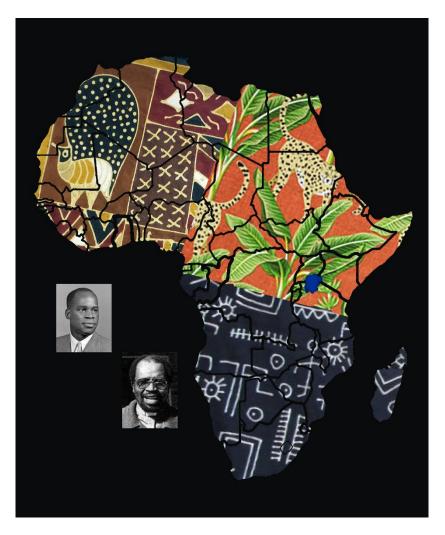
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Focus: Ecumenists



A publication of the Dictionary of African Christian Biography

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JOURNAL OF AFRICAN CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY

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Table of Contents

From Mission to Ecumenism in Mid Twentieth-Century Southern
Africa by Dana L. Robert 1
Scott, Michael 7
Matthews, Zacharia Keodirelang (A)9
Huddleston, Trevor (B)10
Buthelezi, Manas11
Wolfram Kistner15
Jones, John Derek and Joan Ann25
Butler, Alan
Sangaya, Jonathan Douglas32
Dodge, Ralph Edward36
Mondlane, Eduardo Chivambo47
A Living Biography of Angolan Ecumenist José Belo Chipenda By André Cangovi Eurico, Selma Chipenda Dansokho, and Jesse N.
Mugambi
Recent Print and Digital Resources Related to Christianity in Africa Compiled by Beth Restrick, Head, BU African Studies Library59

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From Mission to Ecumenism in Mid Twentieth-Century Southern Africa

By Dana L. Robert¹

In December of 1998, the World Council of Churches commemorated its fiftieth anniversary by holding its eighth assembly in Harare, Zimbabwe. President Nelson Mandela of South Africa addressed the delegates of over 300 churches. In his speech, he thanked the ecumenical movement, embodied by the World Council of Churches (WCC), for its anti-racism work and support for human rights over many decades. He stated that the WCC helped voice the international community's insistence that human rights are the rights of all people everywhere: "In doing so you helped vindicate the struggles of the oppressed for their freedom. To us in South and Southern Africa, and indeed the entire continent, the WCC has always been known as a champion of the oppressed and the exploited."²

President Mandela's appreciative remarks to the World Council of Churches open a small but significant window into the important relationship between African churches and the global ecumenical movement of the mid twentieth century. Economic boycotts and shareholder resolutions, humanitarian aid,³ lobbying western governments and the United Nations, study projects and theological commissions, dissemination of information on human rights abuses, grants for theological education, and sponsorships for educating younger leaders—all were part of the ecumenical outreach to support human rights in Africa during the mid to late twentieth century.

From within Africa, church leaders in 1963 founded the All Africa Conference of Churches, in support for "freedom and unity" as a pan-African, post-colonial Christian vision. When President Mandela thanked the missionaries, he was referencing an international network of largely mainline church leaders who stood in

¹ Dana Robert, Director of the Center for Global Christianity and Mission and William Fairfield Warren Distinguished Professor (Boston University), is a member of the DACB Executive Committee and Associate Editor of the *Journal of African Christian Biography*.

 $^{^2}$ Address by President Nelson Mandela at the 50th anniversary of the World Council of Churches, Harare – Zimbabwe.

http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/1998/981213_churches.htm

³ In noting the ways in which the WCC supported the mid-century African liberation struggles, President Mandela named the Programme to Combat Racism, founded by the WCC in 1969, as a key partner for human rights. He thanked the WCC for entrusting the priorities of the programme to its African partners. In this comment he was referencing its controversial move to award monies for humanitarian aid to liberation movements in southern Africa. The Programme to Combat Racism was opposed by conservative groups, both religious and political, and accused of providing guns for Zimbabwean revolutionaries. It was a chief reason some groups withdrew their support for the World Council of Churches.

solidarity with human rights and decolonization movements across the globe.

This issue of the Journal of African Christian Biography highlights some of the entries in the DACB that profile participants in the twentieth-century ecumenical movement in southern Africa. The overwhelming impression one gets of this subject is that of gaps: there is urgent need for more entries that address the myriad ways in which African Christian leaders engaged the ecumenical movement as a network through which to build social capital during the critical period after the Second World War. As African nations became independent of European colonial control, church-educated leaders often acted as global spokesmen for postcolonial visions of society. They cultivated international support structures and led regional independence movements. Ecumenical networks played crucial roles in maintaining structures for education and peace-building in conflictive situations. Nelson Mandela himself, for example, attended Healdtown, a Methodist mission that became the largest high school in the country and educated many of the most important black nationalist leaders at mid century. The entries highlighted in this issue are the tip of the iceberg of what needs to be researched and written. This issue, then, appeals for scholars and church leaders to step up and to provide biographies of "ecumenists"-those who located their commitment to the Body of Christ in an international vision of peace, equality, and justice, in collaboration with other Christians from across Africa and around the world, as well as those who worked at the local level of cooperative church movements.

Transnational Relationships: From Mission Organizations to Ecumenical Agencies and Beyond

The struggle to end European colonialism and to craft postcolonial church networks were inseparable from each other. The founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948 occurred the same year as the founding of the United Nations. 1948 was also the year that launched grand apartheid in South Africa. African countries began fighting free of colonial control, starting with an independent Ghana in 1957. The 1950s, therefore, were a crucial period for forming human rights networks. In the emerging global structures, church entities achieved a place at the table as INGO's, international non-governmental organizations. As African nations became independent of foreign control starting in the late 1950s, some missionaries and mission-educated Africans honed international connections that proved vital to supporting anti-colonial movements. Missionary organizations morphed into ecumenical agencies and began turning over control of their resources to African church leaders. These processes were conflicted and challenging.

The early 1960s saw great strides in Christian cooperation and increasingly visible African roles in it. The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) brought Roman Catholic bishops from around the world to update the relationship between the church and the modern world. Among the delegates were nearly 300 African bishops, whose time together was transformative for their shared vision of a rapidly growing Roman Catholic Church in Africa. Among Protestants and Orthodox, in 1963, representatives from several hundred churches met in Ibadan to launch the All Africa Conference of

Churches, the result of five years of planning. By the mid 1960s, therefore, a new age of African ecumenism was dawning. The Rev. José Chipenda, General Secretary of the AACC, wrote in his introduction to Dr. Efiong Utuk's history that its contours revealed a "continental Christian identity."⁴

Many challenging problems faced African Christian leaders in the mid twentieth century, including the transition from colonialism to independent nations, the devolution of foreign Christian mission to African control, critique of foreign theologies and church structures, the need to craft African Christian identities, economic crises, and the question of how to relate to newer Christian movements arising across the continent. The umbrella term "ecumenical movement" thus included a wide range of partnership relationships. International networks were strengthened with sister denominations in other parts of the world (e.g. Lutheran World Federation, Anglican Communion, World Alliance of Reformed Churches), and with global student movements and the World Council of Churches. The All Africa Conference of Churches sponsored continent-wide reflections on urgent issues, including a 1974 call for a "moratorium" on western missionaries. Regional and national Christian councils strove for post-missionary ethnic and denominational unity. Grassroots ecumenism, at the local level, included efforts at collaborative social services and church mergers. Further complicating the picture was the growing presence of nondenominational parachurch revival movements, including the growth of indigenous churches and of Pentecostalism.

Ecumenism in Africa, by definition, consisted of a series of transnational networks. At one level it represented the morphing of what had been colonial mission organizations into ecumenical structures under African leadership. At another level it represented the flourishing of postcolonial Christian pan-Africanism. The problems and challenges of the multiple levels of African ecumenism compose a vast story waiting to be told, far beyond the capacities of this edition of the JACB. Given that by 2018, Africa had become the largest Christian continent, histories of the ecumenical infrastructures of African Christianity in the mid twentieth century—and the biographies of individual leaders—require urgent attention.

The Stories in this Issue

This issue of the JACB highlights several clusters of biographies related to ecumenical relations in mid twentieth century southern Africa, beginning in the period of nationalist struggles and independence after the Second World War. We include the stories of prominent leaders who in the 1950s mobilized international Christian support for human rights. The Rev. Michael Scott was an Anglican missionary who connected human rights struggles in India, South Africa, Namibia, and the U.K. He

⁴ José B. Chipenda, Foreword to Efiong Utuk, *Visions of Authenticity: The Assemblies of the All Africa Conference of Churches 1963-1992* (Nairobi: All Africa Conference of Churches, 1997): ix. Contained in Utuk's volume is an insightful essay written by Prof. Jesse Mugambi, "Some Lessons from a Century of Ecumenicism in Africa," pp. 11-28.

was the first petitioner before the United Nations, delegated by the Herero people to expose genocidal atrocities against them in Southwest Africa (Namibia), and to advocate for their independence. Dr. Z. K. Mathews was a noted educator and leader in the African National Congress, who in 1953 drafted the Freedom Charter, a bold grassroots statement for racial equality. A committed internationalist, Mathews moved seamlessly among South African, Botswanan, and global church bodies, including serving as Africa Secretary of the Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service of the World Council of Churches. The Rev. Trevor Huddleston was an Anglican missionary in South Africa, who in the 1950s brought international attention to the issue of forced migration to so-called homelands, when he defended the people of Sophiatown and publicized their plight in his best-seller Naught for Your Comfort. A supporter of African socialism (ujamaa), he served bishoprics in Tanzania, England, and Mauritius. A previous issue of the JACB considered Africa's first Nobel Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli.⁵ He was a devout Christian from a Zulu missionary family, was educated in mission schools, and lived on Groutville mission station in South Africa. As president of the African National Congress in 1952, he went on to lead protests against pass laws and was accused of high treason. These 1950s biographies reveal the importance of global church connections for the protection and support of African Christian leaders and visionary missionaries who advocated for equal human rights during the launching of liberation struggles.

At a structural level, the World Council of Churches had limited tools against the economic and political power of western colonialism and settler economics; nevertheless, it strengthened resistance to injustice. Prayer and interracial worship undergirded ethical reflection and peacebuilding among churches. In 1960, for example, the World Council of Churches, along with global student movements and denominational support, hosted the Cottesloe Consultation in South Africa. The Cottesloe Consultation succeeded in mobilizing individual church representatives against the injustices of apartheid, but its findings were squelched by the South African government and the Dutch Reformed Church withdrew from the WCC. On a local level, networks of Christians refused to accede to separate worship, provided lodging for black workers, and raised grants for future African leaders as they went into exile. The strength of the ecumenical movement, then, lay in individuals who held conferences, signed petitions, hosted guests, and organized mass actions for social change. The ecumenical movement provided critical support at the human and spiritual level for social change.⁶ During the 1960s churches worked from the bottom up, educating one potential leader at a time, and launching one information campaign at a time.

Entries in the DACB highlight regional ecumenical leaders from the 1960s. From

⁵ JACB issue 2.4 October 2017:

⁶ A powerful and important collection of stories about individual actions and networks connecting human rights in Africa and the United States is William Minter, Gail Hovey, and Charles Cobb, Jr., *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century,* 1950-2000, Foreword by Nelson Mandela (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008).

South Africa, we include the biography of Lutheran bishop Dr. Manas Buthelezi. Working with the Rev. Beyers Naude in the Christian Institute, the South African Council of Churches, the All Africa Conference of Churches, and the Lutheran World Federation, Buthelezi was a pioneer black theologian who brought black consciousness into global ecumenical conversations, and brought international church support into the fight against apartheid. Another Lutheran who worked with the SACC was the Rev. Wolfram Kistner. Kistner was from a German missionary family and in the late 1960s supervised the Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa. His most important post was as Director from 1976 to 1988 of the Division of Justice and Reconciliation of the SACC. This strategic position put him in the center of anti-apartheid work among South African churches. He and Beyers Naudé founded the Ecumenical Advisory Bureau that cultivated relationships with overseas church leaders.

In Botswana, missionaries Rev. and Mrs. John and Joan Jones, and Anglican Fr. Alan Butler, were leading ecumenists in the 1960s. In the context of forming a united and independent Botswana, they led merger movements of Botswana churches and facilitated ecumenical relationships at the local level. Butler was a founder of the Botswana Christian Council. The effort to move beyond ethnically separate churches, founded under antiquated colonial mission comity agreements, was an essential component of national unity during the 1960s. From Malawi, we include a biography of the Rev. Jonathan Sangaya, who exemplifies the transition from mission to ecumenism during the period of independence. Trained as teacher in the Presbyterian Blantyre Mission, Sangaya became the first Malawian General Secretary of Blantyre Synod during the 1960s. In that role, he centered efforts for self-determination among Malawian churches, including the founding of ecumenical theological education. From a position with the All Africa Conference of Churches, he was a key bridge figure with Presbyterian partners abroad.

Another cluster of Protestant ecumenical leaders whose biographies are featured in this issue were active during the 1960s and early 1970s in the independence movements of Portuguese colonies Angola and Mozambique. Given the close relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese colonial government, Protestants in Angola and Mozambique occupied a liminal space, dependent on outside support for their survival against discrimination and even persecution. A key missionary leader who supported the independence struggles in Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe was United Methodist Bishop Ralph Dodge.⁷ Among the hundreds of young men he mentored, and for whom he found church scholarships to study in the west, were Dr. António Agostinho Neto, founder of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), and Dr. Eduardo Mondlane the first president of Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO). Dodge used his ecumenical connections to support indigenous clergy, and he was honored by the Rhodesian Christian Conference. His influence in Rhodesia was widespread, especially

⁷ A graduate of the Boston University School of Theology, Bishop Dodge was one of its notable alums, as was Dr. Norman Thomas who wrote the DACB entry on Dodge, and was himself expelled from Rhodesia for his anti-racism work.

as a mentor to numerous Methodist leaders, including Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the first prime minister of an independent Zimbabwe.

Dr. Eduardo Mondlane provides one of the most interesting examples of how missionary and ecumenical networks overlapped to support a major leader of the independence movement in Mozambique. A product of mission education and the recipient of ecumenical scholarships, Mondlane was a brilliant intellectual who studied in Switzerland and the United States. He met his American wife Janet at a Christian youth movement camp. Elected president of Frelimo in 1962, Mondlane left academia and became the public organizer of Mozambican independence movements until his assassination in 1969.

The focal point of this issue of the JACB is the new profile of the Rev. José Chipenda. Noted ecumenist and DACB elder Prof. Jesse Mugambi contributed to the writing of his "living biography."⁸ From his home in Angola, Rev. Chipenda was active at all levels of twentieth-century African ecumenism, including the global (World Council of Churches), the pan-African (All Africa Conference of Churches), and local evangelistic and human rights work. Forced into exile mid century, José and Eva Chipenda worked through the World Student Christian Federation and advocated for Angolan independence. After the independence of Angola and civil war, Chipenda took on the leadership of the AACC, and then later played a central role in peacemaking in Angola. This inspiring biography of the Chipendas illustrates the transnational interconnectivities of African ecumenism, and embodies its importance for future research.

⁸ Rev. Chipenda is still alive, as of the publication of this journal issue (October 2023).

Scott, Michael 1907-1983 Anglican Communion South Africa

The Rev. Guthrie Michael Scott (Sussex, England, July30, 1907-London, September 14, 1983) was an Anglican clergyman and passive resister. He was the first petitioner to appear before the United Nations, and the first to bring the question of the status of South West Africa (now Namibia) to international attention. He was the single individual most responsible for focusing attention on the issue of apartheid in South Africa, and for bringing that policy into disrepute.

