BULLETIN OF ECUMENICAL THEOLOGY

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES
An African Christian Response

PUBLISHED BY
The Ecumenical Association of Nigerian Theologians
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Published by
The Ecumenical Association of Nigerian Theologians
Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology Vol. 5/1: 1993
ISSN 0794-8670

Editor
Elochukwu E. Uzukwu, c.s.sp. - Lecturer, SIST, Enugu.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Nigeria - N30.00 per issue
- N60.00 per annum
Foreign - 20 U.S. dollars per annum
10 U.S. dollars per issue
(airmail postage included)

Payments overseas:
Congregazione dello Spirito Santo
Casa Generalizia
Clivo di Cinna, 195,
00136, Roma, Italia.

Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology is published by
The Ecumenical Association of Nigerian Theologians (EANT).

All Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor,
B.E.Th. Spiritan International School of Theology
(S.I.S.T.), P.O. Box 9696, Enugu, Nigeria.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

1. Ike, Obiora, is the Director of the Catholic Institute for Development, Justice and Peace (CIDJAP), Enugu.

2. Ikegwuonu, Benjamin, is the Accountant at the Generalate of the Spiritans (Holy Ghost Fathers and Brothers), Rome.


4. Mihevc, John has just completed his Ph.D. in theology at the Toronto School of Theology, Toronto, Canada. He works for the Inter-Church Coalition on Africa doing research on economic justice issues.

5. Simson, Uwe is a staff of the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation, Bonn, Germany.

6. Waliggo, John Mary, lectured at the Catholic Higher Institute of East Africa (CHIEA) before becoming a member of the Uganda Constitutional Commission.
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Experts agree that the problems affecting the economy of Africa are structural; consequently, structural solutions are required. Many home-spun development programmes have been proposed and adopted in African countries since independence: five year development plans, ten year development plans, etc. None of these caught the attention of the whole continent as the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000. Today, we are pretty close to the "apocalyptic" year 2000; and yet Africa appears to be farther away from human well-being (the result of integral development) as was the case at independence.

Many voices narrate to us the causes of the on-going impoverishment and dehumanization of Africans. The economy of the continent is said to be dependent on the vagaries of nature and the world market; the people of the continent are exploited by the ruling elite and foreign predators. Finally, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), whose programmes must religiously replace any local make, have taken over the supervision of African economies in order to suck the last milk from mother Africa. There is little cause for cheer.

All the contributors to this issue of our BULLETIN favour a view of development that is integral and sensitive to the local needs of Africans. They also have faith in the ability of Africans to find solutions to their problems if permitted by a hostile international economic order.

Three contributions (by Waliggo, Ike and Simson) were drawn from a symposium on The One Human Right for All and the Many Forms of Life held at the Faculty of Theology, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University, Frankfurt (19-21 November 1992). We are grateful to Obiora Ike, a member of our association, for drawing our attention to the papers and for suggesting that they could be edited and published in our BULLETIN. B. Ikegwuonu's paper is an edited version of a presentation he made to treasurers of Religious Congregations in Rome (June 1992). Finally, the articles of Kukah and Mihevc were prepared for this issue to
highlight the functioning of money in the church and the theological underpinnings of the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs).

Our contributors in one way or the other censor the World Bank and IMF programmes. These bodies which are controlled by the United States of America like to assume the image of "the knight in shining armour battling to eliminate poverty in the Third World". But the records are there to show them as the worst enemies of Africa. Their version of SAPs is systematically destroying humans and the eco-system.

The contributions to this issue argue that it does not suffice to reject the World Bank's murderous agenda, nor to propose an African Alternative to SAPs which takes the African context fully into consideration. In addition to these, we insist that the Better Life programmes for Africa must be founded on a sound ethical footing. Blueprints like the Lagos Plan of Action will remain a dead letter unless humans are changed. Sacrifices must necessarily be made in order to change the living conditions of Africans. Cooperative development insists that the change must take place simultaneously in Northern and Southern countries. The self-sacrifice which cooperative development calls for involves a move away from self-interest in order to realise the collective interest. This is bound to cause pain. The resolve to make such a sacrifice may be made easier when motivated from religious convictions. Renewal in the religious practices of humankind may inspire practitioners to work for the realisation of the integral development of humans all over the world.

E.E. Uzukwu, c.s.sp. (Editor)


THE ROLE OF CULTURE AND RELIGION IN AUTHENTIC DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA

John Mary Waliggo

1. Introduction:

The main argument of this paper is that not everything that has been perceived as progress is, at least in the African mind, authentic development. For authentic development or, as we shall later on define, integral development to occur, be accepted and bring about the desired change in attitudes and society living, it ought to be carried out within the people's basic world-view, which in the case of Black Africans, has cultural, religious and ethical values at its centre. It is, therefore, essential to understand the major components of the African world-view and what that African philosophy of life defines as integral development.

It is consequently argued, in the second place, that failure to present and effect development within the African world-view both during the colonial and post-colonial eras is the major explanation for the backwardness of Africa; a backwardness which scientific indicators show will continue to keep the continent as the sick portion of the world in the foreseeable future.

It is thirdly argued that a culture of positive acceptance and appreciation of pluralism in all sectors of life, development included, will form the basis of the future world society. The failure to develop such a culture may create a crisis which may destroy all that the human family has been attempting to put in place for a better future. Western forms of development are likely to silence any thinking or way of life that is different from or strongly opposed to their basic assumptions in organizing and developing society.

As a solution, it is argued that the liberation and development of Africa, and indeed of all other non-western societies,
is to be found in the simple, evident but fundamental accep-
tance and appreciation that the people of each culture have
the right, the knowledge and ability to develop differently
within their own basic world-views. Once that occurs, the
beauty of unity in diversity will be evident in the one human
family of nations. There are no ready-made answers and
solutions to all the problems and situations in every region of
the world. The people of each cultural area know better what
is best for them. They can, if given the opportunity and
respect due to them, ably think, plan and implement develop-
ment, identified by them to be the best.

This demands from the international community the basic
trust and respect that each people are able to choose the best
for themselves, guided by their world-view. It is a trust that
people, however illiterate they may be, are the best judges of
what should be done for their advancement. It is also a call to
the West to critically examine the way they have developed
and the effects of that development. Only then can it become
clear why many of the Non-Western societies often seriously
question many aspects of the so-called Western 'development'
and do not wish to see the same in their own societies now and
in the future. The third world is challenged to cultivate
originality rather than copying in its efforts to develop.

