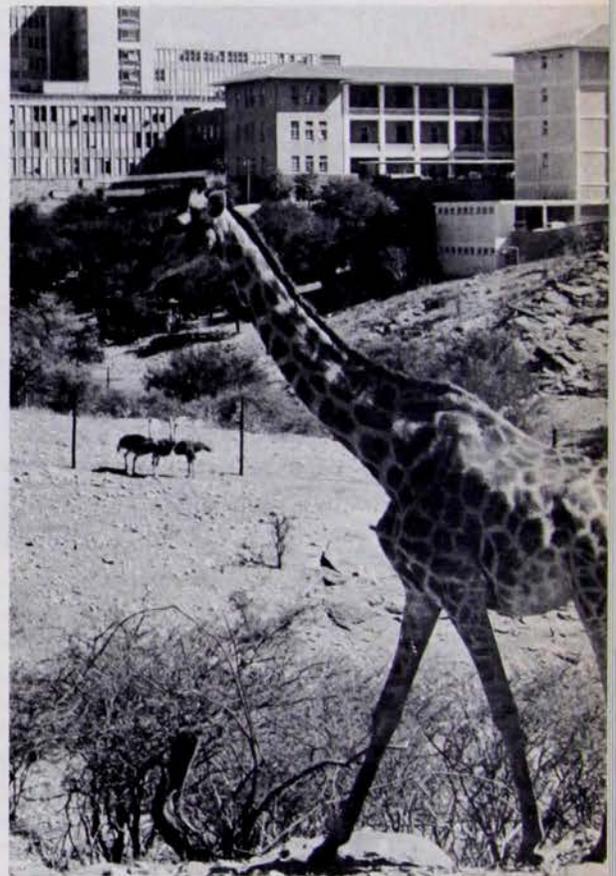
is named after Kaiser Wilhelm.

In 1920 South Africa was granted a mandate to govern the territory under the League of Nations. After World War II South Africa asked the United Nations for permission to annex the territory, but was turned down. On October 27, 1966 the U.N. General Assembly termi-



nated South Africa's mandate and the following year established an 11-member Council for South West Africa. However, South Africa has continued to rule the territory in defiance of the U.N. and has never allowed the Council members entry in South West Africa. The administration headquarters in Windhoek, Namibia's capital, is adjoined by a game park.









A 1970 census placed the population of Namibia at 746,000, of whom 91,000 are whites, or Europeans. African groups include the Ovambo, the Okavango, the Damava, the Muchimba, and the Herero. This young Namibian (opposite page) is a member of the Muchimba tribe; her hairstyle is comprised mainly of mud. Other Muchimba tribesmen (center) in northern Namibia draw water from a well built by the Germans. These three members of the Damava tribe (bottom left) live in Eastern Namibia on the edge of the Kalahari Desert.

Although South Africa has not actually incorporated South West Africa it has in many ways treated the territory as if it was a fifth province. The infamous system of "pass laws" is in force. An African male over 18 requires a pass to move from one area to another, to visit urban centers or even to buy a railway ticket. Education is segregated and compulsory only for whites. Africans are not required to pay toll taxes or personal or income taxes, but the land they are permitted to occupy is inferior. White-owned farm area amounts to 96,000,000 acres, much of it in the plateau region where the best grazing land is found. Africans living in Reserves—now called Home Areas or Homelands—occupy 54,000,000 acres. In urban areas Africans are segregated into townships, such as Katatura Township on the outskirts of Windhoek (left).

Africans in Namibia who have opposed South African rule have either been imprisoned or have gone into exile. The chief opposition party is the South West African People's Organization, known as SWAPO. These young news vendors in Windhoek sell the "Southwester" whose headline reports a guerrilla attack on police buildings.

The amazing story of Kimbangu



Simon Kimbangu was an unassuming Christian convert who preached and healed the sick in the Belgian Congo . . . until he was arrested and consigned to prison for the last 30 years of his life. His fame, however, was already established among his followers and now the fully recognized Kimbanguist Church has nearly four million adherents.