The son and grandson of Anglican clergymen, he was raised in a poor parish near the Southampton docks in England. Scott was educated first at King's College, Taunton, England, and then-after he had contracted tuberculosis and was sent to South Africa for his health-at Grahamstown, South Africa. In 1930, he was ordained a clergyman, and served as curate in a parish in Sussex. He was next sent to South Kensington, London. There, during the hunger marches of the Great Depression, he experienced Fascism as espoused by Sir Oswald Moseley and became attracted to Communism, but was disillusioned by the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939.

Moving to India, Scott served as chaplain first to the Bishop of Bombay from 1935- 37, and then at St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, from 1937-38. While there, he learned to fly. He also acted as a courier for the Communists, until he broke with them in 1939. He was strongly influenced by Gandhi and by one of his disciples, C.F. Andrews.

Back in Britain, at the outbreak of World War II, he studied the philosophy of non-violence. Scott joined the RAF, and, despite his pacifism, was trained as a reargunner. In 1941, for health reasons he was advised to return to South Africa. He was to be dogged by Gohn's disease all his life.

From 1943-46, he was chaplain to an orphanage in Johannesburg, South Africa. In 1946, he heard that Indians, dispossessed of their lands were engaging in non-violent protests in a township called Tobruk in the Durban area, where they were regularly roughed up by white youths. Witnessing this, Scott joined the protestors, and was arrested by the police for creating a disturbance: he was sentenced to three months imprisonment, thus becoming the first white man to be jailed for opposing apartheid.

On his release, Scott travelled to South West Africa and met with Khama the Great, at the request of Tshekedi Khama. Khama asked him to publicize the case for independence of the Herero people of South West Africa. Funded by contributions from the Herero people, he travelled to London, where he began a close association with the Society of Friends (Quakers), establishing his headquarters at the Quaker International Center in Tavistock Square, London, and founding an organization called the Africa Bureau.

He then travelled to New York, where, after considerable opposition, the United Nations agreed to hear Scott's petition from the Herero chief on behalf of his people.

This made him the first person the U.N. agreed to hear as a petitioner. In his struggle to be heard, Scott was backed by the delegation of India and by the New York-based International League for the Rights of Man. He was to return to New York to press the case of South West Africa every year for the next 36 years, and undoubtedly succeeded in thwarting South Africa's drive to absorb the territory as a part of South Africa-instead of being recognized (as it was) as a United Nations Trust Territory.

Although without success, he appeared three times before the International Court of Justice at The Hague on behalf of South West Africa; in doing so, he helped lay the foundations for Namibia's future independence. After he left South Africa in 1947, he was declared a prohibited immigrant and forbidden to return.

In 1958, he wrote his autobiography, entitled A Time to Speak. Scott was active in helping Tshekedi Khama and supporting the movement to permit the Kabaka to return to Uganda. In later years, he also supported the Naga people of India in their struggle for justice. From 1948 onwards, Scott's causes were aided by the moral support of David Astor, owner of the influential weekly, the London Observer. In later years, he formed a friendship with the philosopher Bertrand Russell, with whom he founded the Committee of One Hundred, which launched a campaign for nuclear disarmament.

A tall, gaunt, and notably eccentric man, Scott generated a remarkable spiritual and moral force that was recognized by all who met him. An intense and often tortured individual, he was characteristically gentle in manner. A controversial figure, he attracted many friends, and also made influential enemies.

Keith Irvine

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Matthews, Zacharia Keodirelang (A) Alternate Names: Matthews, Z. K. 1901-1968 Ecumenical South Africa

South African educator, politician, and ecumenist

Though his family came from Botswana, Mathews was born in Cape Colony (presentday Cape Province), South Africa. He graduated in humanities at University College of Fort Hare, South Africa, in 1924, then studied anthropology and law at Yale and at the London School of Economics under Bronislaw Malinowski. He taught at Adams High School in Natal and for twenty-four years was lecturer in social anthropology and native law at Fort Hare. He was active in the Council of Europeans and Africans for Interracial Harmony in Durban and with the Native Bantu Teachers' Union. In 1936, when the Native Representation Bill removed Africans from the common voter's roll, he served on the Native Representative Council and was active in the African National Congress (ANC). In 1952-1953 he was the Henry W. Luce Visiting Professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York. He also served on the royal commission that investigated higher education for Africans in Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika (Tanzania), and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

At the ANC's Cradock Congress in 1953 Mathews broached the idea of "a national convention (of all races)... to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic South Africa of the future." His draft of the Freedom Charter was adopted in part by the 1955 congress of people. In these activities he was a collaborator with African political leaders such as Albert Luthuli and Alphaeus Zulu. For these activities he was charged with high treason in 1956 but acquitted in 1962. From 1966 to 1968 he was Botswana's Ambassador to the United States and permanent representative to the United Nations.

After involvement in the Cottesloe Consultation in 1960, Mathews served as Africa Secretary of the Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service of the World Council of Churches. In that capacity his report, Africa Survey, addressed the refugee situation created by Christian-Muslim conflict in the Sudan and the Congo crisis of 1962-1963. His efforts sensitized the United Nations to the extent of the refugee situation. In his ecumenical career he served on the planning committee of the WCC Evanston Assembly in 1954. He was also active in the All African Conference of Churches. At its first assembly in Kampala in 1963, he chaired the constitutional committee.

John S. Pobee

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Huddleston, Trevor (B) 1913-1998 Anglican Communion South Africa , Tanzania , Mauritius

Trevor Huddleston was an Anglican leader in the struggle against apartheid. Educated at Oxford and a member of the Anglican Community of the Resurrection, he was greatly influenced by the Christian Socialist movement. In 1943 he was posted to take charge of the Anglican mission based at the Church of Christ the King, Sophiatown, Johanneburg, and six years later he was made provincial supervisor of his order, with responsibility for St. Peter's School and Theological College. However, his gift for friendship and passion for justice were what marked him. He returned to Britain in 1956, the year in which he published *Naught for Your Comfort*, a best-selling classic of the anti-apartheid struggle. In 1960 he was consecrated bishop of Masasi, Tanzania, where he became a personal friend of Julius Nyerere. He left Masasi in 1968 to make way for an African successor and was appointed suffragan bishop of Stepney in East London where he once more met problems of racism and poverty. In 1978 he was appointed bishop of Mauritius and archbishop of the Indian Ocean, finally retiring in 1983.

Although he left South Africa in 1956, Huddleston retained strong ties with the country throughout his life, and his name was synonymous with the struggle against apartheid. He became president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1981. He was a close friend of Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and Desmond Tutu. In his retirement he worked tirelessly on behalf of the church in Africa and against apartheid in South Africa. He was able to return to South Africa for the 1994 elections. He is now (1997) living in retirement at Mirfield in Yorkshire, the Mother House of the Community of the Resurrection.

M. Louise Pirouet

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Buthelezi, Manas 1935-2016 Lutheran South Africa

Manas Buthelezi was born at Mahlabathini KwaCeza in February 1935, the son of evangelist Abosalom Buthelezi in the Swedish Mission. He was a descendent of *Mkhandumba kaMnyamana, kaNgqengelele, ka Mvulana Buthelezi*. He grew up at Mahlabathini where he went to school. Afterwards he continued his education at St.

Francis, Mariannhill, a Roman Catholic institution, where he matriculated and completed his teacher's training program.

He started working at age twenty as a teacher for a few years before deciding to go into the ministry. In 1958, he did his theological training both at Eshiyane (Oscarsberg) and Umphumulo Theological College (formerly a teachers' training college). He concluded his studies with a diploma in theology and a B.A. in theology, two programs he was doing simultaneously through University of South Africa (UNISA). Buthelezi was a bright and gifted student who wrote in exceptionally good English. Some of his contemporaries at the seminary are now retired bishops, including Bishop S. P. Zulu (of the house of Nkabana ka Sthayi Zulu of eGazini collateral royal house), Bishop A. J. Fortuin, and Rev. Shabangu.

Early ministry

After finishing his program at Umphumulo Theological College, Buthelezi left for the U.S.A. in 1961 to do a masters in theology at Yale University and a doctorate at Drew University. He returned in 1968-1969. He taught biblical hermeneutics and other subjects at Umphumulo Theological Seminary. He was the first theologian to introduce Black Theology in South Africa in the 1970s.

Later he left Umphumulo Theological Seminary for the parish ministry, serving as a pastor at Sobantu and Lamontville. In 1972 he was a visiting professor at the University of Heidelberg (Germany) where he delivered a series of lectures in Black Theology. His supportive colleagues were professor Heinz Toedt and Ulrich Duchrow.

Upon his return to South Africa he continued to serve as a pastor. He was also the Natal regional director of the Christian Institute, an ecumenical magazine critical of government policies which exposed the unchristian doings of the white minority regime. At the request of Beyers Naudé of the Dutch Reformed Church, Buthelezi published various articles on the subject of Black Theology in Pro Veritate. Along with many others, Buthelezi was an advocate for thousands of voiceless South Africans. He was one of those hot-blooded theologians saying: "Missionary, go home and leave the black man; he is mature enough to manage his own affairs."

In 1972, a symposium was organized by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in which a series of papers were delivered which were later published in a book entitled *Black Theology in South Africa*. Dr. Manas Buthelezi was one of the cardinal contributors in that book together with Barney Pityana and Mpumulwana. In 1974 and 1975, Buthelezi was the general secretary of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (FELCSA). In 1976, the year after the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA) was formed, he was elected ELCSA general secretary.

Social and political involvement

His transfer from Natal to the Gauteng area put Buthelezi at the centre of a whirlwind

of political events. This young and gifted theologian did his best to harness the Black Consciousness Movement. He made tremendous contributions to the South African Students' Organization (SASO) and the Black Consciousness Movement. While Steve Biko, his contemporary, adopted a politico-philosophical approach to the issues, Buthelezi translated them into theological language, known as Black Theology of Liberation. Directly or indirectly, the June 16, 1976 uprisings were the product of this philosophy.

Buthelezi was constantly harassed by the security police. With the help of others in 1976 and 1977, he established the Black Parents Association, an association with the objective of establishing the whereabouts of students who had disappeared during the upheavals of 1976.

Buthelezi made major contributions to the SACC, the World Council of Churches (WCC), the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), and the All Africa Conference of Churches. A leading exponent of Black Theology, Buthelezi served several times on the SACC executive. He was a close friend of Doctor Phillip Porter (a Jamaican, general secretary of the WCC) and of Dr. Wolfram Kistner, a Lutheran in South Africa and former director of justice and reconciliation in the SACC.

Buthelezi's election as first bishop of ELCSA-Central Diocese in 1977 at the age of forty-two was a milestone in the history of the Lutheran church in Gauteng. His service as a bishop stretched over twenty years. During his term of office many black political organizations, labour unions, and other various organizations not only found refuge in his diocesan centre but also used it as a platform to run workshops in which they formulated and articulated their political programs, visions, and ideologies. This continued until 1994 when Buthelezi and other theologians felt that they had done their job in filling the political vacuum as spiritual leaders in the political arena.

The South African Council of Churches

When Rees took over, blacks made up eight-five percent of the membership and ninety percent of the observer churches in the SACC. Yet whites tended to retain the positions of authority in the churches and in the council. Rees was determined to change this inbalance. Radical new policies were instituted: equal salaries were paid to black and white council staff, toilets were desegregated, every white administrator was given a black secretary and every black administrator a white secretary. Blacks moved into senior positions. At the first national conference that Rees attended as general secretary, delegates elected their first black president, August Habelgaarn.

Even more significantly, the proportion of black SACC members grew tremendously. Things began to change in the late 1960s when a number of new churches which had started as missions handed over their work to local Christians. These churches then began to join the SACC. The first to do so was the Lutheran church. Although numerically strong they had never played an important role in South African church life, partly because they had been under the control of conservative missionaries.

The situation changed when the missions merged their work and the churches

became autonomous bodies under indigenous leadership. At that time eight of them joined the SACC, bringing into the organization powerful new voices such as Rev. Habelgaarn and Dr. Manas Buthelezi.

More individual independent churches joined in the following years (Hope: 1983: 88). Nevertheless relations between the churches in the SACC constituency and the government remained tense. Many felt that the state was acting against the church simply because the propounded views conflicted with those of the government. This feeling was strengthened in December 1973 when Buthelezi, who was at that time the Natal regional director of the Christian Institute, was banned. A few months later, apparently out of the blue, Dr. John Porter, editor of a right wing news magazine called *To the Point*, wrote a slanderous article on Buthelezi.

Buthelezi then did something which no other banned person had done before: he sued *To the Point* for libel. The magazine boldly stated that it would defend the case, and claimed, in the most extravagant terms, that it would produce evidence to support its allegations that Buthelezi had backed violence and bloodshed in South Africa. When the amount of damages was determined, Porter faced a heavy fine and even jail because he refused to comply with a court order to produce the notes on which his article was based. He was saved only by the fact that Buthelezi refused to press charges. Porter nevertheless suffered deep public humiliation, doubly galling in the light of his position as an ordained minister of the Baptist Union, a status he still retains (Thomas: 1979: 19).

Conclusion

Both Lutherans and white apartheid police sometimes misunderstood, misinterpreted, and fought against Buthelezi. After 1994 he shifted from a political liberation theology to a redemptive eschatological theology with an emphasis on the Lutheran teaching of sola scriptura, sola fide, solus Christus, and sola gratia in reference to Rom. 3: 21-26, 1:16-17 and Eph. 2: 5-9, Gal. 3: 23-29, Rom. 4, I Cor. 6: 11, II Cor. 5:17-21.

In February 2000 Buthelezi retired to his birthplace, Mahlabathini eDwadweni, the Buthelezi royal homestead. He died there on April 20, 2016 at the age of 81.

James Kenokeno Mashabela

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Wolfram Kistner 1923-2006 United Evangelical Lutheran Church South Africa

From Childhood to Theology Student

Wolfram Kistner was born on February 19, 1923 in Hermannsburg, South Africa as the second-eldest of five children to the German missionary couple Pastor Johannes Kistner (born in Franken/ Bavaria) and Maria nee Schröder of the Hermannsburg Mission Society. After a short missionary engagement in Ramotswa / now Botswana, father Johannes was interned in Fort Napier/ Pietermaritzburg during the First World War and had to return to Germany in 1919. After his marriage in Germany, he returned to Hermannsburg/ South Africa in 1922 and became the pastor of the Hermannsburg congregation and the school director of the German School at Hermannsburg / Natal. Here their five children were born: Irmgard, Wolfram, Albrecht, Hanna and Johannes, who all grew up in Hermannsburg. (Pape, I 1986, p 97-98).

In 1930, when Wolfram was seven years old, his mother died of malaria and with his siblings he stayed with his father, until the latter married Grete Harms, a sister of director Egmont Harms, in 1934. Wolfram was then eleven years old and was sent to Germany, to Hermannsburg, Bavaria and Erlangen and there experienced negatively the upcoming of Nazi Germany, which would influence his later life. There he got so ill that his father, as one of the first, travelled overseas by plane to fetch his son. In an interview, Wolfram expressed that he felt the loss of his mother and of home and had a life-long search of "a loving home," (Gisela Albrecht 2008). He later had a heart for those who were in similar situations, whether the children who had to stay in school hostels, or the poor and marginalised.