2. The Sources of our Study

This study is based on five main sources. First, I have
carried out intensive oral and observation study of mine own
society of Buganda since 1970. I have critically analyzed
people's attitudes to change and their ability or inability to
"domesticate" change. I have, therefore, come to the belief
that only effective inculturation of every aspect of
development can be appreciated by the Ganda people. They
want to be in control of change and development. They are
determined to subject it to their basic and ever-growing
world-view.

Second, I have tried to make some comparative study of
other Bantu and Non-Bantu societies in Africa in view of
establishing the common factors in their basic elements in the
world-view.
Third, I have learnt a lot from the African Literature writers, the African theologians and from the failures, political and economic, of the African Western educated elite who have led Africa to the present.

Fourth, since 1976 when I returned to Uganda from studies overseas, I made a clear option to be with and among the ordinary people. I assumed the role of an attentive listener and animator for liberation and development. I can count over 200 animation courses with people of all levels. What I have learnt from these courses and what I have analyzed from the response to my presentations, is basic to this paper. Contrary to the view I previously held, I have found myself being more of a student than a teacher. I have found that ordinary Africans have great wisdom and when given a chance they have worthy solutions to their various situations. They can think, plan and implement development once they are convinced it is for their own good and within their world-view.

Last but not least, since March 1989 I am a member of the Uganda Constitutional Commission. The duty of the Commission has been to go around the entire country receiving views of the people on how they want to be governed, how they want their nation to develop, and how they want their human rights to be protected and developed. This exercise, the first ever in African history, has been an important eye-opener. The Commission has received the agenda of the draft constitution from the people. People have ably given views on why they are under-developed. They have given views on which way they want to develop. They have articulated the worldview or philosophy on which their future should be built. These views have come from every sector of society: 10,000 memoranda from villages, 2300 memos from parishes (units that comprise an average of ten villages each), 580 memos from the country's 840 sub-counties, 38 memos from the religious, political, economic, socio-cultural, educational and other non-governmental groups and associations, and 3000 individual memos. In addition, we have collected about 5000 views in the local media, 300 position papers, 6000 student essays and over 1500 reports from educational seminars throughout the country on all aspects of our social life and development.
For the first time in their life, Ugandans have been asked to freely say all they do not want. They have been asked to offer solutions to their problems and suggest the nature of the ideal society they want to establish.

This has been a rich and unique source for me in reflecting on this paper. It is, therefore, clear that this presentation is not a direct 'scientific' response to philosophers such as Max Weber, but a practical assertion of what Black Africa perceives as development.

3. The African World-view

Every people have their world-view. It is this world-view that determines, influences and conditions their relationship with the supernatural world, the world of people near and far, the world of non-humans (animals, vegetation and the inanimate), and the under-world. It is this world-view that gives unity to the whole of creation. It influences the way people think, judge, plan and develop.

Anyone who observes the essence of this world-view is regarded as good, normal, well-educated and blessed. Anyone who diverts from it or from some of its fundamental aspects is taken as a stranger, rebel, anti-social, evil or lost to his/her people. As one cannot change or disown one's parents, family, ethnic group, nation or colour without creating a serious crisis in oneself, in the same way no one can disown or radically change one's world-view without inner disorders. A person may simply modify, improve or enrich the world-view as he/she comes in contact with other world-views. But no one should ever aim at eliminating it completely because that rarely succeeds.

However much people in Black Africa differ in many cultural aspects, they possess a strong similarity in the basic world-view. It is this that provides a basic unity among them.

This world-view is not linked with any particular founder of a group, nor is it situated in time. It is the property and legacy of the entire community, and since it addresses itself to the fundamental questions and realities of man and woman, it is timeless. This world-view is expressed in their proverbs, riddles, fables, stories and wise sayings. It is the basis
for their code of conduct. The rites of passage - from birth, through puberty, marriage, old age, death, burial, and final rites after death - are all based on this world-view.

It is on this world-view that Africans should base their cultural and moral values, their spiritual and religious education, their political and economic organizations and development, their physical and mental healing, their social interactions with relatives, friends and strangers, their principles in dealing with any crisis situation and, in a word, their integral growth and advancement.

Some conclusions may be deduced from the foregoing general points. First, if an African wants to keep his or her identity, to avoid personality and identity crisis, to avoid being a foreigner among his or her own people, it is imperative that he/she knows deeply this world-view and strives to abide by it. Second, any non-African who wishes to understand the African, has to try to understand this world-view, to enter or penetrate this philosophy as deeply as it may be possible for a foreigner to go. The failure of the foreigner to do this is what has produced and perpetuated the long list of myths, prejudices and misunderstandings of the African during the period of slave trade, throughout the colonial period to our own days of neo-colonialism.

3.1. Life As The Basis Of The African World-view

Without exaggeration one can confidently assert that life was and still is the basis for the African world-view. Whatever promotes life, transmits life, manifests enriches saves, protects, ensures, and heals life, is good and must be longed for by all. Whatever does the opposite is evil and must be avoided by all. This life is not simply that of the individual but also or even more so of the family, clan and ethnic group. It is not limited to the physical but integrates the social, spiritual, religious, economic and political dimensions. It is life of people, animals, plants, minerals, everything that lives. It is life of the past, the present and the future.

The traditional story of the origin of the Baganda can demonstrate the truth of the above. Nambi, the mother of the Baganda had a divine origin, being the daughter of the deity
of the skies (Ggulu). Her husband, Kintu, had a cow which maintained his life on earth. Nambi came with seeds from the skies which were to produce the food her children would feed on. When Death (Walumbe) followed Nambi on earth and began to kill some of her children, an appeal was made to the deity of the skies to send Nambi's brother, Kayikuuzi, to come and arrest Death and take him back into the skies. But Death was wiser, he ran and hid himself in the underworld and from there continued to kill Nambi's children. The only consolation of Nambi was to give birth to so many children so that Death would never succeed in entirely eliminating all them.

In this story we have the three major dimensions of Ganda cosmology: the world of the supernatural, the world of humans, and the underworld. We have the link of the human with the divine, the vital role of the animal and plant world for human life and the explanation of death and how man and woman should deal with this inevitable reality.