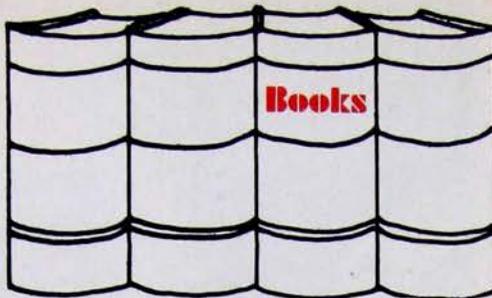
Here, with the aid of previously unconsulted Kimbanguist documents, Protestant mission sources and secret colonial documents, the full story of Kimbangu and his church is told. It is a fascinating and authoritative account that will appeal to all who are interested in the development of the Christian church in the Third World.

Kimbangu

An African Prophet
By Marie-Louise Martin

0-8028-3483-3 Cloth 224 pages
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TORMENT TO TRIUMPH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, by Louise Stack and Don Morton. New York, 1976: Friendship Press, 139 pages, \$2.75

This may be the most thoroughly researched and documented study book for the Schools of Mission in recent years—a fact which explains both its strength and its weakness.

Louise Stack and Don Morton are young South Africans whose early involvement in church work led them to outspoken opposition to the *apartheid* system which prevails in their homeland. In recent years they have been in exile in the United States where they have engaged in various consciousness raising projects on issues related to South Africa and the Churches. Almost half of the book deals with South Africa. The other half with Namibia (South West Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Mozambique, Angola, and South Africa's "Hostages"—Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. The chapters on Mozambique and Angola are discussions of these newly independent nations, although when this study was first planned these countries were included because they were under the thumb of the Portuguese.

Stack and Morton describe very well the evils of *apartheid*: the hideous pass laws, the terribly poor land allotted to Africans, the fact that the Bantustans are really reserves of cheap labor for the white minority, the profusion of laws which not only restrict but dehumanize Africans while effectively prohibiting the African from organizing for political or economic improvement, the overwhelming power in the hands of the whites, etc. Effective personal illustrations are given of the inhumanity of *apartheid*.

Unfortunately, Stack and Morton know far more about their subject than they know about their audience and the reader is sometimes overwhelmed with more information than is necessary. There are far too many graphs and statistics of questionable significance for the understanding of anyone but a trained sociologist. We are told the percentage of the African work force in Namibia engaged in farming and mining, the size of the South African Army, Navy and Air Force and how many

Centurion, Sherman and Corvet tanks they possess, and there is a graph of the rise in South African military expenditures. Some pages seem filled with numbers and percentages, such as how many Africans were arrested and detained in 1960 and 1961. Sometimes in their haste to get into the material they know so well the authors forget elementary definitions. They seem unaware, for instance, that when many Americans begin the study of South Africa they may not know that an Afrikaaner is not a black person.

There is no doubt in this reviewer's mind that *apartheid* in South Africa and minority rule in Rhodesia have imposed oppressive and evil conditions on the majority peoples in those lands. One way to oppose those conditions is to become familiar with the facts and this book by Stack and Morton does give many of those facts, often persuasively. However, the book is marred by resorting too often to rhetoric and stereotype. The "traditional pathetic, pale, bloodless image of Jesus exhorting us to love our neighbors by serving in some soup kitchen" is a stereotype out of place in a book crammed with facts. Rhodes may well have been an "archracist and imperialist" but he was also a man of his time with a vision for Africa only a few missionaries and humanitarians (such as Livingstone) opposed. And it cannot honestly be said that the authors have cast the same critical and searching gaze on newly-independent Angola and Mozambique that they have cast on Rhodesia and South Africa. Thus, the book will not necessarily convince the unconvinced as much as it will convert those already converted.

Still, with these disclaimers, this will be a useful book in the study courses this summer and a handy reference to numerous aspects of this study.

C.E.B.

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW ME, A new collection of Poetry, Art and Photographs from Southern Africa, compiled by Peggy Halsey, Gail Morlan and Melba Smith. New York, 1976: Friendship Press, 48 pages, \$2.25.

This slim volume of poetry and art by Africans may be the best and easiest way for the outsider to enter into the feelings and thought forms of southern Africans. There are thirty contributors, including two who are now presidents of their countries. The poetry is filled not only with images of leopards and buffalo, forests and farms, but also with the anguish of the people and rage against the power of the "city gent, money gent." If you want to know how people really feel about their lives, not just what others think Africans feel, read this book. C.E.B.