He grew up and had his schooling in Hermansburg / Natal, where he matriculated in 1940, being fluent in German, English, Afrikaans-Dutch and able to

communicate in isiZulu, (although he once told me that he envied my father and other older missionaries who had lived among the Zulus for over 20 years and were more fluent in isiZulu).

He studied history at the University of Pretoria and got his PhD in history at the University of Groningen in Holland in 1948. By then, he decided to study theology, and did so at various universities in Germany, i.e. Göttingen, Heidelberg and Erlangen, where he stayed in the Martin-Luther-Bund. He was ordained in 1952 in Oberkotzau / Hof and worked in a Lutheran congregation in Bavaria.

In Hermannsburg / South Africa

In 1952 he married Adelheid Elfers, the daughter of the then Hermannsburg mission director August Elfers. Adelheid was a parish worker ("Gemeindehelferin") and travelling secretary. Returning to South Africa in 1955, the couple moved to Hermannsburg, where they had five children: Klaus, Ulrike, Johanna, Elisabeth and Maria. In later life eight grandchildren were added to the family: Thandi, Duduzile, Lerato, Stefan, Oliver, Rosa, Miriam and Noah.

In 1955 the Hermannsburg Evangelical Lutheran Church, in which Kistner had grown up, entrusted him with the leadership of the Hermannsburg School and School Hostel, also helping out in the local German congregation. He worked here for ten years, from 1955 to 1964, supporting this German speaking institution, rooted in the tradition of the Hermannsburg Lutheran revival movement in Germany and steeped in German culture and language. His father before him, as pastor, had devoted three decades to overcome the decline that the school and its hostel had experienced in the wake of the First World War, to develop it to a well-known Lutheran educational centre. (Pape, II 1991, p 54-55). Many of us experienced Wolfram Kistner as a conscientious, just and friendly house-father, yet not as energetic and enthusiastic as the school principal, Willing Schulze, his brother-in-law. Yet we honored him, also with his meticulous hand-writing, e.g. on Confirmation Certificates.

At the School's 150 years anniversary celebration, on February 21, 2006, Kistner spoke about the opportunities and progress that this school had achieved, but he also added how he was concerned that too much emphasis had been laid on German language and culture, thereby side-lining and protecting students from the outer world. He also noted that, due to staff shortages, some learners from far away, i.e. neighboring countries, might not have received the care and home warmness they needed. He expressed shame that not only the two Lutheran congregations but also the two schools, one black and one white, evolved separately during these years and were unable to unite and merge, although black children were now admitted to the Hermannsburg school. (Hinz, 2008, p45-48).

General Superintendent of Hermannsburg Mission in Moorleigh

Kistner was elected by the Hermannsburg Mission on September 28, 1964 to become the General Superintendent ("Feldleiter") of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in South Africa. From October 1964 to 1969 Kistner served in this capacity, overseeing its work in South Africa. During this time he visited the different areas of the mission society, both in the Transvaal and Natal, inspected and saw to the finances, especially for the mission farms and schools and collected and indexed the archives of the Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa (1860-1923), which he also had copied on microfilm at the University of Natal. In 1967, at a meeting on "The Lutheran Teaching on the Two Kingdoms Doctrine," organised by FELCSA and the Umphumulo Missiological Institute, Kistner gave a critical paper on "The Inter-Relation between Religious and Political Thinking with regard to the South African Racial Problem (1652-1967)," indicating a change in his thinking.

The big Hermannsburg missionary conference in Moorleigh from September 9 to 11, 1969 was a turning point for the Hermannsburg mission and its employees. Some 90 members came with their wives to the conference with Director HR Wesenick, OLKR Dr Schmidt Clausen and OKR H. Becker, guests from Germany. Since the three Hermannsburg mission churches in South Africa, the so-called "Zulu-, Tswana- and German synods" had emerged from the work of the Hermannsburg Mission, and in 1963 had become independent, so reorganization in the relationship with the young churches as well as with the home leadership and their home churches was necessary. The "Feldleiter" would become First senior and the office of superintendents would be renamed to area seniors or deans, with only pastoral functions and duties. At the end of this groundbreaking conference for the Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa, Wolfram Kistner resigned from his position. He said farewell with 1 Corinthians 1:6-9, stating that "Jesus Christ will keep you strong to the end, so that you will be blameless on the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God, who has called you into fellowship with his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, is faithful." Director Wesenick thanked him on behalf of the mission for his self-sacrificing work. (Siedersleben, 2006, pp 211-213. Voges 2000, pp 95-100 & 107-112). After an interim with convener Fritz Scriba, and as senior Rev. Hermann Greve, Kistner's successor as the mission's First Senior would again be Hans-Gotthart Lühning in 1973.

Pastor in Neuenkirchen / Germany and UELCSA Lecturer in Pietermaritzburg

From 1969 to 1972 Kistner worked as a parish pastor in Neuenkirchen, a village in Germany located between Hamburg and Hanover. Being a traveller between two worlds, South Africa and Germany, in 1973 Wolfram Kistner was recalled to South Africa and appointed by the VELKSA (United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, representing the four German-speaking churches in South and South-West Africa) as a lecturer at its newly established theological training center at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg. This he led together with Dr Gunther Wittenberg, teaching Church History and Lutheran Theology for three years. At a theological conference that took place August 29-31, 1993 in Pietermaritzburg, Kistner gave his personal confession when he spoke on the contribution of Lutheran theology in South Africa to ecumenism.

When I left Pietermaritzburg at the end of the year 1975 I had the impression that neither the situation at the university nor in the South African Lutheran churches justified the hope that this initiative could be widened into an ecumenical venture. I do not regret the decision I took at that time to leave. It gave me an opportunity to receive another type of theological education in ecumenical and political conflict situations which I would not like to miss. I have, however, to admit that the impressions that led to that decision have proved to be wrong.... largely through the perseverance of Professor Gunther Wittenberg. He has succeeded in winning a team of committed people who helped him through untiring work to implement his vision. Possibly the terrible events that happened in the region of Pietermaritzburg and that caused so much suffering and loss of life have been a contributory factor. These events shocked many Christians. As a result a considerable number of convinced Christians became involved in the struggle for justice. This may have promoted the insight that any theological education that does not take account of the suffering of the human community at large is bound to be irrelevant and to distract from the truth of the Gospel. Exactly this insight underlies the concept of ecumenism. In my understanding this term means the commitment of Christians and churches to practice a brotherhood and sisterhood that is rooted in and nurtured by God's entry through Christ into the situation of humans and by his continuing presence in that situation. Such brotherhood and sisterhood is not an end in itself. It serves the ecumenism of God's intervention in Christ for healing humankind from its urge to destroy itself and Creation. It obliges churches and their members to strive for a united witness and service to the human community. Ecumenism derives its strength and driving force from the awareness that God has entered the human community in Jesus at the point where humans are the most marginalised and exposed to apparently invincible forces of death and oppression. This entry point of God's intervention in Christ manifests its universal scope and his love and concern for all humankind. (Scriba, (ed) 1993, Lutheran Theology in Southern Africa, p. 30-59/ see also an excerpt in Fröchtling, 2008, pp 184-198).

Director of Division of Justice and Reconciliation of the South African Council of Churches (SACC)

After leaving the University of Natal, Kistner was appointed director of the Division of Justice and Reconciliation at the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in January 1976–a post he held until 1988. This was a dramatic turn in his life. He was driven to this unexpected decision by his deep conviction that he must make the struggle against racial discrimination and the associated violence suffered by the majority of the South African population an absolute priority before all other duties. This decision led him to

new and unfamiliar ways. Although not all friends and colleagues understood or approved his decision, Kistner followed the call of his conscience. His input was of equal importance in its theological and political implications. In his new vocation, he listened to the persecuted, helped the political detainees, held in-depth contextual Bible studies, brought the displaced back into their communion, assisted the relocated and strengthened their resistance, questioned the laws concerning land issues, dialogued with SACC member-churches, and cooperated with other similar institutions. He became one of the most prominent Lutheran theologians to call for the abolition of the political system of racial separation in the South African Republic. His friends soon dubbed him the "advocate of the weak" and the "brother to those who are suffering."

In November 1981 the President of the Republic of South Africa appointed the Eloff Commission of Enquiry to look into the South African Council of Churches. From the viewpoint of many Christians involved in the ecumenical struggle for justice, peace, and reconciliation, this commission was devised to silence the critical voice of the South African Council of Churches. During the public hearings and the cross examination which took place in the Veritas Building in Pretoria in May 1983, Kistner responded openly to the questions, presented his theological thinking, defended his actions, and reiterated his Christian convictions. On June 27, 1986, after the conclusion of the National Conference of the South Africa Council of Churches, Kistner was detained at Kratzenstein, imprisoned for a week and thereafter banned for half a year. These measures were a direct result of his clear remarks and decisions to stand up unambiguously for the dignity and the right to life of the black people in South Africa.

He assisted the ICT theologians (Institute of Contextual Theology), in formulating the Kairos Document in 1985, and later, the Road to Damascus in 1989, which had wide repercussions not only in South Africa but also abroad (Rudolf Hinz ed., texte 40 1987, texte 53 1993, texte 54 1994).

His life was determined by the conviction that Christians have to show through concrete action that they believe in defending the rights of fellow citizens suffering from discrimination. In this lies the true test of one's own integrity, both in relationship to God and to one's neighbor. This conviction gave Kistner no other choice, than to resolutely call the obvious injustice of apartheid by name and to actively work for the dismantling and abolition of racial discrimination.

With his own particular strength of conviction he consistently reiterated what the church of Jesus Christ and each individual Christian owe to those who are outcast and deprived, affirming their need to be defended. That Kistner did not give up his "hope in crisis" encouraged others in their own controversial struggles.

Retirement and the Ecumenical Advisory Bureau

After his retirement from the SACC in 1988 he started the Ecumenical Advisory Bureau together with his friend and fellow activist, Dr. Beyers Naude. For eight years (1988-1996), working through an ecumenical network, they helped many church groups with whom they had contact. This included many overseas visitors, especially young people from the U.S.A. and Germany. They had to confront a number of challenges, including the question of poverty and economical sanctions, worldwide economical and ecological discrepancies, issues concerning unjust land distribution, justice, and reconciliation. They also gave interdenominational consultations.

After the closing of the Ecumenical Advisory Bureau in 1996, Kistner continued to be active in his retirement. He tirelessly called attention to the problem of poverty and discord in South Africa and addressed the dangers of promoting a type of globalization that widens the gap between the rich and the poor and threatens human survival through the reckless exploitation of irreplaceable resources.

Kistner interpreted his old age as an opportunity for theological reflection. He turned to some fundamental Christian questions, such as the concept of the Trinity. Where do we find God in the destruction of his creation and in other religions? How do the cross and the resurrection help to free those bound by sinfulness to find a communion that transcends individual churches? He saw the Holy Spirit working in small Christian groups but also in the worldwide church.

In October 1988 he received the Federal Distinguished Service Cross from the German Ambassador in Pretoria for standing in for those who were persecuted by the state, and in April 2006 he was awarded the presidential Order of the Baobab in silver one of South Africa's highest awards—in recognition of his "contribution to the fight for justice, equality, and democracy in South Africa." World Council of Churches general secretary, Rev. Samuel Kobia paid tribute to Kistner.

He has been one of the clearest voices, articulating biblically and theologically why as Christians we had to support the struggle against apartheid which violated the very values he stood for.... Working as director of the Division of Justice and Reconciliation of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) from 1976 to 1988, he became the most prominent Lutheran theologian to condemn and de-legitimise the apartheid regime. (*Ecumenical News International*, Geneva, December 6, 2006).

Kistner died on December 4, 2006 at age 83.

Life-work and Contribution

Much of Kistner's legacy and contribution, his life's work has been collected by him and his wife and has been archived in his **Kistner Collection**. These materials, especially in response to the South African challenges during the Apartheid era, were housed in the Library of the Lutheran Theological Institute Library in Pietermaritzburg from 2003 to 2016, and after its demise are now housed in the Archives at UNISA, Pretoria. Of some 40 pages found under the computer entry name "Kistner," the last entry is: "Item 4666 Loc A, Naude, C.F.B., Kistner, W., Ecumenical Advice Bureau. 1993. South Africa. 8pp. English. Report on the Work of the Ecumenical Advice Bureau during the Year 1993."

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This biography was written in September 2023 by Pastor em Georg Scriba. He has been a pastor of the ELCSA-NT since 1976 in Durban, Augsburg-Braunschweig and Kroondal and since 1992, UELCSA 5th year students' tutor and lecturer in History of

Christianity at the School of Religion and Theology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. He was director and administrator at the Lutheran House of Studies and since 2003-2008 at the Lutheran Theological Institute (LTI). Since its inception in 1994, he has been on the KZNCC (KwaZulu-Natal Christian Council Executive). He is retired, living in Howick since early 2014.

Jones, John Derek and Joan Ann 1927-2013 Methodist , Congregational Botswana

John Derek Jones (JDJ) is remembered as one of the missionaries in Botswana who had a heart for ecumenism. He was born on April 12, 1927 at Wallasey, Cheshire, England, the other side of the River Mersey from Liverpool. His father was a shipping clerk and later a departmental manager in the Liverpool office of the Cunard White Star Line. His mother took care of the home. He did his primary and secondary schooling in Wallasey. His entire family was Methodist—parents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. His parents taught him to pray. He attended Methodist Sunday school. In his early years, he was oblivious of the Great Depression, which devastated so many families and threatened his father's job. He began to be aware of world events as World War 2 loomed that eventually broke out when he was twelve.

For three years they lived in Llanferres, North Wales, where they had been evacuated during the war. While there, he worshipped at the Anglican Parish Church, the only English-speaking congregation in the village. Upon returning to Wallasey for Upper Sixth (A-Level) studies, he began attending Marlowe Road Congregational Church at the invitation of a friend. This decision may have been due to an incipient Congregationalist feeling for the principle of all-in-one-place. Why walk past the nearest church to go two miles to another when both are Christian? However, it was not irrelevant that this church had an active tennis club with some attractive young lady members. JDJ was welcomed into the warm fellowship of the church, became a Sunday school teacher, and was received into church membership.

Just after the war, he did national service for two and a half years in the Royal Air Force as an accounts clerk in Egypt. While in Cairo and the Suez Canal Zone, he enjoyed Christian fellowship in interdenominational groups. Jones enjoyed swimming in the Suez Canal (across, not lengthways!) and wandering in the Sinai Desert. JDJ experienced a call to discipleship as part of an intense realization of the presence of Christ as the risen and living Lord and friend. After demobilization in 1948, he became a candidate for the ministry. He was accepted for theological training at Mansfield College, Oxford. As Mansfield was a postgraduate college, Jones took a prior degree in philosophy, politics, and economics (PPE) at St.Catherine's College, Oxford. He was accepted for service abroad by the London Missionary Society (LMS) and sent to St. Andrew's Missionary College, Selly Oak, Birmingham. JDJ was ordained to the Christian ministry at Marlowe Road Congregational Church, Wallasey, in April 1954.