Africans believe life to be from the supernatural domain. They believe it continues to exist in a different form after death. This human life is promoted not only by the parents but also by the deities, ancestors, the community, and the entire natural environment.

Africans accept that there are enemies of life. These could be supernatural beings, fellow men and women, or the rest of creatures. Because of the ubiquity of these enemies, life has to be constantly protected from them, from the moment of conception to after death. As a result taboos are vital to the theme of life. One who behaves well as the community expects is deemed to have rewards for a fuller life. He would be healthy, prosperous in society, rich in wisdom and possessing power to bless. One who behaves in a manner that offends this world-view, is expected to decrease life, bring harm to oneself, to the family and even to the entire group.

3.1.1. The Influence Of Life On The African People

The supernatural is respected, sacrificed to, prayed to, obeyed because it gives life, sustains life, has power to decrease life, to take it away, to harm it in one way or the
other. The ancestors, the living-dead, are respected, venerated, sacrificed to, prayed to, placated in various ways, reconciled with, because they are also believed to have power over life. The rulers, elders and leaders are respected because they are expected to have a fuller life which they can communicate to others through blessings or which they can use to curse, disown and thereby decrease the life of the people or even of animals and plants. One study in Zambia discovered that the Bisa people of Chiluei Island believed that the lake had very few fish because some people had quarrelled with the chief.

The medicine man and woman hold a special role in society because they have power to heal and save life. Likewise the diviner who diagnoses the cause of lack of life or of misfortune is much respected. The witch-doctor who saves life by warding off evil which other people or forces have sent to harm life is also held in great honour. But the sorcerer who harms, the witch who practices anti-social and anti-life activities, is hated and has to move from place to place in search of a permanent dwelling.

The parent is respected because he or she has transmitted life and protects life. As life grows so does the respect and the responsibility of that individual. African society is hierarchical and this hierarchy is based on growth of life. Old age is more respected because it is the ideal of a fuller life, a life well lived and protected. That respect, however, demands of the old to offer wisdom, to share with the younger the secrets which made them able to live to a mature age.

Life is also valued according to the position one holds in society. A father and mother of 10 children have a fuller life than those with one or two. A husband of four wives was seen as blessed with a fuller life than the one with one wife. The father and mother of twins is more respected because the supernatural gave them two lives at a go. A person blessed with a large herd of cattle or rich in other ways is seen as having a fuller life than the poor and destitute. A person with lots of friends in the community is having a fuller life than the gloomy individualist. A person who shares with others is more respected than the miser. It is from this understanding of life that all the relationships that govern the life of the Africans
spring forth. A person has not only one mother but hundreds of mothers since all women (including baby-girls) of his mother's clan are his mothers. He also has several fathers from his father's clan. He has several wives, for all sisters of his wife are his wives. It is this relationship which makes the clans and the entire ethnic group united into a community where everyone becomes related to another.

A person with fuller life will even go outside his clan or even ethnic group to make blood-brotherhood with members of other groups. He thus gets relatives in greater numbers from there. Friendship and hospitality to strangers also promote life. One becomes enriched with the vital force of the friend and stranger and wins their blessings.

3.1.2 Application to the Supernatural

Since life is found everywhere and is in constant need of protection and promotion, the supernatural is everywhere to do that. Since there is a tight competition in seeking a fuller life, the deities are multiplied to fit the many customers. There is a deity for fecundity, one for long life, for success in war, for good hunting, good fishing and good luck; and there are several for dangers to life such as smallpox, plague, and so forth. Some of these were deified humans who in one or several spheres of life had achieved excellence, thus possessing a fuller life which now they are expected to communicate to their clients. Whatever manifests greater life, be it a huge tree, a huge animal, a huge mountain, lake or stone, is conceived as having some supernatural powers in it. If a deity worked for you, you continue to have recourse to it, if not, you search for another. There was no rivalry over deities. They were as many as the community wanted.

3.1.3. Application To Community

Because of life, everyone became his brother's keeper. The community became more important than the individual. The individual was because of his community. In this view, the worst evil that could befall a person is to be excluded from the community. Such a person would be considered dead. To
be cursed or disowned was and still is the severest punishment a community or parent can give to a person. Because of this view of life, there should be no orphans, no neglected widows or old people in an authentically African society.

Because the life of the individual depended on the life of the community, each person was obliged to contribute his or her share to the community. This gave a clear division of labour in the family, extended family, village, clan and ethnic group. Justice was insisted upon because it was the cornerstone of peace in community. Without peace, the community would be in dissension and that would be against the promotion of life. Moral codes which promote justice were drawn up to uphold and promote life.

3.1.4 Application To The Individual

The individual valued people and life more than anything else. His or her life was expected to be people-centered, life-centered. He grew in life and tried hard to transmit life and assume responsibility to protect life. He was valued not by the things he had but the quality of life he lived. His capacity to enhance life after death depended much on the quality of life he lived while on earth.

3.2 The African Traditional World-view And The Challenges Of Modernity

The world-view described above has undergone modifications and development because of the challenge of Islam and Christianity, colonization and modern economy, school education and modern medicine, communication and interaction with the world community. This is normal since culture is never static but dynamic. It absorbs new values through interaction. What is however important to note is that the fundamental values of a people's world-view usually remain intact although being expressed in new forms and through modified practices. The value of life and community and the permeating influence of religious values still remain central in the contemporary African world-view. A few examples will
demonstrate this.

Africans continue to believe that the traditional medicine man or woman, the witch-doctor and the diviner are pro-life, stand to save life and protect it. They effect healing, bring hope to the distressed, have the confidence of the people. No amount of condemnation will deter people from seeking their assistance. When the Jews told the blind man Jesus had cured: "For our part we know that this man (Jesus) is a sinner". The man answered: "I do not know if he is a sinner. I only know that I was blind and now I see" (John 9:25-26). The centrality of life gives prominence to healing in all aspects. Many people in Africa today are sick not only of physical illness but also of social, moral, psychological, economic and political disorders. Medical doctors trained in the Western style concentrate on cure of physical disease. The African traditional healer aims at the holistic approach used by Jesus. This attitude to healing has helped to bring about the emergence of over 10,000 African independent churches.