Letters

COMMENTS ON PERU

I am very pleased to receive your magazine each month and read it with a great deal of interest. It does serve to keep me informed about developments not only in Christian mission specifically but also in the whole of Christian world developments.

It was with more than a little interest, therefore, that I read in the December 1975 issues, page 39, about Peru, where I have been a resident for almost ten years. The article, on the whole, was excellent and, as far as I am able to determine, accurate. However, I should like to comment about three things. First, agrarian reform has not been an unmixed blessing . . . and while land has been distributed to the peasant families, and while "agricultural production has increased at an annual rate of 1.6 percent," at the same time efficiency has declined and distribution has been curtailed. Second, related closely to the previous point, is the fact that the population is continuing to expand at an alarming rate, which means that, with only 1.6 percent increase in production, declining efficiency and curtailment of distribution, supplies of basic foods are frequently in short supply if not actually unavailable. Third, since the revolutionary government assumed control of Peru in 1968, it has been no longer considered proper to refer to the slum areas as *barriadas*; rather, the acceptable name for them now is *pueblos Jovenes*, "young towns."

There are a number of other items on which I might comment; let the three above suffice. Also, why do you not identify the author(s) of these articles on Latin America? I, for one, should be very interested in knowing who is responsible for them.

REV. CHARLES H. JESTER
Lima, Peru

Although written originally by authors familiar with the areas, the "Critical Issues" are unsigned because they represent a compilation of views.

REPLENISHING THE EARTH?

In a recent issue (March 1976) you included an article "Replenishing the Earth" by Charles Birch. I had some immediate reactions which I want to pass on to you, and through you to Dr. Birch.

The article impressed me at two points.

1. Dr. Birch's alarmist views about the possible destruction of the world if we continue on our technological and scientific pursuits sounded to me like what I would have expected to have heard during the age of the Tower of Babel to justify their pulling in and self-preservation. Dr. Birch has identified some significant problems, but he should have identified them years ago and offered some viable alternatives. (To put it another way, if he wishes to be the prophet, he needs to see further down the road than he is now looking.) Also, I find that his solutions to the problems he identifies are more conservative and binding in nature rather than creative and liberating.

2. At the beginning Dr. Birch says that changing people won't change structures. Then

he sets about trying to change people so that they will agree with his particular view. If he can convince enough people, he implies, they will change structure. Not only is this implied, but also he directly talks about the fact that man's "heart and mind" must be changed even to appreciate the problems. The fact that he wrote the article demonstrates that he feels it worthwhile to try to change people. Now the question is not: should we change people? but how will we try to change people? Getting people to care for one another and to be concerned for the way their actions affect others—goals of Dr. Birch—sounds a lot like trying to introduce the spirit of Christ into the hearts of people. This is precisely the evangelistic task we must give real attention to. But, I think the author has stopped short in identifying our task for what it really is.

My comment on the theme would be: the problems described by Dr. Birch have resulted because Christ's spirit has been lacking in our world. As Christ's church, our focus must be on lifting Christ up so that his spirit lives and works in the world. If we are successful in our task, creative answers will be provided for the problems which Dr. Birch lifts-up—answers that will amaze us in their effectiveness.

The earth is still the Lord's. And all things still work together for good for them who love the Lord.

While good information is helpful in making good decisions, the crucial factor is the spirit in the heart of the person making those decisions. Unless we continually point to the need for changed hearts as the crucial issue, we are only sponsoring band-aid solutions.

REV. CARL ARTHUR
Greenfield, Indiana

ON BAPTISM IN MOZAMBIQUE

I am distressed to see that in your April issue, pages 48 and 50, you published a Religious News Service story on Cynthia Wedel's address before the Council on Religion in International Affairs which proved to be embarrassing both to RNS and the World Council of Churches.

At this event certain questions were raised about the attitude toward the church on the part of the present government of Mozambique, including the allegation that the new government had forbidden infant baptisms. Since neither Dr. Wedel nor I know anything of these charges, we could not reply to them and the implication was left in the reporter's account that our silence meant that the accusations were true. Only two days later RNS published another story quoting the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Mozambique who categorically denied the rumor concerning baptisms, and gave evidence that positive relationships were being developed between the new government and both the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches.