In carrying out his missionary work, Jones was not alone. His wife Joan Ann Talbert was his closest and faithful companion. She was born on June 30, 1922 in London. She attended Catholic schools, but stopped church attendance when she left school. During the bombardment of London, the family moved to Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire. Joan was trained as a physical education teacher at Loughborough College. During the war, she served in the Auxiliary Territorial Service as a signaller and a Physical Training Instructor. She married Edward Groom in 1944. They had a daughter Gillian who was born in 1946. She was divorced in 1948. She experienced Christian conversion through the ministry of Donald Soper, a Methodist preacher and apologist. In 1950, she went to Newcastle on an evangelistic campaign of the Order of Christian Witness (founder and leader Donald Soper). At the same time, JDJ was recruited from Oxford for the same campaign, and was allocated to the same team as Joan; they did some witnessing together. Love at first sight! They had an extended courtship while JDJ completed his studies. They got married at Leighton Buzzard on April 17, 1954.

JDJ, Joan, and Gillian sailed for Africa on 27th May 1954. His first appointment was as Superintendent of the LMS Ngamiland District, based at Maun. It consisted of thirty local churches plus outstations throughout Ngamiland, Chobe, and Ghanzi. As the gospel had come to Bechuanaland tribe by tribe, the LMS work had become established in a tribal pattern, with districts based on Kanye, Molepolole, Shoshong/Serowe and Tonota/Francistown. The work in Ngamiland had originated in Shoshong, and was the youngest LMS district in the country. It was staffed by an ordained missionary, an ordained Motswana minister, Jani Tebape, trained at the Tiger Kloof Bible School, three young evangelists, recently trained at the Kanye Bible School, and three old evangelists who were formerly deacons, trained in the school of church life. All were good pastors and worked well as a team. There was life and excitement there, and the district almost doubled in membership during JDJ's six years as superintendent.

In 1960, the manager of the LMS publishing house and school supply operation, the Bechuanaland Book Centre in Lobatse, retired. While another manager was being sought, JDJ was sent to stand in, expecting to return to Maun after a short spell there. However, when a new manager came in 1961 the mission conducted one of its periodic general posts. All the missionaries were transferred around the southern Africa mission field. JDJ was sent to Kanye.

The Kanye district reached west into the Kalahari and east through Lobatse into the Transvaal. Apart from Jones, the district had three ordained Batswana ministers, namely Morutwana Mogwe, Mogotsi Pelekekae and Meshack Serema, four trained evangelists, and two untrained. Minimum supervision was needed in this longestablished district, and JDJ was appointed Setswana Literature Officer, a post he held until his retirement.

A writing center was formed, first with Jennings Leshona, later with Moabi

Kitchin and Morulaganyi Kgasa. Devotional and educational materials were produced, and all the mission's Setswana books were revised orthographically and in content.

By this time, the country was moving towards independence, with the formation of political parties, the drawing up of a constitution and the preparation of the administration for an independent republic. As part of this process, Gaborone was chosen as the new capital, and the town planners made a design that included twelve sites for churches. In 1964, the churches represented in the Protectorate were invited to a meeting in the Imperial Reserve, Mafikeng to share the twelve church sites allocated in the Gaborone town plan. JDJ represented the LMS at that meeting, and chose a plot.

Driving home to Kanye after the meeting, and in subsequent reflection, JDJ became increasingly uncomfortable about the pattern that was being proposed for the churches in Gaborone. The LMS was the church of the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bangwato, and Batawana, while the Dutch Reformed Mission served the Bakgatla, the Hermansburg Mission (Lutheran) the Bamalete, and the Methodist Church the Barolong. The different missions respected their boundaries in what was termed "mission comity." There were exceptions, of course, notably the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, and the Seventh-Day Adventists. The Protectorate period also saw the formation of a number of prophet movements and independent churches, which came into prominence after independence, encouraged by the constitutional principle of freedom of religion.

Jones could see that the capital to be built at Gaborone introduced a new situation in the country. Its population would be drawn from the whole country. This meant that members of different tribes would be living next to each other in a situation where national unity would be important. Twelve sites had been allocated where the denominations would worship the one God separately. He detested the slogan: "One Botswana, one nation," "One Church, many denominations"! The Christian Church was going to advertise its divisions in the new Botswana. JDJ was not altogether clear what could be done about this. Nevertheless, he wrote to the LMS Field Secretary and aired his disquiet.

It will be clear from the above discussion why JDJ should have had these feelings. Brought up a Methodist, he became a Congregationalist as a light decision, not a repudiation of his family allegiance. That he came to understand and respect Congregational principles did not make him an exclusive denominationalist, not least because Congregationalism itself cherishes an ecumenical spirit. His participation in the worship of the parish church in Wales opened a window on the Anglican Church, and the warm fellowship experienced in the interdenominational groups in Egypt contributed to his ecumenical stance. In any case, the London Missionary Society was an ecumenical mission. Its fundamental aim was not to export any particular form of church structure, but "the glorious gospel of the blessed God."

After consideration, the LMS invited the churches that observed comity in the Bechuanaland Protectorate to consider united fellowship and worship in Gaborone. All denominations initially responded sympathetically, though the Evangelical Lutheran Church and Dutch Reformed Church missions eventually withdrew from the discussions. On the other hand, the Anglican Church asked to be included and, as a result, a local ecumenical project was formed involving the LMS, Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Quakers. The Rev. Allan Butler was appointed by the Anglican Church and JDJ by the LMS to minister ecumenically to the united congregation. A church was built with help from the World Council of Churches, and adopted the name "Trinity."

Many of the members of Trinity Church were happy with the ecumenical experience it provided. Ecumenically speaking, the ministers and the congregation exercised a significant influence in the nascent state of Botswana. Its membership included national and local leaders, and its members were prominent in service and charitable organizations. However, some felt uncomfortable without the denominational structures to which they were accustomed, while some went further, and regarded the scheme as a betrayal of their church heritage. Thus for a variety of reasons the Trinity scheme was dismantled step by step, as its members moved out to worship and work on their own, eventually in their own buildings, leaving Trinity in the hands of the Congregationalists.

The move to Gaborone in 1965 opened up new opportunities for Jones. Not only was he a pastor of the leading church in the new capital, but he was also involved in local government. As offices and residences were erected, and a town emerged from the bush between the old village and the railway line, an interim authority was needed to administer the growing community. For this a "township authority" was formed by the central government, which was itself in the process of formation. A town clerk was appointed, and a group of residents were needed to work with him.

At this stage, most of the inhabitants of Gaborone were civil servants, so the choice of non-governmental residents was limited. However, a group was appointed, and JDJ was elected chairman. In 1966, general and local elections were held, and JDJ stood as an independent candidate in the ward where he lived, becoming a councilor and serving as the first mayor. He was awarded the OBE in 1968.

The coming of independence to Botswana was marked by a severe drought, and people in the north of the country were in danger of starvation. In the hopes of securing food through the World Council of Churches, two ministers in Francistown, Rev. Peter Bloomfield and Rev. Brian Bailey, sought out Dr. Z. K. Matthews when he was on a visit to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Dr. Matthews explained that he could organize relief, but would need an ecumenical body on the ground to arrange the distribution. Peter Bloomfield and Brian Bailey immediately called together the churches of the Francistown area, and formed the Northern Bechuanaland Christian Council. The food came. Allan Butler and JDJ were in touch with their colleagues in Francistown, and it was agreed that a countrywide Christian council was needed, so the following year the Botswana Christian Council was formed, with the Trinity ministers among its leaders.

In 1967, the LMS joined other missions on the sub-continent to form the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA). By the second Botswana election, party politics had come strongly on the scene, and JDJ did not stand for the

town council again. Throughout this period, he had continued as the LMS Setswana Literature Officer, though his duties as pastor and Councilor had not left him much time for writing and editing. In 1972, the church decided that he was needed back on literature work, and freed him for that, appointing Brian Bailey in his stead at Trinity.

From 1967, JDJ had also been the coordinator of the UCCSA Literature and Publications Committee that conducted the church's publishing program and administered its five bookshops in southern Africa. One of these was the Botswana Book Centre in Gaborone. In 1974, the Anglican Church and the UCCSA formed the Ecumenical Literature Distribution Trust (ELDT) to look after the publishing and sale of books for both churches. The BBC was not included at first, but the ELDT took it over in 1976 on condition that JDJ be part of the deal. The heavy job of managing the BBC allowed Jones little time for pastoral or ecumenical work, though he continued to preach. In 1982, the Botswana Book Centre left the ELDT and a Botswana-based trust was formed to hold the business. JDJ continued as manager until retirement in 1993, after which he was still involved with some of the publishing. For some time he continued to serve as editor of the Botswana Society, producing its journal Botswana Notes and Records. As it has been noted above, throughout their married life Joan was a faithful and discerning supporter of JDJ, and also made her own very significant contribution to church and community. She was awarded the MBE in 2000 for her service to the community. She died in September 2002, aged 80.

James Amanze

Source:

Personal communication with Rev. John Derek Jones, Gaborone, October 2003.

This biography, received in 2018, was written by Dr. James Amanze, General Secretary of the Association of Theological Institutions in Southern and Central Africa (ATISCA), Professor in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Botswana (Gaborone), and DACB Advisory Council member. These stories were written as part of a collection documenting the history of the ecumenical movement in Botswana, an unpublished manuscript entitled "Heroes and Heroines of the Ecumenical Movement in Botswana: Celebrating Great Lives, Celebrating Past Leadership."

Butler, Alan 1930- 2011 Anglican Communion

Botswana

Father Alan John Butler was one of the founders of the Botswana Christian Council and he contributed tremendously towards its development between 1967 to 1970. He was born in Poole, England in 1930 and died on January 13, 2011. He was the eldest of two boys. His father was William Carey Butler and his mother was Mrs. Gladys Edna Butler. He was educated at Poole Grammar School. After that he worked for his father who had a decorating business. He served in the national service from 1949-1951 after which he went to attend Kelham Theological College in Nottinghamshire.

He was ordained to the diaconate in 1956. He then attended a short language course at SOAS, University of London, after which he was sent to South Africa in 1957. He was priested in Bloomfontain Cathedral, South Africa in December 1957. In 1961, he was appointed rector of Kuruman in South Africa where he served until January 1965. It was there that he met his wife Hilda Church and married her in 1964 in the same church where Dr. David Livingstone was married in 1844.

In 1965, Butler was appointed rector of Gaborone. At that time, Gaborone was under the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman. Proposals for a united church scheme in Gaborone were already in the cards. Butler was appointed Anglican rector of Gaborone to implement the Gaborone United Church scheme that was being negotiated. The Rev. Derek Jones of the London Missionary Society was appointed during the same period. The two worked hand in hand to launch the Gaborone United Church scheme along ecumenical lines. In this venture, they were supported by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches as well as the Anglican congregations. Butler worked very hard to build the Anglican Church in Gaborone. While the capital was being built and Trinity Church was erected, the joint ministry developed in a number of ways. The church was built and paid for within five years. As a new town a number of missionaries felt that Gaborone was full of opportunities and challenges. The missionaries felt that this was also an opportunity for the church because it was a new beginning. In this new start, they were coming together into a united church that did not display the centuries-long differences of the churches that came in from Europe and America. Interestingly, many other people did not share this view and still entertained their old differences. The church was only another home away from home for a time of spiritual reflection and so church members retained their tribal outlook within the churches operating in the city.

Consequently, the Gaborone United Church scheme fell apart because of many factors. In the first place, it was only in theory that it was a united church while in actual fact it was only the home of different churches that met there to pray at different times. In addition, it appears that the idea was not expansive enough and those in charge failed to implement the scheme to its logical conclusion of a solid united scheme. Over and above this, many people on all sides opposed the establishment of a united church for fear of losing their identity. On the Anglican side, it seems that Mrs. Lena Mogwe and Lady Ruth Khama were not in favor at all and consequently the scheme became unworkable. According to Butler, there was a general fear among the people. Everybody was afraid of schemes that could cost money while many accepted schemes that could fill their coffers with money. Many people also did not believe that different churches could work together. The missionaries felt that this was not only possible but also exciting. Although the scheme failed, people learned many lessons from it. Butler was responsible for the inscription on the inside wall of the church of a text from St. John's gospel, chapter 13: 34-35 on the theme of love (" I give you a new commandment, that you love one another. Just as I have loved you, you also should love one another. By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another in unity as the Lord Jesus Christ loved and died for everyone without discrimination. Trinity Church itself was pregnant with theological symbolism. The tower in the middle shed light into the church, which meant that people who came for the Holy Communion would come under the God of light in love who wills his people to be one under the banner of Christ.

Apart from his church activities as rector of Gaborone, Butler served as chairman of Gaborone Cooperative Store, the Bible Society of Botswana, and Maru-a-pula Secondary School. Like Rev. Derek Jones, Butler served in the first Town Council of Gaborone and was deputy mayor to the first two African mayors, namely Mrs. Grace Dumbe and Mr. Weli Sebone. When the Botswana Christian Council was formed in 1966, Butler became the vice-chairman. Butler was able to contribute meaningfully to the ecumenical movement because he was fully convinced that the Anglican Church is a church of unity because it tolerates within itself people of different persuasions. According to Butler, the church was meant to be an institution characterized by unity in diversity. Butler was fully convinced that the authentic nature of the church is unity and he worked tirelessly to achieve such a unity. His efforts and longing for a united church found support in the voice of the Sir Seretse Khama, the first President of the Republic of Botswana and of the Botswana Democratic Party. He challenged the church leaders in Botswana to unite the churches that were, at this time, polarized along tribal lines in Botswana.

In 1970, Butler resigned as rector of Gaborone in favor of Fr. Theo Naledi who had come to take over from him. He then returned to England and served for eight years as vicar of St. James Coventry. In 1979, the bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman asked him to return to his diocese and served as archdeacon of Kuruman and director of the Ecumenical Kuruman Moffat Mission Trust. He retired in 1995 and returned to United Kingdom where he settled until the time of his death. He was attached as an honorary curate to the historic Wimborne Minster in Dorset.

James Amanze

Source:

Personal communication with Father Alan John Butler, Gabane, June 2002.

This biography, received in 2018, was written by Dr. James Amanze, General Secretary of the Association of Theological Institutions in Southern and Central Africa (ATISCA), Professor in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Botswana (Gaborone), and DACB Advisory Council member. These stories were written as part of a collection documenting the history of the ecumenical movement in Botswana, an unpublished manuscript entitled "Heroes and Heroines of the Ecumenical Movement in Botswana: Celebrating Great Lives, Celebrating Past Leadership."

Sangaya, Jonathan Douglas 1907-1979 Church of Central Africa Presbyterian Malawi

Jonathan Douglas Sangaya was an outstanding Presbyterian churchman who factored significantly in the twentieth-century evolution of the missionary Christianity of colonial Nyasaland to the indigenous church of independent Malawi.

Sangaya was born in 1907 in the shadow of the Blantyre Mission, the original mission site of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland, founded in 1881, which by the turn of the century had become the hub of a presbytery of congregations in the southern part of the country. His mother was Yao; his Ngoni father had fled the toilsome life of a *mtengatenga* (porter) to take refuge at the Blantyre Mission, subsequently converting to Christianity. Sangaya grew up in the new settlement of Blantyre as one of Malawi's second generation of Christians, attending primary school at the Blantyre Mission before training there to become a teacher. A hint of future prominence appeared in 1926 when he became the very first Malawian to qualify to teach English at a secondary school level. He spent the next 22 years teaching and administering schools affiliated with the Blantyre Mission, along the way marrying Christian Mtingala with whom he raised seven children. During the Second World War, he enlisted as a chaplain in the King's African Rifles. This was a formative experience: he would later recall fighting against Italian colonists in Ethiopia as "an African army fighting to free an African country."