Again since Africans believe that God's power is specially manifested in all things that are extra-ordinary, it would be fighting a losing battle to turn such belief into ridicule. It is only now in the age of environmental protection that scholars are beginning to discover the deeper meaning of the African world-view with regard to environmental protection. Huge trees, forests, rivers, swamps, lakes, mountains etc., were protected because of the divine presence in them. Everyone respected them, used them only as custom allowed. They were never to be destroyed nor abused. It was during the colonial age of secularism that people began to destroy the environment with impunity.

Furthermore when an African strongly believes that life grows from conception to old age and finds its fulfillment in the after-death, in the ancestors who lived an exemplary life, christianity will never succeed in erasing the veneration of ancestors. They are part and parcel of people's lives, an integral part of their world-view.

In the contemporary society where things (like power, wealth, or sex) have become more important than people or life, the African's central value of life gives us new challeng-
es to restore the community and person-based vision of development. It challenges the evils of individualism as advocated by the exploitative and competitive capitalism and the state-dictatorship of scientific marxism. The life-philosophy of the Africans has to be utilized and promoted not only by Africans but by all people who are seriously searching for a better vision of person and community.

The African world-view centered on life would condition our integral development. It disagrees with those who would want to set up huge institutions for the care of orphans, old people and widows outside their community environment. African orphans, especially now amid the AIDS epidemic, need a community and family atmosphere in which to grow. The Uganda government has made a clear policy on this. African old people need their grandchildren to play with who will help them feel young again. African widows need the care and love the relatives of their deceased husbands or the community where they live.

4. Integral Development Not Yet Perceived Internationally

The Fourth National Theological Week in Uganda, held from 8th to 15th January, 1989 and attended by the President of the country, Catholic and Anglican Bishops, theologians and professionals came up with a definition of development and a new vision for national development.

"While in the past, development was principally understood in terms of economic progress, we have now realised and become convinced, that appropriate progress should be integral development. such development must cater for the whole human person and encompass all the people of a nation as a whole: by developing their spiritual, religious, social, personal, cultural, economic, political, mental, educational, physical and environmental dimensions of life"¹

The participants defined integral development as:

"...a continuous, well-planned process of improvement of the quality of life for every person and for all people in the various sectors of society"²
The manner in which development has been introduced and promoted in Africa during the colonial rule and post-independence eras has been defective. The manner in which the international community is still planning development is faulty because it is building on injustices and without a clear integral approach to development. A few examples will demonstrate this.

4.1 The Colonial Ideology of Development.

During colonial rule, development was presented as something new, something foreign, unconnected with the world-view of the people. It aimed at isolating a few people and making them rich at the expense of the rest of society. The motive was to create a small middle class which would cooperate actively with the colonizers. This class was often made up of foreigners from outside the Continent: Indians, Lebanese, or White migrants. This class was to own large areas of land in order to grow the cash crops for the Western industries. It was to monopolize trade and to create employment for the Africans. Mono-crops like coffee, cotton, tobacco, groves, sisal, cocoa, rubber and so on, were imposed on African countries. Production of food was never promoted since it was not profitable to the colonial powers. Traditional professions of blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, boat-makers etc - were not only discouraged but often suppressed outright to make Africa a huge market for Europe. Only a few Africans were given the chance for school-education, to keep the size of the educated elite small and controllable.

Colonial development was very selective, it concentrated in one or two areas of a country, leaving other areas completely under-developed. The colonial signs of development included a few small towns, inhabited mainly by foreigners, cash crop growing, better roads and transport and communication system, the improved external appearance of the African and the schools and hospitals mainly under the ownership and control of the missionaries.
4.2 African Nationalism, Independence and Development

It was this type of development that Africans began to challenge from the 1940s and more so the 1950s. National movements and political parties were created to mobilize people for unity to end the colonial rule in Africa. The attitudes of the Christian churches to this cause were basically three. Firstly, some churches in Southern Africa and churches whose missionaries mainly came from Spain and Portugal, were adamantly opposed to African Nationalism and what it aimed to achieve. These and many other Christian missionaries had come to regard colonialism as something good for the Africans, something Christian which should not be undermined, let alone being brought to an end. For them colonialism meant "civilization, Christianization and development".

Secondly, some Christian churches joined hands with African Nationalists and political parties to pave the way to African Independence. The best example here being the Catholic Missionaries in Rwanda, who risked much in order to give support to the Hutu suppressed majority.

Thirdly, the majority of Christian churches in Africa chose to be uncommitted to Nationalism and simply sat on the fence to see the outcome and then support the victors. They easily identified nationalist sentiments and activities with those of communism and socialism, the two main enemies then of Christianity.

For the African elite nationalism was a powerful tool to unite the various tribes and groups to amass the necessary force and strength to achieve independence. In order to pull the masses with them a dream or utopia was created. Independence would raise the dignity and promote the human rights of the Africans, put an end to material poverty, disease, ignorance and exploitation of Africa, put power into the hands of the ordinary Africans, usher in an era of peace, joy and contentment. There were no strong reasons why the masses would have disbelieved their own educated sons and daughters then. History has, however, shown that most of these African elite who led African states to independence did not have the correct understanding of development and did
not share their people's world view. They betrayed the trust people had in them.

The decade of the 1960's witnessed the overemphasis on agricultural development in Africa. It seemed as if a contract had been made whereby Africa would produce raw material and the Western world process it and sell back to Africa. A good leader then was one who uncritically accepted this clear division of labour. The more cash crops, however, Africa produced, the less technology it could bring in and the less it earned for the crops. Poverty in Africa seemed to be a permanent vicious circle. Seeing no material improvement, the military led the way to rebel and stage coups which destabilized one African country after another.

It came as a shock to many Christian churches and the masses to see the sons they educated, now as political or military rulers violating human rights, forcing many into exiles, practising rampant corruption and destructive dictatorship. It is only then that it dawned on some Christian church leaders that political development and participation had never been part of the education they imparted. If politics were dirty, as the preaching tended to portray them, then it logically seemed to follow that those who enter them dirt themselves and their policies.

4.3. The United Nations' Programmes for Economic Progress.

Seeing the gap between the poor and rich nations daily and dangerously widening, the United Nations declared the decade of the 1970s to be one of economic progress and just distribution of wealth to the Third World. There was concern that no planet can be at peace when the very rich few swim in luxury while the poor majority are in dire poverty, unable to get the basic necessities of life: food, drink, shelter, fire, education.