I hope you will do a followup story on the church situation in Mozambique at your earliest opportunity.

CHARLES H. LONG, JR.
New York Office, World Council of Churches

(See article on Mozambique in this issue.—
Editors)

HOW TO MEDITATE WITHOUT LEAVING THE WORLD

by Avery Brooke

For two years, people have been asking for the sequel to *DOORWAY TO MEDITATION*. Here it is. A step-by-step description of how to learn and teach meditation in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

HOW TO MEDITATE WITHOUT LEAVING THE WORLD

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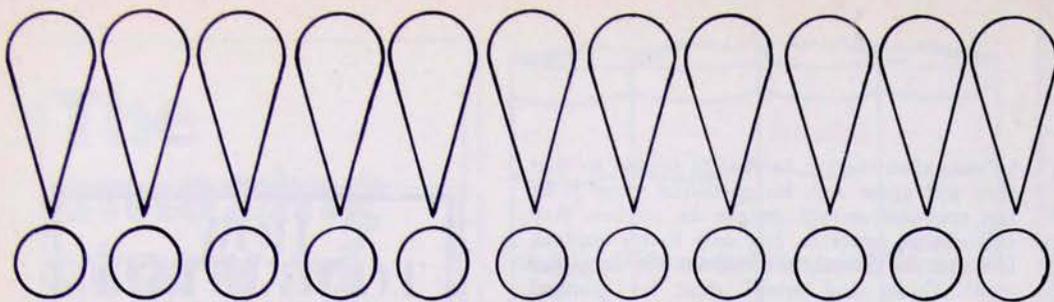
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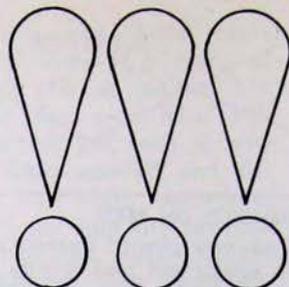
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S. AFRICA PLANS TO EXTEND RESTRICTIONS ON LIBERTIES

The white-supremacist government of South Africa has announced plans to extend restrictions on personal and political liberties.

Under a new bill introduced in the 171-seat House of Assembly by Justice Minister James T. Kruger, the government would be empowered to hold "security" suspects up to a year without trial or contact with lawyers.

Existing legislation, designed to suppress Communism, permits the government to hold suspects incommunicado for 180 days.

In the past, a number of churchmen, who have been vocal opponents of the government's apartheid (racial separation) policies, have been caught up in the meshes of these laws.

Helen Suzman, a member of the Progressive Reform Party and a member of Parliament, has denounced the proposed expansion of the Suppression of Communism Act as "an appalling measure."

"This bill," she said, "is taking South Africa a long way further down the slippery slope away from the rule of law and toward a police state."

The new measure covers not only those individuals suspected of promoting Communism, but all persons and organizations believed by the government to be threats to "state security or public order."

(RNS)

HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS BELIEVE IN AMERICA

A major oral history study of Holocaust survivors in the United States reveals that they do not share the loss of faith in American government and institutions that their fellow citizens, according to polls since Watergate, have suffered. The Holocaust was the murder of six million Jews by the Nazis in World War II.

In more than 1000 hours of in-depth interviews on tape, almost all the survivors viewed America as "a land of endless opportunity, a vigorous country with wonderful people."



CASSETTE PROGRAM AIDS THE LONELY

Harold Russell, co-chairman of the national "Voice-A-Gram" campaign, interviews Juliette Ladin and records a cassette for mailing to her family members outside New York.

The recently launched Voice-A-Gram program involves the use of volunteers who will interview the elderly or handicapped persons, drawing them out so they can get their messages on tape without "freezing" in front of the tape recorder. The recorded messages will then be sent to family members or friends, who will return the tape with a message on the other side.

The campaign is expected to attack the problem of loneliness for the nation's handicapped, elderly and retarded.

Mr. Russell, in addition to co-chairing the campaign with author-comedian Sam Levenson and actor Cliff Robertson, is chairman of the President's Committee for the Handicapped.

Sentiments like these were expressed often and fervently by those interviewed, although most have lived here for at least twenty-five years. They shed a special light on the meaning of the survivors' immigration to the United States and their assimilation into American society.