Shortly after the war ended, Sangaya resigned from teaching to prepare for ministry in the Blantyre Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP). Ordained in 1952, he briefly served a congregation in Ntcheu district before taking up a relatively prestigious position as associate minister at the Presbyterian "cathedral" located on the Blantyre Mission site, the Church of St. Michaels and All Angels. In 1961, the all-Scottish mission council that oversaw the Blantyre Synod selected Sangaya to deputize the Synod's General Secretary, the missionary Andrew Doig.

With political independence in the air in the early 1960s, and the handover of leadership in the Blantyre Synod from Scot to African inevitable, Sangaya was clearly

marked for leadership and being groomed for future responsibility—at this time he was even sent to Scotland to study administration. Accordingly, in 1962 the mission council recommended him to become the first Malawian General Secretary of the CCAP Blantyre Synod. In fact, this appointment made Sangaya one of the very first Malawian leaders of any of his country's major churches. He served faithfully as General Secretary until his death in 1979, exerting wide and lasting influence on Malawian Christianity in general, and the CCAP Blantyre Synod in particular. For his labours, Sangaya was honored in 1977 with an honorary doctorate in divinity from Emory University in Atlanta.

Sangaya's legacy for Christianity in Malawi can be traced (1) institutionally and (2) socio-politically. Regarding the first, under Sangaya's long tenure as General Secretary, the Blantyre Synod expanded considerably, growing in membership and planting congregations throughout its synodical jurisdiction (roughly equivalent to southern Malawi). To this day it remains the single largest Protestant church in Malawi; along with the other synods of the CCAP, it forms one of the largest Reformed churches in Africa. Silas Ncozana considers Sangaya to have performed as General Secretary in an almost chief-like capacity, "a father figure, whose authority was recognized by all." As such, he set the tone for his denomination, strongly encouraging congregations to engage in evangelism, charity, and service to the community. He also aimed for the financial self-sufficiency of the Blantyre Synod—no small feat given the withdrawal of foreign funding upon the termination of Scottish control of the churchby encouraging accountability and efficient management of human and material resources at both congregational and denominational levels. Sangaya remained committed to the classic Presbyterian insistence on an educated and well-equipped ministry: to that end, he worked with leaders of other CCAP synods to erect a joint seminary in Nkhoma. At the same time, his ecumenical proclivities and concern for the public place of Christianity in the nation made him strongly support both the inclusion of the Anglican Church in Malawi in this new seminary as well as its move to Zombathere, prospective ministers at Zomba Theological College could study in close proximity to the University of Malawi. As his many sermons reflect, Sangaya was personally devout and deeply spiritual. Yet his leadership shows that he was no "spiritualist": Christianity had an important role to play in the growth of the new nation of Malawi toward maturity.

Sangaya's ecumenical commitment took form in several important ventures during his tenure as General Secretary such as: the Chilema Lay Training Centre, the Private Hospital Association, and Theological Education by Extension Malawi. These latter two ventures, as laity-oriented institutions, indicate well how Sangaya understood the necessity of "Africanizing" the church, i.e., not simply spreading Christianity wide in Malawi through evangelism and church planting, but also rooting it deep through discipling the laity. Similarly, Sangaya encouraged congregations to support youth and youth led initiatives, even courting controversy by endorsing the use of more typically African styles of music and singing in worship. Along with joining the Blantyre Synod to the Malawi Council of Churches, Sangaya also took a prominent and lively role in the new All African Council of Churches, where he served on the executive. Finally, mention should be made of Sangaya's instrumentality in redefining the Blantyre Synod's relationship with Western churches from one of missionary paternalism to one of partnership in mission. In the 1960s and 1970s, Sangaya forged strong partnerships with Reformed/Presbyterian denominations in Scotland, Ireland, America, and Canada which still exist and have proved mutually fruitful for all churches involved.

Second, measuring the social and political legacy of Sangaya's leadership is unavoidable for a career that overlapped the heady transition from colonial rule to political independence as well as the emergent dictatorship of Malawi's "Life President," Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Here, Sangaya's impact appears ambivalent. On one hand, his early career reveals a radical streak not unlike that of the fiery founder of Presbyterianism, the sixteenth-century reformer, John Knox. Sangaya's voice was one of many in the Blantyre Synod strongly condemning the 1953 Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. African Nyasalanders rightly suspected the white settlers in North and South Rhodesia of aiming for a dominion with minority rule. When the Federation's legislature introduced measures in 1958 to further limit black African representation in government, widespread unrest and agitation erupted across Nyasaland, with growing calls for outright independence from Britain.

Blantyre Synod leadership urged peaceful but forceful protest, writing in a pastoral letter that same year:

The Synod is deeply concerned at political developments which have taken place in Nyasaland since Federation was instituted... There is no gainsaying that the Federation imposed against the will of the majority of the people here has produced a deep and widespread feeling of unrest which is like a poison among the people, destroying race relations and leaving bitterness and hate where trust and love prevailed before... Nyasaland became and has remained a Protectorate by the free choice of chiefs and people. Christian foundations have been laid. Trust and goodwill have been established between African and Government officials, missionaries, traders, and settlers. Respect for the laws and justice of British rule has been built up. There was a common assumption that British protection would continue until the indigenous people were capable of taking control over the government of their own country... Federation has reversed all that. It is now widely felt that Nyasaland has been betrayed by the United Kingdom.

As such, members of the CCAP Blantyre Synod were thick in the struggle against Federation and for Nyasaland's independence. Sangaya too was an early supporter and member of the pro-independence Malawian African National Congress (MNC), which the colonial authorities sought to repress. Andrew Ross, then a Church of Scotland missionary to the Blantyre Synod and later a professor of divinity at the University of Edinburgh, recalls serving with Sangaya as chaplains to prisoners detained in Kanjedza Camp for political agitation, where almost seven hundred of the thousand inmates were CCAP members.

Sangaya rejoiced at Malawi's independence in 1964 and the accession of the MNC

to power. But the rapid slide to one party rule under Kamuzu Banda bitterly disappointed him. His personal disappointment, however, did not translate into open criticism of Banda's regime on the one hand or even the widespread use of repression and violence to maintain one-party rule on the other. It would seem that the CCAP Blantyre Synod's considerable involvement in the pre-independence MNC left them "ideologically captive to the Banda regime" once the MNC enjoyed exclusive rule under Banda from 1964 to 1993. In fact, as General Secretary of Malawi's largest Protestant church, and with a president who played up his status as a Church of Scotland elder for political gain, Sangaya sometimes functioned as chaplain to the regime, offering prayers and sermons at key public events and occasions. This is not to say that Sangaya condoned Banda's dictatorship: he personally opposed the regime and on a few occasions was imprisoned and even tortured for communicating with individuals whom the government had blacklisted. In fact, a popular rumour tells that Sangaya was murdered in 1979 on Banda's direct orders for daring to suggest to the life president that he should wed his long-time mistress, "the Mama," Cecilia Kadzamira. The Malawian poet and professor Jack Mapanje, who had been famously incarcerated under Banda in the late 1980s, has recently gave new life to this old rumour in his memoir, And Crocodiles are Hungry at Night. While this story is almost certainly false, the truth is that Sangaya remained privately opposed but publically silent to the Banda dictatorship. And his church again followed his lead. As his friend and student, Silas Ncozana, has noted:

Sangaya's socio-political concerns changed to the tradition of silence. The basis for this approach is fear and the instinct for survival...Now his main concern was to uplift the spiritual well being of the new nation of Malawi and his position as the first Malawian General Secretary gave him the power to do so. Though Sangaya stood his ground when it was necessary to do so, he did like a prophet. He carried the burden alone without involving the Church that he led.

It is curious that Sangaya's otherwise deliberate and determined efforts as General Secretary to see his church bear public witness to the gospel in the new nation of Malawi is here conspicuously absent.

Jonathan Sangaya wholeheartedly served his church denomination for over fifty years, first as a teacher and superintendant at mission schools, then as a minister in the Blantyre Synod, and finally as the first African leader of a major Malawian church. His ecclesiastical career was thoroughly entwined with the development of the CCAP from a foreign-controlled to an African-led church. Indeed, his leadership played no small part in this evolution. The CCAP Blantyre Synod's first indigenous General Secretary left behind him at his death a large, influential denomination that was deeply (if ambivalently) involved in the life of the nation; cooperating with denominations within Malawi and Africa and partnered with churches in the majority world that shared its Reformed heritage, it was increasingly "giving expression to Christianity in a uniquely African way."

Todd Statham

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This article, received in 2013, was written by Todd Statham, a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, seconded to the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian as lecturer at Zomba Theological College in Malawi.

Dodge, Ralph Edward 1907 – 1908 Methodist Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe

Ralph Edward Dodge was a Methodist missionary, mission board executive secretary, and bishop in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), hardly the life one would foresee for a farm boy in northwest Iowa. Ralph was born on January 25, 1907, in Milford, a small farming town in northwest Iowa. He was the fourth and last child of Ernest Ira and Lizzie Longshore Dodge. Delivered in his parents' bedroom on a cold

night by the local rural doctor with the help of his grandmother. Ralph's birth was complicated and painful for his mother. The delivery nearly killed her, and she had to be admitted in hospital for psychiatric care. Ralph was born with a hernia, a medical condition that prevented him from hard play and strenuous work until he had it fixed at his 9th birthday in 1916.

Growing up in a farming community, Ralph was constantly surrounded by simple, yet hardworking people where families shared labor, machinery, stories and common values. He learned farming from his father whom he believed had distinguished himself as a good and effective farmer through a strong work ethic. When his sisters, Sophia and Elsie married, Ralph was assigned to help his mother with household chores because Lizzie's health was everyone's concern in the family, and there was so much work in the home to be done. His mother taught him to cook, something he enjoyed doing. Through work inside the home and outside on the farm, Ralph acquired skills that would make him an all-round and self-sufficient person. Later in life he would not expect anyone to do for him anything he felt he could do for himself.

Ralph's spiritual journey and upbringing was comprised of daily devotions with the family, two Sunday worship services, and Wednesday prayer and Bible study meetings. Because the Dodges were Methodists, the family attended worship services at Terril Methodist Church. While Ralph was taught to work hard and enjoy farming, his parents also strictly raised him and his siblings to observe Sunday as a day of rest from work. "No matter how many neighbors were in their fields harvesting their overripe oats or barley before an impending storm, our horses were never harnessed on Sunday, except the one that drew the surrey to church." [1] Attending both morning and evening worship services was a requirement.

In his senior year at the Lloyd Township Consolidated School with only a month to graduate from high school, his high school principal advised him to refrain from a career that involved public speaking since he had a high-pitched voice and had performed poorly in the high school play. The principal suggested to Ralph that he should enroll at an agriculture school. But Ralph ruled out going to an agriculture school because he believed his father had taught him everything he needed to know about farming. Later in life when he was asked if he felt he was destined to be a missionary, Ralph said, "No. I had planned to be a farmer. I intended to follow a long line of ancestors in this occupation." [2]

A significant and transformative event occurred in Ralph's life during a weeklong Methodist revival in 1925. Fresh from discerning that he was destined for a career in farming, Ralph was about to make a life changing decision. As was customary, Ralph joined his family each night at the revival meeting. On the closing night of the revival, sitting by the isle in the middle section of the sanctuary, Ralph intensely listened to the sermon and felt called to respond. He wrote, "In 1925, I was converted during a revival in the local Methodist church, and in a moderately traumatic religious experience I made a sincere commitment of my life to Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior." [3]

Following his spiritual awakening experience from the revival, Ralph became more involved in the ministries of the church. His pastor, Rev. Ward began to talk to

him about pursuing a call to ordained ministry. His pastor sensed that God was calling Ralph to become a preacher. Ralph said, "I felt a call to the Christian ministry, but I resisted on the basis of ineptitude. Even my high school counselor advised me against any type of public service, as I was very ill-at-ease on the platform and this tenseness was even evident in my high-pitched voice." [4]

Three traumatic events happened within a short time that would confirm a vocational change for Ralph. First, it was tragic death of his father and the subsequent pastoral care that his pastor showed to the family during and after the funeral. Ralph began to greatly appreciate and understand the work of pastoral life. Ralph wrote, "The effect of a pastoral visit at such a time made a big impact on me. Comforting people was an important Christian ministry." [5]

The second event of profound experience happened not long after the death of his father. He had a terrifying experience with a team of runaway horses while he was in the wagon. This incident, happening so soon after the death of his father, scared him and led him to ponder more seriously the fragility of mortality and life. In the third incident, Ralph was nearly electrocuted when a power cord shorted while he was operating a forklift to load some bags of corn in a rail car.

These three incidences happening one after another in a short time and at the time Rev. Ward was talking to Ralph about getting into ministry contributed to Ralph changing course to pursue ordained ministry. Writing about the experience, Ralph conceded, "Perhaps after all, God was telling me that I was in the wrong place and that I should go into His ministry. My mind gave an emphatic 'no' but my heart said, 'possibly so.'" [6]

The decision to go into ministry was not without its own challenges. Even though he was convinced that God was calling him to serve, Ralph still had to overcome many personal issues that hindered the decision to change course. Answering the call to ministry meant he would have to go to college, something Ralph did not desire to do. Furthermore, Ralph was concerned about his mother's health. How could he attend college if it meant he would have to leave his mother as she was still grieving the death of her husband? On top of that, then there was another important barrier for Ralph to go to college, the financial one. He writes, "I had no parental financial backing and very limited personal funds, so I knew I had a hard row ahead of me." [7]

With a little money and well-timed help from others, he managed to work his way through college and graduate school, eventually earning five degrees: from Taylor University, he received a Bachelor of Arts degree; from Boston University he got both a Bachelor of Sacred Theology and Master of Arts degrees and from Hartford Foundation Seminary, Ralph Dodge graduated with a Master of Sacred Theology degree and a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Anthropology.

At Taylor University, Ralph met Eunice Elvira Davis and dated. They married on June 18, 1934 in Little Valley, New York. Ralph and Eunice had four children Ed, Lois, Cliff and Peggy.

Few people have been involved in the range of mission roles Ralph Dodge worked at during his lifetime. From 1936–1950, he was a missionary in Angola. Thus, he had firsthand extensive opportunities to see how missions and missionaries operated at the local and grassroots level. After 14 years of serving as a missionary, Dodge served for six years (1950–1956) in New York as an executive secretary of the Foreign Division of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, supervising the work of over 400 missionaries in Africa. In that role, Dodge was also a policy maker. But, perhaps most importantly, he got the opportunity to see the work of the Methodist Church from a global perspective. Then, in October 1956, Dodge became the first bishop of the Methodist Church ever elected in Africa; all bishops prior to 1956 were elected in the United States and assigned to Africa as missionary bishops. At his election, Dodge became the bishop for Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the highest level of ecclesiastical leadership and authority in both the Methodist Church.

Dodge exhibited bold leadership in missions when seismic political changes were taking place in Africa. During his time of preparation for the mission field at the Hartford Foundation Seminary in Connecticut, Dodge had been impressed by a mission philosophy that emphasized the training of indigenous people for transfer of responsibilities. When he began his ministry as a missionary in Angola in 1936, the Methodist Church in Southern Africa was predominantly led by missionaries based in mission centers, although Africans did most of the evangelistic work and brought most of the new disciples into the church. At the end of the World War II, Dodge found himself caught up in the midst of an emerging African nationalism that was often hostile to the missionary enterprise. With many African countries gaining independence after the World War II, African nationalists most of whom had been educated in mission schools, began to call for missionaries to go back to their home countries because they were perceived as accessories of colonialism.