The UN decade was supposed to create miracles. Plans, programmes and projects were made. At the conclusion of the decade, however, the UN found that very little or no development at all had been achieved in the Third World. The rich
few were richer, the poor were poorer than when the decade was launched. A critical diagnosis of the failure indicated the cause to be marginalization of women's role in development.

The 1980s was declared a decade for women in development. A strong campaign to awaken women was started. Women's rights were emphasized. Hindrances to women's participation in development were articulated. When, however, the women met in Nairobi in 1985 to evaluate their decade, the results were frustrating. Very little had changed in the lot of the majority of women. Their impact on development was still minimal. Africa, in terms of economic development, was worse off than when it achieved independence in the 1960s.

These failures made the UN declare the 1990s a decade for cultural development. The thinking behind could be easily discovered. Culture, it was thought, could be a great asset or hindrance to development. This is the decade we are in. It appears, however, it will not be different from the previous decades, because Development cannot be properly conceived in single items or dimensions. It only makes sense when it is seen as integral: each dimension balancing the other, animating the other and supplementing each other to produce an integral person and humane society.

5. The Effects of Faulty Development for Africa

The African continent today gives a very pessimist picture. The hopes of the 1960s have become frustrations. Hunger and famine kill many more millions of people each year than all wars added together have killed. The response to hunger is casual relief but never a permanent programme.

Wars and tribal conflicts still continue in several African nations. The response is to give more deadly weapons to each side in the conflict. The millions of refugees both official and unofficial are a phenomenon which shows clearly the African crisis. The response is again relief to these "non-people" but rarely the commitment to see them return home.

Disease is as rampant as ever; and AIDS is spreading like wild fire. Still technology is concentrating on space exploration and more sophisticated weapons. Illiteracy is increasing instead of decreasing due to economic chaos produced by the
unethical external debt which is literally strangling the Third World. Dictatorships and abuse of human rights in many African countries are destroying human lives and holding people to ransom. Many of such dictatorships are being supported by the rich nations of the world for economic interest.

The root-causes of these sad realities are both internal and external. African leaders conceive development in a manner that must be changed. Their style of leadership must be democratic and fully accountable to the people. The external factor is based on the unjust economic systems and policies, designed to keep the Third World permanently poor and weak. Both root-causes cannot be effectively addressed without religio-ethical values.

6. Integral Development Within the African World-view

In analyzing people's submissions on the New Ugandan National Constitution, I have been able to observe the following principles.

(a) People want to build the nation on the basis of their cherished traditional values. They interpret Uganda's post-independence crisis as failure to construct the nation on the values people knew, loved and respected. They regard the imported foreign models as having been designed to serve people in quite different situations and world-views.

(b) As a result people want a political system which can truly enhance their own active participation in governance. They want to be involved in discussing policy until a consensus emerges. They want a leader who voices people's concerns, summarizes their aspirations and is controlled by clear moral-ethical codes as was the case in the past.

(c) The areas which formerly had kings and were abolished dictatorially in 1967 want them back, although merely as cultural and social leaders without political power.

(d) Land is conceived not merely as an economic asset. It is a source of life, and a fundamental element for human dignity. Every person, however, poor is entitled to own land.
Land is ancestral. People are buried on their land. This keeps clans united in life and death. There are very few public cemeteries in Uganda, and these are used for burial of foreigners.

(e) Environment protection is greatly supported not mainly because it is a modern issue of concern but because the people's world-view value it. The Environment is fundamentally a part of human life itself. The more this world-view is promoted the better the environment can be protected.

(f) For the administration of justice the participation of community is widely recommended. They see no reason to take to the official law-courts cases of land, quarrels, refusal to pay a debt etc., which can best be solved by the village leaders themselves. The jury system is preferred. Confrontation should give way to reconciliation.

(g) The right to culture and the principle of unity in diversity are enthusiastically supported. They are no longer seen in the same way the political rulers at independence viewed them. They do not necessarily endanger national unity if promoted in a proper manner.

(h) The choice of a national language for Uganda where over forty languages are spoken is a very hot and sensitive issue. It is among the issues most discussed at all levels. All tend to agree that for the development of the Nation there is need for a national language which must be African. There is also agreement that choice of a national language must not cause the elimination of other ethnic languages. The debate still continues as to which language may be chosen by the majority.

(i) On the issue of women's rights and equality and their equal participation in the political and economic life of the nation, the debate has been very lively. People have been able to agree on cultural, religious and legal practices which are no longer desired and which must be eliminated in the interest of equality. People clearly perceive that culture has never been static but dynamic. It grows, learns from other cultures and responds to all changing situations. The nation as a whole has been able to identify cultural practices which need purification or modification, those which need new substitutes, those which must be totally eliminated, and those
cultural values which should stay as they are and be promoted to bring about the type of society that is desired.

(j) People have given numerous views on the principles on which the Nation should be built and development based. These views are the result of the people's world-view. They want a society that is equally developed, without enclaves of backwardness, in order to avoid conflicts in the future. They ask for an integral type of development that uplifts people in all sectors of life. They want promotion of the quality and quantity of life and the quality and quantity of what assists human life to be lived to the full. They condemn the selfishness, greed, and individualism of leaders and the rich. They dislike uncritical imitation and copying from the West, especially in the area of creating big cities with slums, attracting people from the rural to urban areas, moral laxity among the youth, and such institutions which weaken the community life, the extended family and mutual care. No submission that I have seen advocates legalization of abortion. On divorce, women have mainly insisted on equality with men and the just sharing of the family property.

In which way is Uganda to develop? The people have given a rich contribution which is a challenge to leaders at every level. It is their duty to translate into action the people's desires. Certainly they do not want to continue developing in the manner they have known since colonial rule; nor do they want to return to the pre-colonial period and models. They are not much impressed by several developments in the West. They want a new start, based on their basic world-view but fully integrated in the contemporary international world.

6.1 The Main Characteristics of the Desired Integral Development

At least seven principles have been articulated as essential properties of the development that neatly fits into the African World-view.

(a) Development is defined in terms of pro-life. Whatever gives, enriches, protects and prolongs life is
authentic development. By life here is meant life in its totality. This principle assists us to easily identify attitudes, decisions, actions and programmes that can be called development and those which are anti-development. The life of any people can never be developed without their positive consent and participation.