The two-year study, comprising interviews with 250 European Jews who survived the Holocaust, and their families, was conducted by the American Jewish Committee's William E. Wiener Oral History Library, under a grant by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Typical of the reactions of those in-

terviewed was that of a woman who said: "Exactly five years after our arrival in the U.S., we were naturalized. This was the closest thing to democracy we had experienced since Czechoslovakia." Said one concentration camp survivor: "We felt that going to the United States would protect not so much our future safety as the safety of our unborn children."

The ages of the survivors vary, from those who were teen-agers during the war and are now in their forties, to those in their early eighties. Their occupations run the gamut of employment from simple laborer to small businessman to professor to city planner.

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Among those interviewed were former ghetto dwellers from Eastern Europe; people who lived for years in the forests; people sheltered by non-Jewish families and partisans in rural villages from France to Russia; Jews who lived out the war passing as non-Jews in their native countries; people who travelled the continent looking for safety; and finally, Jews who survived the Nazi concentration camps.

Their countries of origin were France, Greece, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Germany, Austria, Norway, Italy and Russia. Some emigrated to countries in the Middle East and South America be-

fore arriving in the United States. The 250 people interviewed included 88 survivor women, 118 survivor men, and five other adults who are or were married to survivors. The rest were children of survivors. They live in 62 cities across the United States.

Desire for the American way of life was a slowly developing process for many of the Holocaust survivors, the study indicates. Before the war, most of the memorists were not deeply interested in the New World. For some, their picture of America was drawn from the local cinema. One envisaged the United States as the "land of Buffalo Bill." Another thought the population consisted of cowboys. A third recalled

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stories of gangsters led by Al Capone, while another remembered the musical films of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers.

By the time America entered the war, however, Roosevelt, America and political freedom had all become virtually synonymous.

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*names or
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President Roosevelt died," said a Hungarian survivor. "We thought the world would come to an end, you know? Roosevelt was—you know, like a Jew thinks of the Messiah. Who is going to save you? President Roosevelt is going to save you."

The image of the American as liberator was reinforced by the fresh-faced G. I. with pockets full of chewing gum and chocolate bars. He came from another continent with no share in the history that had led to their persecution, and it was at this time that many Holo-

caust victims began to think of emigration to America. Unlike other groups who emigrated to the United States, Holocaust survivors were already displaced and had already left their families, their homes and their possessions.

The positive, indeed rapturous, response of the survivors to America was epitomized by the comment of one woman: "I was overwhelmed first by the kindness to us strangers, and secondly by a city and country nearly without boundaries. There is the respect of the Constitution and the belief in the democratic process. Again and again I am stunned at how democracy works. I experience tolerance. America gave me a chance to start a new life."

"DEPROGRAMMER" LOSES CALIFORNIA COURT APPEAL

Ted Patrick, the well-known "de-programmer" of young members of religious sects, has lost a court appeal in a case involving the alleged abduction of a 19-year-old member of the Krishna Consciousness sect.

By a 3-0 decision, the Appellate Division of the Orange County Superior Court upheld a lower court's conviction of Mr. Patrick on a false imprisonment charge. He has filed an appeal with the State Court of Appeals.

If Mr. Patrick eventually loses the California case after exhausting all appeals, it could mean a one-year jail term for him in California and another jail term in Colorado. The latter situation is connected with a sentence he received in 1974 from Denver District Court on a conviction of kidnapping two young women from another group.

Last year, Mr. Patrick spent 15 days in jail in Denver on that conviction, after having the remainder of a one-year jail term suspended. The suspension, however, was made conditional on his not being involved in other abduction activities.

(RNS)

BLACK MIDDLE CLASS FACES CHURCH MEMBERSHIP PRESSURE

The black middle class is under severe pressure not to join predominantly white churches, a Harvard professor told a college audience in Hartford, Connecticut.

Dr. Preston Williams, a professor of theology and contemporary change, said prosperous blacks who might ordinarily be attracted to middle-class white congregations hold back because of the emphasis being placed on black pride.

"Years ago, it would have represented a status symbol," he told a group at



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Greater Hartford Community College. "Now, the signs are all negative."