If missionaries had to go home, what would be the future of the young church that the missionaries had established in Africa? It was in trying to answer this question that Dodge demonstrated he was ideally suited for his transitional role. This he did by adopting an agenda that set in motion an effective program of indigenization on the Methodist Church in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The agenda included the following: first, launching a higher education initiative to train Africans to take over leadership not just in the church but in national politics too; second, embracing and incorporating traditional African features and expressions of worship such as drums, rattles (*ngoma nehosho*), music and dances into Christian worship; and, third, forming an ecumenical alliance of churches in Zimbabwe, of which Dodge was elected the first president. It was then called the Christian Council of Rhodesia; it is now called the Zimbabwe Council of Churches.

Dodge was a strong proponent of personal evangelism. His personal relationship with people earned him great respect among the Africans. It was out of his personal interactions with Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe that he realized racial practices against Africans both inside and outside the church were impeding evangelization. Consequently, Dodge began to speak and write against racial practices. Influenced by Water Rauschenbusch's writings and the Social Gospel, he pivoted to addressing social justice issues, especially unfair labor laws in Angola and racial discrimination practices in Zimbabwe. He fervently believed Africans had the right to fight for equality if they chose non-violence means to get their freedoms. In 1964, Bishop Dodge's first published book, *The Unpopular Missionary* came out. [8] In it, he criticized not only the church but the colonial government in Zimbabwe on racial and land segregation. The book came after the bishop had been banned from visiting Angola and Mozambique by the Portuguese. In July 1964, Dodge was deported from Zimbabwe by the Rhodesian government. He was, in fact, the first religious leader to be deported by the Rhodesian government. After the expulsions, he lived in Zambia as a bishop in exile.

Another key contribution of Dodge in Zimbabwe was that he transformed the Methodist Church from being a rurally oriented church to one that included urban work. By allowing Methodist congregations to start in towns and cities throughout out Zimbabwe in spite of comity agreements, he also transformed the Methodists from being a regional presence to a national one.

Dodge's ministry in Africa lasted 35 years. In those years, Dodge exercised leadership in the African church as a missionary, Foreign Division secretary of the Board of Missions, and bishop. In these roles, he inevitably attracted both positive and negative reviews. For instance, in Angola, his missionary colleagues criticized him for unilaterally changing appointments in the middle of the year without consulting the bishop. As bishop, some missionaries working under him often criticized him for undermining their authority. They also criticized his open partiality towards Africans.

Dodge is not without critics even today. Tafataona Mahoso, a social commentator in Zimbabwe is prominent among them, especially concerning Dodge's education program, the *Safari to Learning*.[9] There are those in the church who admire Dodge's leadership for the growth of the church but feel he became too political for their comfort. They liked him when he was simply their shepherd (*mufudzi wedu*) and not their politician.

Nevertheless, many, in and outside the church, hold Dodge in high regard for his contribution in the political discourse for the liberation of African states. They call him "the revolutionary bishop." There are also those in the United Methodist Church, particularly beneficiaries of those who went through Dodge's education program, who see him as a champion and fighter who promoted African well-being.

These different views about Dodge's contribution to the church in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe mark him as, at once, controversial and fascinating. People assess Dodge so contrastingly. Given the social, economic, and political environment in which Dodge served in Southern Africa, people are bound to describe his contribution to the church from different angles depending on how they related to him.

There are two overarching missiological themes that bookend Dodge's contribution to the church in Southern Africa: embracing African nationalism as opportunity for the church and joining evangelical views with the social gospel to witness to Africans living in a fast changing environment whether culturally or politically.

African nationalism as opportunity for the church

Dodge wrote his book *The Unpopular Missionary* in 1964 to respond to a growing criticism of the missionary enterprise and the missionary church in the wake of African nations fighting to end colonialism. After World War II, the missionary church in Africa faced criticism from nationalists who questioned a perceived unholy alliance between Christian missions and colonial interests. Also, African nationalists some of whom were educated in mission schools were embracing communism and began to condemn the missionary church as promoting capitalism. The cry for the missionary to back go back home was growing louder throughout the colonized Africa. Dodge observed,

The Christian church is under fire in Africa... the present wave of antagonism has come as a surprise to many Christians. But the surprise often gives way to dismay and discouragement when the churches discover that severe criticism of the church in Africa today comes from within - it comes from second-generation Christians, and it comes with a force and bitterness that is convincing. All is not well on the mission field. [10]

Dodge was not alone in observing that all was not well for missionaries in Africa. James A. Scherer, who was the Dean of School of Missions at Chicago Lutheran Seminary had served as a missionary in Tokyo, was hearing the same cry in Asia and Africa, "Missionary, go home!" In 1964, Scherer published his book, *Missionary, Go Home!* and in it he observed,

Hostility to the gospel is nothing new, but the sudden collapse of western colonialism has given fresh impetus and vitality to the opposition. The friendly protective umbrella of western imperialism has now been withdrawn. As never before, the missionary enterprise and the younger churches are exposed to pressures and attacks by indigenous nationalists, religious extremists, communists, secularists, and others. [11]

Then there was John Carden of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) who in the early 1960s traveled to all places the CMS had missionaries to assess their work. In 1964, John Carden published a book, *The Ugly Missionary* in which he stated that by the end of World War II Africa had only four independent nations, but in 1964 when he published his book there were 40 independent African nations. He also observed,

Religious Africa no longer equates civilization and progress with Christianity and the last five years alone has seen millions of Africans turning to other faiths and to other gods.... A fact most graphically and forcefully illustrated at the first Assembly of the All-Africa Church Conference held in Kampala in April 1963, when some of blacker blacks of the African nationalist revolution came to the fore, the pink of imperialism was well – if not always truly – condemned, and there was generally much confusion.... [12]

What happened at the first All-Africa Church Conference in Kampala, Uganda was that some invited African nationalists literally called missionaries attending the conference to go home for they were no longer needed. Carden observed that many missionaries attending the conference were shattered and felt despised and rejected.

In the face of hostility from rising African nationalism, there was an underlying and unanswered question of what role the church will play in Africa at a time when Dodge, Scherer and Carden all agreed that all was not well for the missionaries in Africa. Instead of feeling rejected and despised, Dodge did not see African nationalism as a threat to the church. Rather he embraced African nationalism and its criticism of both the church and the missionary as an opportunity not only for the missionary but for the church to be relevant even when there were some African nationalists who were demanding that missionaries go back to their home countries. There are two ways in which Dodge responded to the criticism of African nationalists and to the cry, missionary, go home!

Indigenize the church

The discussion on what indigenization means is still an ongoing one today given the connectedness of the United Methodist Church. However, Dodge began the process to indigenize the United Methodist Church in Zimbabwe in two most clear ways. First, he allowed indigenous worship styles in the church. African drums, rattles (and other percussion instruments), dances and tunes which were once associated with ancestral worship were allowed in the church. Dodge first commissioned a study led by Dr. Marshall Murphree to look into why African Initiated Churches (AICs), two of which had broken away from the Methodist Church, were growing. Dr. Murphree asked, "What factors have permitted the *Vapositori*, in 30 years to grow twice as large as their parent Methodist has in 60 years without funds or foreign aid of any kind?" [13]

Murphree's study concluded that the AIC's had incorporated African music and elements in their worship which appealed to people. Also, the Ambassadors' Quartet, the four men Dodge had sent to the United States to sing in churches to raise money for the higher education program had impressed the American churches with their music which had included only one African drum. Dodge had also admitted, "There is a problem in regard to the church's treatment of African music. Most of the traditional music with its rhythm and drumbeat has been replaced by western music.... One reason the church is losing people is because it has failed to capture them emotionally through westernized forms of worship. Neither European hymns nor spirituals have real emotional meaning for Africans, for they come from neither personal experience nor their own culture." [14]

Second, Dodge began the process of turning over leadership of the church to Africans. In 1960 and 1962 he appointed two African District Superintendents. In 1963, he appointed Rev. Jonah Kawadza as his administrative assistant. By 1964, he only had one missionary as district superintendent. The participation of Africans in making decision for the church had completely changed the tone and direction of the church during the district and annual conferences. The most important change in terms of indigenizing the church through transfer of responsibilities happened in 1963 when the Board of Missions transferred all mission properties in Zimbabwe to the Rhodesian Annual Conference. When Dodge retired in 1968, the leadership of the United Methodist Church in Angola, Congo, Mozambique and Zimbabwe was in the hands of Africans. All the annual conferences had African bishops. Delegates at annual and central conference meetings were largely African.

Dodge is commended for the initial steps he took to indigenize the church. There is no doubt that the incorporation and the transfer of leadership to Africans was transformative for the United Methodist Church. However, Dodge fell short on content – an African Theology - which is at the root of indigenization because African Theology "attempts to understand the scriptures as they speak to the African context and to interpret essential Christian faith in authentic African language." [15]

One of the major criticisms of Dodge's higher education program is that it trained far more lay people than clergy. That means Dodge did not provide an opportunity for his clergy to receive higher education necessary to reflect on African theologies. Rather, he allowed those were seeking ordination in the church (theologians) to receive limited education a little higher than high school.

Training (educating) future political/religious leaders

While African nationalists were fighting for the liberation of their countries, Dodge was aware of the fact that sometimes independence was coming to ill prepared national leaders. He reminded the African nationalists that they still needed the church and the missionary to educate and develop leaders for the nations. He wrote,

With few exceptions, the leaders in the independence movements in the various countries of Africa have been educated, at least partially, in Christian missions. The church has provided the channel- in education – through which countless individuals have become conscious of their own place in society and now desire to raise the standards of their own people. It is true in Africa that many of those who subsequently took a leading part in the national struggle acquired their dominant ideas through their university education. [16]

Dodge was embracing African nationalism by reminding the nationalists that they still needed the church and the missionary at least for leadership development in the new nations. Dodge believed that the church had a role in educating and training religious and national leaders. One of Dodge's major contributions to the church and national politics in Africa was his higher education initiative, the *Safari to Learning* program. This program produced both political and church leaders. Dodge's orientation at Hartford Seminary in Connecticut laid the foundation for the *Safari to Learning* program because during his orientation he was told, "To be effective, the missionary should quickly train indigenous people to do the work to which he or she had been assigned, and then move on to some other job. No missionary would be considered effective if he or she perpetuated himself or herself indefinitely in any given job, we were told. This was something new which emphasized the urgent development of local people." [17]

The Safari to Learning program was successful in sending fifty students to overseas colleges and universities every year from 1960 to 1967. Tafataona Mahoso criticizes Dodge's higher education program as a "bourgeoisification or embourgeoisment of the

African – a grooming of a pro-western African elite to take over church leadership as fast as possible and creating of middle class of United Methodist Africans with an eye to making them defenders of western interests and the western tradition in Zimbabwe." [18]

While it is true that the people who benefited from the higher education program returned to Zimbabwe with changed social status changed because of the better salaries they earned it would be a mischaracterization to suggest that Dodge was grooming defenders of western interests because many of the people who were educated through the Safari to Learning were strong opponents of colonial policies many of whom joined the liberation movements. There are plenty of examples: Dr. Antonio Agostinho Neto of Angola became the first President of Angola after leading a protracted war of liberation. Eduardo Mondlane became the first president of Mozambique. Bishop Abel Muzorewa became the first black Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. John Wesley Z. Kurewa became first Secretary of Parliament in independent Zimbabwe. Many others became ministers in independent Zimbabwe. Government departments and institutions in independent Zimbabwe were headed by people who were educated through the Safari to Learning program.

Dodge was a social prophet of his time. At a time when African nationalism was rising, Dodge embraced it as an opportunity to make the church relevant through a higher education initiative. He reminded the African nationalists that a valid criticism for the church was that the church had not done enough in the area of providing higher education. He too criticized the church in taking long to provide higher education. Dodge wrote,

> The major blind spot of the total missionary program in Africa may be the failure of the European church leaders to foresee the approaching rebellion and to train nationals for administrative responsibility. There has been a failure to read the signs of the times. Some missionaries may be naïve enough to think that their African colleagues can carry responsibility without either training or experience; this may be kinder to believe than to think they deliberately kept Africans from higher education. [19]

Dodge was among a few missionaries in Africa who listened to the criticism directed toward the church and missionaries and offered a reasonable response, insisting, "The church must forcefully reject any insinuation that it has not made any impact upon Africa and has not contributed to the well-being of its people. The church has made mistakes but there is no cause for undue shame. There is reason for every Christian to stand erect, head high, and proclaim in a clear voice the Good News of Salvation." [20]

Joining Evangelical Views with the Social Gospel

There second overarching missiological theme had to do with Dodge's ability to join evangelical views with the social gospel. Dodge believed in both the primacy of evangelism and social involvement. He believed there is a correlation between individual salvation and the salvation of a society. He embraced a holistic approach to ministry. His personal conversion which he often described as traumatic always reminded him to preach of personal salvation and he was quite clear that personal did not entail a blind embrace of injustice and oppressive systems. In many of his messages he often quoted John 10:10. Dodge stated, "Jesus announced that He had come that His followers might have life and have it more abundantly. It is difficult to know who what compromises the abundant life for all-people differ from place to place and from time to time. Still the church encourages all to seek a full and abundant life on earth, as well as life eternal. This does not mean that the church puts more emphasis upon the physical than upon the spiritual; the church realizes man is body and mind as well as spirit. The church tries to maintain a balance of interest between the present and the future. Jesus said, "Ye must be born again" (John 3:7); but He also said, "Give ye them to eat"(Luke 9:13). [21]

When Dodge started his missionary assignment in Angola, there is no doubt that evangelism as it related to inviting individuals and communities to a personal relationship with Jesus grew the church in Angola. The Dembo region which was hardly evangelized would later be called the Methodist country. People in villages turned in big numbers to hear him preach and his preaching was effective in that he lived in their communities, eating and hunting with him.

It was when the Portuguese labor laws began to frustrate his work at Mufuque that he came to a conclusion that unfair Portuguese labor laws and racial practices were a threat to evangelization and were making "the task of propagating Christianity in Africa become increasingly difficult, if not impossible." [22]

On the one hand Dodge was leading a revival in the Dembos region seeing thousands of people coming to the Church through a meaningful encounter with Christ as Lord and Savior. And on the other hand, he was in the corridors of the United Nations building in New York and at the State Department in Washington D.C. raising awareness of Portuguese and British colonial abuses in Africa.

Dodge's holistic position ultimately informed how he served as a missionary and a leader in the church. Because of holistic missionary practices, he formed relationships with Africans on the basis that all people are God's children and each person is valuable in the eyes of God. Central to Dodge's holistic missionary practices was his strong conviction that Christian morality is defined by how Christians practiced equality in their conduct. Dodge believed that true Christian love promoted a level ground for social equality. Hence his fight against labor laws in Angola and racial segregation in Zimbabwe.