(b) Development is pro-people. It has to take people as its point of departure and arrival. It responds to people's aspirations, quietens their fears and anxieties, alleviates their problems and difficulties, constructs their desired ideal society. True development starts with acceptance of people's human dignity, human rights and basic equality.

(c) Development is by and through democracy. It is of people by people and for the benefit of people. Failure to involve people in their own development is to reduce "development" to superficial cosmetics of the external appearance. People are the basic source of development. They must say what they see, feel or want. They must do what they see as the best way of solving their problems. Any other approach in development is either paternalism, exploitation or outright dictatorship whose end result is nothing but misconceived failure.

(d) Development is by priorities. It starts with the most needed or the most essential and gradually moves on. No outsider can correctly guess the priorities of other people, for to know is not to guess. Even when in the eyes of the expert, the priority chosen by the people may not be the correct one, it pays dividends to abide by it in order, in solidarity, to move to the next desired step.

(e) Development is by conscientization and awareness education. Before people can intelligently choose priorities and embark on planned development, they need adequate conscientization on their own situation, their ability, the resources available and the plan of what they may wish to achieve. This conscientization is what brings about unity and solidarity, the sure basis of success for any development. Conscientization helps to achieve unity of purpose and common vision.

(f) Development should be based on justice. One of the major concerns of the African people is the example of so-
called development which is clearly based and fed on injustice. 'Development' which accrued from slave trade and slavery, from colonialism, from South African Apartheid policy, from the unjust world economic order and other dubious systems does not deserve the name. Within Africa there are numerous instances of 'external developments' begotten from corruption and betrayal of the local people. It is in this area that ethical norms and values become so important in our conception of development. On the basis of justice alone, we can achieve a new understanding of what can be truly called development.

(g) Development should be relevant to people's world-view. What makes development so desirable is its ability to realize people's ideals, increasing their quality of life, making them more human. Unless, therefore, every aspect and step of development is based on a serious knowledge and conscious respect of a people's world-view, such development can never be desired, accepted, lasting or beneficial. It has been the argument of this paper that culture and religion form the basis of the African world-view. The challenge that the Karamojong of Uganda and the Masai of Kenya/Tanzania and other African societies are posing is simply this: We want development that can respect and promote our cultural values: no more, no less. They want to be the choosers of the development they need; they must be the executors and guides of that development and the ultimate judges of its success or failure.

It is only when development whether spiritual-religious, moral-social, economic or political is beautifully integrated in the world-view of a given people that it makes sense, is appreciated and considered lasting because it has become part and parcel of that given society.

NOTES


2. p. 248.
SHOULD WE DEVELOP? AND IN WHAT DIRECTION?

Uwe Simson

One of the biggest problems in the world (perhaps the biggest after the environment problem) consists in the fact that a very special kind of "development" has taken place in a small, remote part of the world that was relatively unimportant before "development" started to take place there. This part of the world now serves as a model for virtually all societies in the world, which want to appropriate the results of the development processes that this part of the world has gone through. In other worlds, these other societies want to be "developed". The demand for development is directed at us. Since the non-fulfillment of the demand has led to dangerous world conflicts and can lead to further, perhaps deadly conflicts, there are not only humanitarian reasons for its fulfillment but also eminently pragmatic ones. Hence there is no question about the fact that we should engage in development. And historical record demonstrates that contributions from the outside can be constitutive with respect to "catching-up" development: in the first third of the previous century the Europeans successfully engaged English experts, and the Japanese engaged European experts in the last third of the same century. As a matter of fact, we have been involved in development for over four decades. But this relatively long period of a world-wide development programme has not had the result of making the situation of the developing countries more hopeful today than it was at the end of World War II. Nevertheless, the (few) exceptions show that no natural necessity has been involved in this worsening of the situation. The present condition is the result of human action. Therefore someone must have done something drastically wrong. Let us have a look then at those who bear the main responsibility for macro-societal development: the "ruling political classes" in the developing countries and in the industrialized countries.
Should We Develop? and in What Direction?

1. The developing Countries

Today most of the developing countries present a picture of disintegrating societies that have taken away all hope from the majority of their members that it will ever be possible for their needs to be even approximately satisfied. Of course no knowledgeable observer underestimates the immense objective difficulties facing every remedial course of development. But if it is true that in the overwhelming majority of developing countries the task has not only been unsolved, but has not even been tackled seriously in the first place, then this is an indication of policies of the political elites that are false in principle and not simply in part or from case to case. In my opinion, wishful thinking is involved here in two respects: (a) the dominant classes in most developing countries expect development to promote their particular interest at the expense of the majority of the population; (b) as a result they subject the "entire occidental catalogue of goods" to a very specific selection process - from the point of view of maintaining themselves in power.

This selective kind of wishful thinking is not new. For example, it can already be observed over two hundred years ago in the Ottoman Empire: it was quite clear to the ruling class that "the retention of the Ptolemaic world-view was just as important for the continued existence of the given power structure as was the copying of the most modern types of artillery and ships". This exemplifies the general attitude that certain aspects (e.g. the technology) can be extracted from the overall context of Western culture and appropriated while other, quite uncomfortable items, such as democracy or rule by law, can be rejected at no risk. The selection is carried out in the name of "cultural identity". What is understood by this makes for quite a heterogeneous conglomerate: on the one hand, stage props from the respective indigenous tradition, which are frequently held to be "more valuable" or of a higher moral quality than what the Occidental tradition has to offer; and on the other hand "modern" Western elements selected on the basis of consumption and stabilization of the power structure. Dynamic elements of the indigenous traditions (if such still exist) are negated. Thus
the "culture" of many developing countries (to the extent things go according to the wishes of the rulers) consists of an unfortunate mixture: the contribution of the West is assimilated "in the wrong way" and the indigenous contribution consists primarily in nothing more than folklore and deplorable social conditions. Social resources, including those contributed from outside – are employed mainly for "internal security". The result is that democracy, for example, is "Un-Islamic", as the king of Morocco recently declared.

2. The "Developed" Countries:

The "developed" countries are on the other side of the trench. Can an analogous relationship between rulers and ruled be ascertained here as well?

We are in a position to understand the situation in the "developed" countries only if we grasp the fact that these societies as a whole – i.e. irrespective of the difference between rulers and ruled – represent a ruling class in the worldwide context: a well organized minority, thoroughly in accordance with the terminology used by Gaetano Mosca, within which (all internal differentiation notwithstanding) there is a substantial identity of interests. This class, too, defends its position with the help of a kind of wishful thinking based on misunderstandings of socio-cultural relationships, and it arrives at the same result: There is no reason for "us" not to continue to pursue our form of development, which makes our society so content, or at any rate so easy to govern.