Dr. Williams, who is black, said strongly evangelical churches such as the Jehovah's Witnesses can attract blacks successfully, even though the church is predominantly white.

Black American religion is strongly Bible-centered, he said, and conservative churches communicate with a Bible emphasis that blacks appreciate.

He said the situation is similar to the appeal that Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter has for blacks.

"Being from rural Georgia, he can communicate in a way that a Morris Udall or a Henry Jackson can't," Dr. Williams claimed.

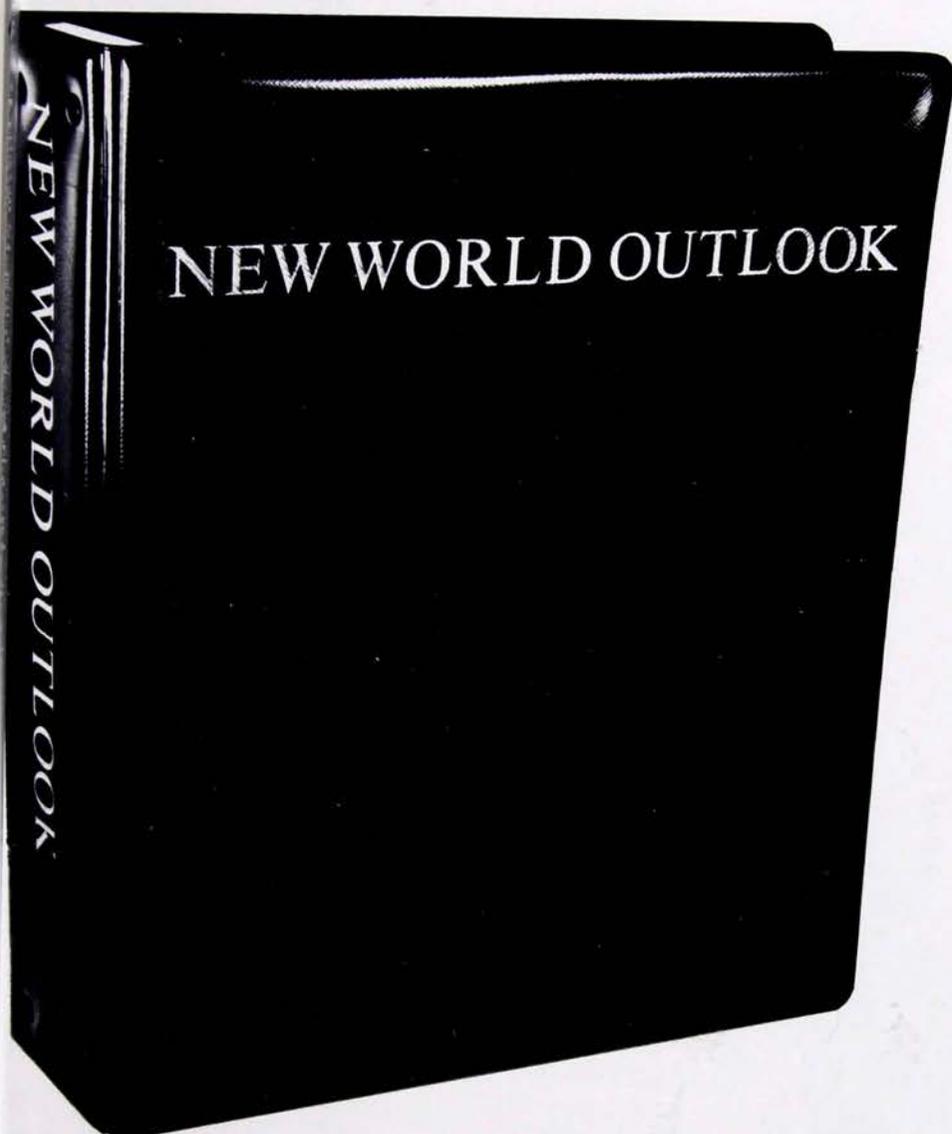
He said there is little evidence left of the African heritage that helped form black religion in America. (RNS)

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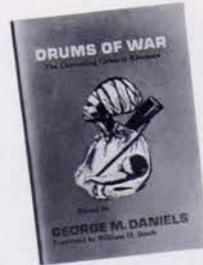
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Foreign Affairs
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