Samuel Dzobo

Notes:

1. Ralph E. Dodge, *The Revolutionary Bishop*. (Tucson: Wheatmark, 1986), 8.

- Will Cleveland, "No More Encores," Taylor University Magazine, Summer 1981, 3.
- 3. Dodge, The Revolutionary Bishop, 9.
- 4. Cleveland, "No More Encores," 3.
- 5. Dodge, The Revolutionary Bishop, 12.
- 6. Dodge, The Revolutionary Bishop, 13.
- 7. Cleveland, "No More Encores," 3.
- See Ralph E. Dodge, *The Unpopular Missionary*, (Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1964).
- See Tafataona Pasipanodya Mahoso, "Between Two Nationalisms: A Study in Liberal Activism and Western Domination, Zimbabwe 1920 to 1980." PhD diss., Temple University, 1986).
- 10. Dodge, Unpopular Missionary, 15.
- James A Scherer, *Missionary, Go Home!* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice -Hall Inc., 1964), 149.
- 12. John Carden, The Ugly Missionary. (London: The Highway Press, 1964), 34-35.
- 13. Marshall Murphree, "The Growth of an Independent Church." Unpublished Dodge Collection Papers.
- 14. Dodge, Unpopular Missionary, 52.
- Harvey J. Sindima, Drums of Redemption: An Introduction to African Christianity. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1994), 162.
- 16. Dodge, Unpopular Missionary, 86-87.
- 17. Dodge, The Revolutionary Bishop, 25.
- 18. Mahoso, "Between Two Nationalisms," 216.
- 19. Dodge, Unpopular Missionary, 22.
- 20. Dodge, Unpopular Missionary, 154.
- 21. Dodge, Unpopular Missionary, 96.
- Ralph E. Dodge, "Missions and Anthropology: A Program of Anthropological Research for Missionaries Working Among Bantu Speaking Peoples of Central and Southern Africa." (PhD. Diss., Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1944), 162.

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Mondlane, Eduardo Chivambo 1920-1969 Protestant Mozambique

Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane was born in the region of Gaza, in southern Mozambique, in 1920. His family, with a prominent lineage, was polygamous and animist. Why was he named Chivambo? This name was given to him by the magicians because they believed that, in this baby, the great chief Chivambo Mondlane was reborn. Eduardo himself commented: "My parents belonged to old Africa without real contact with the fashions of the Western world; they did not know Christianity, they could neither read nor write; they venerated and worshiped the ancestors... We lived off the cultivation of small fields, cattle breeding, and hunting. My childhood was spent in the pastures with many shepherds who were my age."

The life of the shepherds had its rules and hierarchies. An acute sense of responsibility revealed to the boys very early on the ineptitude of the brutalizing colonial domination.

An older sister who was a Christian, took him to the Swiss Mission school in their region. A short time later, his friends admired him in the Christian "patrol," an event in which boys were allowed to act very freely, but in which the values of solidarity and the spirit of mutual aid were also emphasized. After this, Mondlane went to the Swiss mission at Lourenço Marques to finish his primary education, before proceeding to receive his evangelist degree in Rikatla. Finally, he returned to town to work at the head of the same "patrols" of boys in which he had previously participated. He attended evening classes and tried in vain to enroll in a high school, as high schools were only

open to young people under the age of thirteen. He was one of the few Africans at the time who read well and spoke captivatingly of his childhood, which opened up new horizons for him. He was sent to the rural Methodist Mission of Cambine, and came back in 1942 fluent in English. He also brought back a box of books, but, above all, a bright hope: since the schools of Mozambique were closed to him, it was in English that he would study. He hoped to accomplish this by moving to the Transvaal, so that he could better serve both his country and his church by receiving an education there. But some wondered: "Who is this Mondlane? Will he take the path of so many others who crossed the border and never returned?"

The old African pastors who knew Mondlane declared: "We want to help this Eduardo who wants to serve his church, but let him first be given the responsibility of a small congregation in the bush, and we will see!" The pastors opened their eyes and they saw him perform successfully. Besides this, Mondlane himself described his anxieties about his vocation as the master of a clandestine school where he taught boys Portuguese and agriculture.

Equipped with his past experience as an evangelist, Mondlane left for the Swiss mission field in the northern Transvaal, at Lemana. On Saturdays and Sundays, Mondlane taught and preached, but the rest of the time he worked hard at school. In 1948, he successfully passed his matriculation exams in English and Afrikaans, the language of the Boers.

In agreement with his missionary coworkers, Mondlane went to study social sciences at the "white" University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg. But, in 1949, the political regime changed, and Malan came to power. This meant that Mondlane, as a black man among white people, was driven out of the country by the government. But the students of "Wits" [Witwatersrand] had elected Mondlane to the presidency of their social studies group, and he also managed an interracial club in the middle of town. At the news of the expulsion of their colleague, the students and teachers of "Wits" organized a large protest. Both the South African press and the Portuguese newspapers were galvanized into action. The only consolation for Mondlane and his supporters was that, in spite of the school's official regulations, the faculty of "Wits" authorized Mondlane to write his first-year exam papers from the Swiss Mission in Lourenço Marques, since he had been expelled from the country.

But before that, a PIDE (*Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado*, or International Police of State Defense) jeep had picked up Mondlane at the Swiss mission and imprisoned him. For two or three weeks, he was interrogated by specialists in African politics. But Mondlane responded in such eloquent terms that he was issued a passport and given permission to study in the U.S.A. He obtained a scholarship from the Phelps Stoke Fund in New York. Examination of the situation led Mondlane and the missionaries— who were Swiss and American— to deem a year of study in Lisbon essential. They believed that the knowledge he would have acquired and observed in Portugal would be indispensable to him when he later returned to work in Africa. At the same time, as registration formalities were dragging on in Lisbon, Mondlane made a short visit to Switzerland. There, the Swiss Mission celebrated its 75th anniversary (this was in 1950). (A few years earlier, Mondlane had given me the notebooks of his

childhood memories. I had entitled it "Childangou, son of a chief." But the adventures of Childangou are those of Chivambo, and the Swiss have read them! Mondlane is celebrated in Switzerland as a hero!) Afterwards, back in Portugal, Mondlane worked hard, and passed his exams. But, at the airport, the police tried to prevent his boarding for the U.S.A.

In the United States, as in Mozambique or Switzerland, the brilliant intelligence and radiant personality of Mondlane were quickly noticed by those around him. Mondlane's friends and missionary coworkers realized that an extraordinary destiny awaited Mondlane. American university life unleashed his enthusiasm. Mondlane was called upon to give talks on African problems; he discussed topics with luminaries; and he analyzed situations with intelligence. A childhood friend of Mondlane wrote: "Education and faith are the two chances of health for Africa, and Mondlane is the proof of it!"

In the meantime, Mondlane passed his Bachelor of Arts exams at Oberlin, and then pursued studies towards a doctorate in sociology at Northwestern University, in Evanston, Illinois. In 1956, he married Janet Rae Johnson, a young American of Swedish origin, who long before meeting Mondlane had devoted her life to Africa. An academic like her husband, she was his dynamic collaborator. Let us add that, after the tragedy of 1969, Mrs. Mondlane continued to serve Frelimo and Mozambique, first in Dar-ès-Salam, and then, after independence, in Maputo (formerly Lourenço Marques).

At the time, there was no better place for an African like Mondlane to observe ongoing developments back home than at the U.N. in New York, because it was there that he was offered a job in the Mandated Territories section. He quickly got to know all the African leaders who came to New York. The representatives of Portugal, themselves, approached "their" man and offered him a [living] situation... in Lisbon. However, this was not for him. Mozambique, which he left in 1950, remained close to his heart. He found financial support and, through intermediaries, was able to create the Edelweiss scholarship fund. In this way, young Mozambicans pursuing secondary education can receive help.

In 1960, the United Nations appointed Mondlane to the team that would prepare the referendum in English Cameroon. His wife took the opportunity to go to Mozambique, with their two children, to the Swiss Mission of Lourenço Marques. When Mondlane joined his family— he carried a diplomatic passport from the U.N. his popularity exploded! In the eyes of the Mozambican crowd, he was the hero, the only one who had broken the leaden screen which weighed with an overwhelming weight on the indigenous populations. Despite the celebration given to him— even the executives of the colonial administration put a good face on— Mondlane saw his fears confirmed. Nothing had changed in Mozambique!

Back in America in 1961, Mondlane left the U.N. and accepted, on a temporary basis, a professorship at Syracuse University, New York. But, the same year again, Julius K. Nyerere invited Mondlane to settle in Tanzania, whose independence had yet to be proclaimed.

In Dar-es-Salam, political groups of Mozambicans were fighting, and thousands upon thousands of people from all over Mozambique suffered as refugees in Tanzania. A new agenda was essential: the Mozambican political factions needed to merge, and it was necessary to raise the standard of a new, united Mozambique; a fatherland for which one would give up one's life. On June 25, 1962, the three main independence movements decided to dissolve and unite to form the Mozambique Liberation Front, also known as Frelimo. Mondlane was immediately elected president of Frelimo.

To liberate Mozambique meant to prepare for war; to seek support everywhere; to instruct future guerrillas, both men and women; and to interest the whole world in its cause! Additionally, Eduardo Mondlane, his wife, and several of his friends traveled throughout Europe and Asia speaking of Africa. Mondlane declared: "Although I loved university life above all, I decided to devote the rest of my life to the war of liberation of my country, until it receives independence!" Unfortunately, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane only got to see glimpses of this independence, such as at the second Frelimo congress in the middle of Mozambique in July 1968, and again during his travels in the liberated territories. During the latter, he inspected the combatants, and visited the first health posts in the service of the population, small schools, and agricultural centers.

As we know, and as the press around the world covered it, on February 3, 1969, Eduardo Mondlane received a package of books. The package, which was a trap, exploded upon opening. Only a shredded body remained of Mondlane.

The flag of an independent Mozambique was raised in Lourenço Marques on June 25, 1975.

André Clerc

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A Living Biography of Angolan Ecumenist José Belo Chipenda

By André Cangovi Eurico, Selma Chipenda Dansokho, and Jesse N. Mugambi⁹

Introduction

José Belo Chipenda is one of the most effective African leaders within the Ecumenical Movement during the 20th century. He served in several significant roles in the student Christian movement during the 1960s; the social justice movements during the 1970s and 1980s; in the World Council of Churches during the 1980s; and in the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) during the 1990s – challenging the churches in Africa to redefine their social responsibility in a changing society for the betterment of all people at local, national, regional, continental and global levels.

He was born on October 9, 1929 in Lomanda, Angola, at the municipality of Bailundu, Province of Huambo. His parents were Jesse Chiula and Teresa Laurinda Chipenda (born Chindumbo). He is the eldest of six children, one of whom (named Jamba) died shortly after birth. His siblings who survived into adulthood are Daniel, Clara Ngeve, Duarte Morais, and Armindo Jimbe.

Family Background

José's father, Jesse Chiula Chipenda, converted to Christianity during the 1920s, after contact with Protestant missionaries. Subsequently he became an evangelist, teacher, and minister. In 1956, Jose Chipenda was appointed as the first General Secretary of the Council of Evangelical Churches of Central Angola (CIEAC), now the Igreja Evangelica Congregacional de Angola (IECA).

Jose Chipenda's father, Jesse Chiula Chipenda, facilitated the establishment of several mission centers in Angola. One of these was at Lobito, in the municipality of Benguela. In 1924, Jesse Chiula Chipenda together with the American missionary Rev. Bell, started the Offshore Mission Station. Here in Lobito Jesse Chiula Chipenda established his family.

During the early 1900s, the city of Lobito was an important port. Sugarcane cane cultivation and manufacturing were the main industries. Many single young men from other regions came to Lobito for employment as contract laborers. Some of them were employed as domestic workers primarily for Portuguese Government officials and managers of companies and industries. The city of Lobito also served as an important point of entry into the interior of Angola via the Benguela railway that runs east to Luau

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at the border of the Kassai Province in the Democratic Republic of Congo – continuing to Katanga and Northern Zambia, as the main means for the transport of minerals for export.

From Portugal, the church sent evangelists, teachers, and missionaries to these coastal regions. Their main responsibility was to educate, accompany, and convert young African workers. In this process, the missionaries established church schools (which also served as places of worship on Sundays) in the Lobito subdivision of Canata. This name meant "mud" in Umbundu, the language spoken by the Ovimbundu people. Other schools were built on the outskirts of Benguela, in a neighborhood named Cassoco.

Jesse Chiula Chipenda was the first evangelist assigned to such missionary work. From Lobito, Jesse Chiula was called back to work in Bailundo where he met and married Teresa Laurinda, and was later ordained as a minister. He went on to serve in a number of other locations in Angola. Jesse Chiula Chipenda died in St. Nicolau in 1969, one of the largest Portuguese detention centers in pre-independence times, after being detained without charge by the Portuguese Colonial Secret Police (or PIDE) as was custom at that time.

Early Life

José began his formal education in the mission schools of Bailundo and Dondi. He had to stop schooling at age eleven because his parents could not pay to educate all their children. Subsequently, he was sent to teach in Canhara Cambundi, a village located just outside of the town of Boccoio, in the province of Benguela. He taught there for about four years. When José was about fifteen years of age, his father sent him to join his brother Daniel in the city of Benguela where both these brothers completed their secondary school education. During vacations, José did some courses at the Dondi Institute. After secondary education, his father arranged for José to study at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Carcavelos, Portugal. Support for this training came from a North American patron, and a scholarship from the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions). Around the same time, José's brother Daniel was recruited to play professionally on a national Portuguese soccer team.

In 1955, José qualified for a bachelor's degree in theology. Despite his wish to continue studying, he was asked to return to Angola to serve as a pastor. His academic success and return home opened the door for other Protestant mission students to be sent abroad for training.

Towards the end of his stay in Portugal, José met Eva João Miguel de Carvalho. She was traveling to Brazil to study Home Economics. Upon his return to Angola, Jose Chipenda was ordained. He was then appointed to serve the two congregations of Caponte (a racially-mixed church) and Canata (a predominantly Ovimbunbu church) in Lobito. Upon her return to Angola in 1956, Eva was stationed at the Methodist Mission Station of Quessua in Malange (a city east of the capital Luanda). Her appointment was to work as a Christian Educator and Teacher. José proposed to Eva and after Eva agreed to marry him, she left Quessua to join him. The wedding took place in September 1957 at the Dondi Mission station in the Province of Huambo. Their union symbolically bridged two Protestant missionary efforts: those of the Congregational and the Methodist Churches. The young couple settled in Lobito where they lived for three years. José again left Lobito to study abroad. Their two children are Selma Teresa (b. 1958) and Gilberto Jesse (b. 1960-d. 1993).

Abroad in a Changing Context

In 1960, José was sent to the USA by the mission board for further study. He left Angola expecting to return after one year to train others. However, his stay abroad was extended because of the dramatic socio-political changes that were taking place on the African continent and in the colonies.

Other African countries were attaining independence, including neighboring countrie—the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia. These developments raised concerns for the Portuguese rulers. They tightened security on the colonies, cracked down on social and political initiatives by nationalist leaders and also detained people without cause. At the same time, Angolans – and other African nationals situated both inside and outside the Portuguese colonies - were acquiring broader socio-political awareness and building new alliances. For example, within the Protestant churches and missions in Angola, two important events took place at this time. One was the Christian Youth Congress of Quessua, held in 1955 at the United Methodist Mission Station in Malange. The second was a follow-up meeting held in 1957 at the Dondi Mission Station in Huambo. For some youth in the church these experiences became new avenues for the youth to serve at home. Some of the youth fled to other countries, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Zambia, and Portugal to study and/or advocate for independence. At the same time, many students and youth from the colonies already studying or living in Portugal were forced to leave for studies and/or advocacy in other countries.

In this broader socio-political context, there was a concern both by José's parents and the missionary church, to reunite him and his family outside of Angola. Eva therefore fled Angola to Portugal with her two infant children hoping to obtain travel documents. After her request was denied by Portuguese authorities, she and the children were smuggled out of the country with others – notably Daniel Chipenda, his wife Guida and their infant son Kanjovo – to North Africa, and from there to other destinations. Eva and the children were reunited with José in the USA in 1962.