The developing countries? But with our development assistance we certainly give them a fair chance: we put them in a position to live the way we do – perhaps not tomorrow, but no doubt the day after tomorrow. And if they do not make use of this chance then there is no escaping the question of whether they are prepared to accept our form of development in the first place. A response to this question in the negative would of course simplify the matter enormously, hence it is scarcely astounding that even some of the "developed" countries have a made-to-order ideology in the desk drawer. Ironically, they have the same name for it that the leaders of
the "underdeveloped" countries have: cultural identity. Put briefly, this term means the following: the others are completely different from us, hence they have not only completely different abilities, but no doubt completely different needs as well. Automobiles, for example, are a part of our - admittedly somewhat materialistic - way of life; for Buddhists, Hindus, or Moslems on the other hand, religious factors still play the decisive role. Western development with its consumer-oriented society has robbed the countries of the Third World of their cultural identity, which they should now regain - with the help of fundamentalism, for example. Therefore the thought that they have no automobiles is no reason for uneasiness and we can continue to drive our second automobiles with a good conscience.


Before we go on to inquire into the goal of development, we need to clarify two points: (a) The first point is directed to the underdeveloped countries: Development is indivisible. The powers-that-be in the developing countries must learn to accept the fact that they cannot pick and choose at will from the department store of the West. Whoever wants to have technology must also opt for science - as well as for the social conditions that make science possible. But this is not the end of the matter. "Development" can be a success only if it is firmly embedded in a social and cultural system in its entirety, if people participate in it actively, and if as the result of such development even the possible revision of the power structure is accepted into the bargain. This state of affairs has apparently been recognized by only a few developing countries: the East-Asian "success stories". They are making the effort to appropriate Occidental culture in its entirety (including the history of its development, its philosophy, its social dynamic, its music, even its alpine sports) - they have set in motion the development of those productive forces that are making state-of-the-art automobiles possible today and perhaps something of more long-term utility tomorrow. The contrast can also be described thus: whereas the representatives of selective wishful thinking
strive to attain Western consumption for a minority, here
the goal is Western production - initially by the majority
but then for it. Here a quotation in this connection:

"Hunger and mass destitution in the Third World does not obtain because the
European path of development has been followed, but because precisely this
has not been the case"2

(b) And now a point addressed to the developed countries:
Development is indivisible. Of course it would be very
practical if the underdeveloped countries were primarily
interested in cultural identity, which is not particularly
controversial economically (or ecologically). But unfortunate-
ly this is not the case. In the late 20th century there is no
society on earth that is immune against automobiles, refrigera-
tors and recreational electronics, and certainly only very
few individuals are of the opinion that these nice things are
indeed there for others, but not for themselves. If fewer
automobiles are driven in the countries of the Buddhists,
Hindus, or Moslems than where we are, then the reason is not
the differences in preferences but rather the differences in
incomes. The major Third-World cities, which have the lead
in development in these countries, have in most cases also
reached the international standard at least in that respect as
well.

4. The Unique Goal of Development.

Max Weber once called the idea "childish" that in pre-
industrial Asian societies the acquisitive instinct is less
pronounced than it is in the West. Today one cannot escape
noticing that in India or Egypt the competition for wealth is
much more fierce than in Germany or France. The reason for
this is that the possibilities of realizing desires or fulfilling
wishes are infinitely smaller in developing countries, where-
as the desires themselves are basically the same.
"Identity" (as far as the question we are addressing is
concerned) is not harmony with some tradition or other, but
harmony with the "real condition" ("Ist-Zustand"). And as
far as cultural identity is concerned, we must make it
clear to ourselves that in the developing countries (just as in the industrialized countries) "cultural identity" is primarily a stage prop for political rhetoric employed in the competition for goods. In the developing countries this sort of rhetoric (e.g. fundamentalist) is aimed primarily at youths above the primary school level who have come to the conclusion that in their own society rebus sic stantibus (as things stand) they will never drive their own automobiles. (And they do not intend to solve this problem by immigrating). The reason that the Shah lost the race in Iran was not that he had been pursuing the false, i.e. the western goal, but that he did not reach it.

If one agrees with the argumentation as presented so far, then there can no longer be any doubt about the fact that in the long run there is only one conceivable course of development for the world. The attempt to establish various goals for development - e.g. further growth or prosperity for us, but only the satisfaction of basic needs in the developing countries - has no chance of succeeding.

Does that mean that we should recommend our present way of life to the developing countries (and make it possible through development assistance)? The answer to this question is given by reflecting on where, for example, the developing countries that at present function as dumping grounds for the toxic waste material of the "First World" are supposed to export their own waste after successful "modern" development, or where the oxygen to breathe is supposed to come from if all Indians and Chinese obtain private automobiles. But the way of life that we must come to an agreement about cannot be that of the majority in present-day India or Egypt - characterized by mass destitution and oppression. Hence the imperative of development, of change, obtains for both parts of the world.

It would be possible in this connection to compile a long list of wishes; I would like to restrict them to two key concepts: lastingness (Nachhaltigkeit) and equality.

"Lastingness": The one-dimensional control of nature that has been pursued up to now with disregard for the principle of lastingness should be replaced with the idea
of comprehensive control of interaction with the natural environment. This requirement is directed primarily to the developed countries. The fact that the population of the industrialized countries in Europe is no longer growing should not be allowed to divert our attention from the fact that over population (which can be understood meaningfully only as "the relationship of the pressure of utilization to resources" is mainly a problem of the industrialized countries. Examples of overpopulated countries are England, the Benelux, Germany, Italy and Japan. The problem is of course not restricted to the industrialized countries (see the extreme case of Bangladesh). But in most of the developing countries the problem consists in the fact that the rapid increase of the population is not matched by the per capita developmental performances. Family planning therefore makes sense in the developing countries as well.