Exile

José and Eva describe their subsequent period abroad as a combination of both exile and growth. At their home in New York, and in spite of their modest means, the family served as a politically neutral gathering ground for students of all backgrounds and nationalities, where they could provide mutual support, share experiences, and dream about the future of their respective countries. One such encounter was with Eduardo Mondelane of Mozambique. At the end of his studies between 1964 and 1966, José served as Ambassador for students for the United Church of Christ in America (UCCA). In this capacity, he traveled widely both within and outside the USA to talk about Angola and also to learn about the situation in other colonies, and socially marginalized and/or minority people elsewhere. This experience not only earned him national and international recognition but also provided him with a deeper understanding of the social rights movement in the US; the anti-colonialist movements in other African countries; and the situation of socially marginalized people in other continents such as Asia and Latin America.

From New York, José went on to serve as Secretary for Foreign Students for the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) in Geneva, Switzerland. In this capacity from 1966 to 1968, he worked to bring together students from all over the world and across cultural boundaries, to reflect on their role in society and build student leadership.

In late 1968, José Chipenda went to serve as Africa regional co-secretary of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), based in Nairobi, Kenya – together with Aaron Tolen based in Yaounde, Cameroon. As co-secretary, he traveled widely to English-speaking and French-speaking African countries to meet students; promote dialogue and reflection on social issues; and build solidarity and action to address these issues of concern.

From Nairobi in late 1972, José returned to Switzerland to work as Program Secretary for the Program to Combat Racism (PCR) of the World Council of Churches (WCC). The goal of the PCR was to broaden awareness of social inequalities, and also to challenge Apartheid in South Africa and racism around the world. The work involved developing and maintaining ongoing contact with ethnic/racial minority groups and liberation movements around the world in order to understand, raise awareness and mediate efforts to establish justice, build peace and encourage reconciliation.

Return to Angola

After almost nine years with the WCC-PCR based in Geneva, the Chipendas and returned to Angola. They settled in the city of Lobito, where they founded the Center for Theological Studies and Culture (or CETECA). Within four years the Center hosted church ministers and lay people from all over Angola to attend leadership training programs, and also to re-examine and promote the work of the church in society with focus on children, families, singles, and those marginalized and/or affected by war. The Center also offered entrepreneur training in home economics, tailoring, and interior design, as well as classes in English, civic education and culture, and also pre-school activities. It provided a pilot training program for interested people, regardless of socio-economic status; and provided space and opportunity for people to gather and exchange ideas. Another goal at the Center was helping people in a country deeply impacted by war, to move beyond fear, despair, and worry, towards building a collective vision for a better future. This initial work in Lobito exposed church leaders,

young people, parents and educators to new ways of thinking and interpreting, and applying the Gospel message in contexts of the broader society.

In 1985, José was appointed General Secretary of the Christian Council of the Evangelical Churches in Angola (CICA) headquartered in Luanda where he served for two years. Eva initially remained in Lobito to continue her work with women, children and youth. She eventually joined José in Luanda and again the couple developed new programs for youth and adults.

During the initial return of the Chipendas to Angola, two other events had a strong impact on the church. First was the development of teaching materials to help church ministers and lay leaders to reflect about, research, and also develop training courses and Bible studies for groups in their congregations. Second, was the creation of special-interest groups focusing on priority issues that would be identified through discussions with youth at the Center. One of these, the Young Couples Group, expanded into an important movement that continues to play a significant role in promoting family cohesion; social awareness and commitment; and growth in the Christian faith.

Further Call Abroad

In 1987, José Chipenda was elected General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC). He and Eva returned to Nairobi, Kenya. Concurrently Archbishop Desmond Tutu was elected President of the AACC. The two served together under two mandates (1987-1997). Under their leadership, while working with the various committees and staff, the AACC transitioned into a role of encouraging churches across Africa to come together, re-examine their social and historical contexts and realities in light of the Gospel message, and also to consult with African leaders about the need for reconciliation, peace and justice for all. Their primary message was that *power that comes through a common mission and joint action, should be used to serve and promote peace and sustainable development, not simply replicate or challenge past colonial rule.* One of the core parts of this vision was to work with and empower youth and women.

José Chipenda and Desmond Tutu steered efforts to reconcile opposing fractions throughout the continent – especially in South Africa, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and Angola. For example, José Chipenda and Rev. Kirkwood (January 14, 1933 – September 17, 2020) – then United Church of Canada Executive Secretary for Africa – visited the UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, the main opposition movement) stronghold, in Jamba. This visit was at a time when the civil war in Angola was at its height. Their goal was to meet with UNITA and Church leaders to encourage them to engage in a peace and reconciliation process. However, the meeting did not take place. With the same goal in mind, they met with President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda. Finally, a meeting – mediated by the AACC was organized in 1993 in Limuru (a neutral site in Kenya) between the so-called "Church in the bush" (UNITA side), and the Evangelical Christian Council in Angola (representing churches in government controlled areas). Within Kenya, José Chipenda led efforts to move the AACC from outside financial dependence to self-reliance, both through generation of internal funds (e.g. infrastructure development and effective management); and encouraging the contributions of member churches to support AACC programs.

Back Home

In 1996, while the Evangelical Congregational Church in Angola (IECA) was preparing its General Assembly, the Executive Committee recognized the need for a seasoned, yet politically neutral leader to reconcile the church in a war-torn country; and also to reposition the church as an instrument of peace across racial/ethnic, socio-economic, and political associations. José Chipenda was elected, and he accepted the invitation to lead IECA. After commuting internationally for nearly two years, he and Eva returned to Angola in 1998. They settled in Lobito. José's office remained in Luanda and he commuted between the two cities.

The situation in Angola upon their return continued to be tense because of the deep political divide between the two main political factions. In this context, and true to his mission, José Chipenda worked with both the church leaders, and also with policy-makers and civil society as a whole, towards an environment that would be conducive to peace, reconciliation and future planning. The main steps in this process involved: (a) creating opportunities for people of all ages and backgrounds to gather; (b) creating opportunities to exchange openly and in a climate of trust; (c) reexamining the role of the church in current context; and (d) finding points of connection, building understanding and developing plans to contribute to the future of the church and civil society as a whole. Through these efforts, new ecumenical networks were developed such as the Ecclesiastical Committee for Peace in Angola (or COIEPA), and "Paz Durável" (meaning "Lasting Peace").

After stepping down as General Secretary of IECA in 2004, José and Eva continued their efforts to teach, find points of connection, build understanding and programs for the benefit of their communities. In Lobito, two main initiatives were launched with these goals in mind. First are building and working with local teams to structure and broaden educational opportunities for people of all ages, but in particular youth and preschool children (in particular the Canata Preschool and Training Center). Second are efforts to reclaim and build the patrimony of the church that was destroyed during the long periods of conflict and to create new gathering places, and to foster dialogue about social conditions and the role of the church in the future with the continued vision of situating the church as a positive and innovative agent of change for all society.

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58

Recent Print and Digital Resources Related to Christianity in Africa

Compiled by Beth Restrick, Head, BU African Studies Library

Interfaith Networks and Development Case Studies from Africa. Ezra Chitando, Ishanesu Sextus Gusha (Editors). Springer International Publishing: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2022. \$127.00 (pbk) <u>www.amazon.com</u> ISBN-10: 3030898091, ISBN-13: 978-3030898090

Summary: Although there is growing interest in the role of religion in meeting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Agenda 2030, very few studies have focused on the contributions of interfaith networks. Most of the contemporary publications on religion and development focus on single religions or faith-based organizations. This volume addresses the lacuna in the available scholarship by undertaking detailed analyses of how interfaith networks in diverse African contexts contribute to development. Chapters in this volume engage in theoretical debates on interfaith networks and development, while describing concrete, fresh case studies on how particular interfaith networks are contributing towards the meeting of the SDGs in specific contexts. Thus, the volume describes older and newer interfaith networks and analyses their achievements and challenges. Contributors focus on SDGs that include peacebuilding, gender, youth, the environment, as well as overviews of interfaith initiatives in different African contexts. Ezra Chitando is a Professor of History and Phenomenology of Religion at the University of Zimbabwe, and World Council of Churches Theology Consultant on HIV and AIDS in Africa. Ishanesu Sextus Gusha was formerly a senior lecturer from University of Zimbabwe's Department of Philosophy, Religion, and Ethics. He is now parish priest in Palma de Mallorca, Spain in the Anglican Diocese in Europe. (www.amazon.com)

Ncozana, Silas S. *Sangaya*. Malawi: Luviri Press, 2018. \$35.84. (pbk) <u>www.amazon.com</u> ISBN-10: 9996098281; ISBN-13: 978-9996098284

Description: Possibly the most outstanding Malawian church leader of the 1960s and 1970s was the Very Reverend Jonathan Sangaya, General Secretary of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) Synod of Blantyre. To him fell the task of guiding his church into the post-missionary era and his dynamic leadership was a major factor in the success with which that transition was completed. This vivid biography offers many insights into the history of the church and society during his lifetime. It is a welcome addition to the literature covering the transition "from mission to church" in African Christianity, and will enable many readers to become acquainted with a great Malawian of a former generation. (www.amazon.com)

Phiri, Isabel Apawo. *The Africa we pray for: On a pilgrimage of justice and peace*. Globethics.net ; World Council of Churches, Geneva, Geneva, 2021. \$15.48 (pbk) <u>www.amazon.com</u> ISBN-10: 2889313719; ISBN-13: 978-2889313716

Description: The World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches invited young people to contribute to the discussion on the Pilgrimage of Justice and Peace, with its three dimensions of celebrating life together –visiting wounds and engaging in transformative action–in the African context. Participants reflected on four closely interrelated themes: Truth and Trauma (peacebuilding), Land and Displacement (economic, ecological justice and migration), Gender Justice, and Racial Justice. This collection of selected essays shares the dreams and aspirations of these young people towards Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want goals. Aspiration 6 of the African Union is for an Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children. The essay competition provided a platform for youth to engage in research and write their aspirations of the Africa They Want, an Africa they pray for, as the future guardians of the continent. (www.amazon.com)

Open Access Resources

Hove, Rabson and Herbert Moyo. The pastor as an ecumenical leader: Reflections and Pastoral Ministry experiences at Bvumbura parish, Zimbabwe. Pharos Journal of Theology, Vol. 103, Iss. 2, 2022. Link: https://www.pharosjot.com/uploads/7/1/6/3/7163688/article_28_vol_103_2_ _2022_ukzn.pdf

Summary: This article explores the position and the role of the pastor in local ecumenism. It argues that the pastor is a central figure who consciously and unconsciously influences local ecumenical engagement between his/her local congregation and other denominations. Local ecumenism is ecumenism 'from below' whereby Christians in a given locality enjoy sharing spiritual and material resources as a way of being church together. It is in this context where the pastor is found to be an ecumenical leader as he/she gives services to the members of the community as families and member churches. The researcher has used his experiences at the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe (ELCZ) Bvumbura parish as a point of reference on how a pastor would be found engaging in ecumenical work as well as in carrying out expected pastoral duties. It is within this context that many denominations cooperate with each other at various levels serving the church and community in general in the process. The paper ends up discussing the expressed five pastoral roles as a means of fulfilling the call of the pastor as an ecumenical leader. (www.pharosjot.com)

Lüdemann, Ernst-August. **The making of a bishop: personal reflections by a companion along the way.** *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 42, 20160101, 142. DOI: <u>https://doi.org/10.25159/2412-4265/513</u>

Summary: With this text a German missionary, originating from the Lutheran Hermannsburg Mission, describes his way of service in southern Africa through which he is getting ever closer to Dr Manas Buthelezi. From the outset of Lüdemann's ministry in KwaZulu-Natal he got to know the young but already widely acclaimed theologian (Buthelezi) in the same diocese. The intensive involvement of Buthelezi in the Black Consciousness Movement gave Lüdemann a deeper insight into his own challenges in apartheid South Africa, and at the same time he understood the critical position in which he had to see himself as a foreigner from Europe. Buthelezi—through various positions in his own Lutheran Church (Bishop of ELCSA-Central Diocese, Lutheran World Federation) and in the ecumenical context (Christian Institute, South African Council of Churches)—deepened his theological expression in view of the endangered society, and at the same time formulated the specific prophetic message of a relevant Christian gospel. This meant that he was severely challenged in conflicts between various interest groups. More and more he realised that with his ministry he could only survive through a clear scripture-related spirituality as part of the work of the Holy Spirit. (Source)

Maposa, Richard S. Bishop Abel Muzorewa's Theology and the Struggle for Zimbabwe, 1965-1980: A Re-Consideration. International Journal of Developing Societies. Vol. 2 No. 1 (2013). DOI: <u>https://doi.org/10.11634/216817831504293</u>

Abstract: World over, the endeavor to write a full-scale national history is an intricate business. The roadmap for the independence of Zimbabwe after 1965 has been examined from various perspectives, given the contested nature of its last events in the 1970s. The roadmap was even more intricate, especially when dealing with a critical historical period in which certain personalities possess vested interests in occupying the same political throne. For instance, Mugabe, Muzorewa, Sithole and Nkomo were key life-long political contestants who availed themselves for the leadership of an independent Zimbabwe. The paper argues that although Muzorewa was eventually and permanently sidelined after losing the landmark independence elections of 1980, his name would forever be encoded in the history of independent Zimbabwe. A hermeneutical re-reading of Muzorewa's theology which is found in his autobiography reveals that he epitomized the spirit of a particular era, which was imbued with a sense of solidarity and patriotism in the backdrop of the struggle for the independence of Zimbabwe. Muzorewa served both the church and the nation as an inspiration out of his values of "selfishlessness" and integrity for humanity. The lessons that could be got from the study are manifold, both for contemporary Zimbabwe and even beyond. The study will show that people are always happier if society is ruled with just laws and international cooperation is the benchmark for human progress in a world that has become a global village. (<u>Source</u>)

Mashabela, James Kenokeno. Dr Manas Buthelezi's contribution to Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa's struggle against apartheid in South Africa, 1970s-1990s. M.Th. Church History, University of South Africa, 2014. URI: <u>http://hdl.handle.net/10500/18844</u>

Abstract: This academic study provides a historical background to the unsung hero, Dr. Manas Buthelezi. He is amongst many such heroes who contributed enormously to the liberation of South Africa. Buthelezi fought against apartheid by promoting human liberation and rights; just like other circle unrecognized of heroes who were interested in combating the agonies caused by the apartheid system. This academic study presents the work of Buthelezi in the South African political, socioeconomic, cultural and ecumenical effort at combating the apartheid policies. The history of Buthelezi's contribution can be deliberated in relation to the South African political and socio-economic dimensions.

The intention of this study is to investigate how Bishop Dr. Manas Buthelezi in South Africa was involved and committed in the struggle against apartheid. I would like to analyse and reflect on his contribution and writing during apartheid, as this has not yet been researched. Buthelezi served the Lutheran Church and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) as its president, from where he viewed apartheid ideology and practice as contradictory to the Word of God and human wholeness of life. One cannot research Buthelezi without considering his Church where I will explore the ordained ministry and the lay ministry. Questions on teaching, training and service offered by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA) raise serious matters about its present and future. In the conclusion, I provide an analysis of the problems outlined and make recommendations which can be considered to be alternatives to challenges that face our South African context and that of the church. My recommendations are opened to everyone, to engage each other to furnish alternative solutions to the problems that face the church and the South African context. (Source)