**Equality:** The second requirement is that of equality. This is directed to the developing countries at least as much as to the developed countries. The idea of equality is a result of Western development. It seems doubtful to me that concrete social equality (not abstract equality before God) has authentic roots in any non-occidental culture at all. In the only one of which I have a more intimate knowledge, the Islamic culture, this is not the case. And I surmise that the idea of equality is also alien to, say, Hinduism. The ruling classes in the developing countries, who are so fond of operating with the idea of equality over against the industrialized countries, should stop reacting with terror to analogous demands on the part of their own populations.

In the industrialized countries the problem of equality poses itself in a special form. If growth can no longer be offered as a substitute for equality, the equality itself must become a political programme - at any rate to the extent that a free form of society remains a goal. And the elite groups that have their difficulties with this programme are not only to be found in the developing countries.
5. A World Culture?

And now to the ticklish question of whether a world culture that permits a continued existence of all human beings without need and oppression will be simply an extension of the present-day occidental way of life - or whether it can adopt decisive contributions from non-occidental cultures.

I am of the opinion that central elements of occidental culture must definitely be adopted by all other cultures - e.g. the idea of equality just discussed above: the principle of equality between free and slave, man and woman, believers and non-believers, one's own group and foreign groups. Absolutely necessary are certainly also the Western forms of thought and attitudes that make possible modern technology and organization. The step to an industrialized society is apparently an "evolutionary universal" (T. Parsons), as was the step to tilling the soil 6000 years ago (and which, like this step, is not taken at the same time by all potential candidates). Complete freedom, on the other hand, reigns in the realm of folklore, of which already nowadays assiduous use is made by many ethnic groups as a substitute for identity. The realm of aesthetics is not necessarily affected by this, nor the realm of religion. Throughout history religion has often shown itself to be extremely adaptable; Christianity, for example, has supported the most divergent forms of society and the opposition against them (Peasants' war in Germany, South Africa). And herein is probably also to be found the most important potential contribution of Non-European cultures/religions to the future world culture: in the legitimation of the idea, imperative for survival, that the possibilities of technology and organization, which are in principle infinite, must be restricted in the name of humanity. This will be made easier due to the fact that holy scriptures are generally very susceptible to interpretation.

6. What can we (i.e. those in the "developed countries") do?

Joint action between the "First" and the "Third" worlds will come about only if a rate of change is found that is not too fast for us and too slow for them. Here both sides will have
to make compromises. If we want to (re)gain our credibility, a self-restriction will be required of us in the very near future that will be very difficult for most people in our society. To mention just two things: to no longer take it completely for granted to live, work, go shopping and seek recreation in localities at great distances from each other; to take along a container to the supermarket for yoghurt. Briefly put, we must drastically change the way of life that we have been practising for over forty years and that today seems almost "natural", or at any rate necessary. This will be our decisive contribution to a future form of co-existence. The alternative to our way of life cannot be imposed from outside: an attempt of this sort collapsed without a sound just about exactly three years ago.

To conclude, please allow me, to make a short retreat to a more modest perspective, in order to make a plea in my own case, as it were: the case of development cooperation. Development cooperation is direct communication between societies at different levels of development. As of today this type of communication has not found its optimum form; so far it has not yet achieved what in principle, it can achieve. However, we are trying to get closer to this goal by adapting our financial and personal contribution more closely to the needs, motives, and abilities of the majority of the population in the developing countries. By orienting ourselves in terms of the concerns of the poor, self-help, promotion of women, and by taking into account the socio-cultural dimension, we are progressing step by step. And the emphasis on human rights, about which you have perhaps heard something from the media, is not the passing eccentricity of some politician or other but rather the attempt to give development the form it must have if it is to succeed: Development for the people and by the people.

NOTES
1. Steinhaus, Sociology of the Turkish Revolution, p. 28.

2. This formulation does not originate from an elderly, conservative economist at the International Monetary Fund, but from Dieter Senghass-epd 14/92).
DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA
CULTURAL, ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS
CONSIDERATIONS

Obiora Ike

1. Statement of the Problem.

For a long time now, development has been conceived by
many in solely economic and technological terms. The reli-
gious, cultural, and ethical dimensions were seldom recognis-
ed. Seldom did experts consider that religious and cultural
conditions are important for any development strategy that is
grounded towards human promotion. The failure of so many
development projects and strategies and the consequent
critique or rejection of the very idea of development by many
in recent times, can be attributed largely to this lopsided and
anti-cultural understanding of development.

Many African countries with their elite, got carried away
by the euphoria of modernization. Consequently, they lost
touch with original sources of African culture; but they did
not succeed to become European. The wisdom saying among
the Igbo applies "people who do not look back to posterity,
cannot look forward to prosperity". The development models
conceived in Western Nations and transported to African
Nations failed woefully.

Attempts by people of non-western cultures to develop
themselves according to their priorities and their own
innovative rationality have all too often been dismissed as
irrelevant. Efforts at cultural authenticity have in many cases
been repressed in spite of the cosmetic and external show of
readiness for inter-cultural dialogue.

However, there is a growing agreement today that there is
much scope for closer investigation of the ways in which
development entails ethical choices that are sustained in their
Development in Africa: Cultural, Ethical and Religious Considerations

turn by religious world-views of widely differing cultural origins. By way of analogy, one could draw from a reminder the need to search for innovative potentials in the cultures of the third world which have the ability to carry on and sustain a self-reliant (independent) rationalization and modernization process. Because of the specific affinity of religion to rationality Max Weber accorded religion a primary role in this process of rationalization and modernization and this is what could be new in the contextual reading of Weber's writings considered in other cultures.

It is not just the transfer of economy or technology from the West to African nations that is at stake; rather, it is the search for categories for the definition and evaluation of cultural ethical and religious conditionalities relevant for the development and modernization potentials of Africa. The evidence of cultural change attests to the well known fact that culture is not static. As society develops and history progresses, people interact and modify existing traditions to suit new situations. Cultural change therefore is a constant challenge for one to redefine one's identity anew.

This challenge can hold where there is a preservation of cultural continuity. This is the "internal logic" which, according to Weber, is the basis of all societal rationalization. Thus mastery cannot be achieved only through economic or technological transfer. What we need in Africa are avenues for creating a basis for categories necessary for the determination of religious and cultural conditions of development potentials. This would form the base upon which a society could revolve. Consequently authentic development is given ethical, cultural and religious grounding.

2. Development in the Context of Africa.

Africa is a continent of striking features and embarrassing paradoxes and contradictions. It is the second largest continent in the world and perhaps the richest continent in terms of natural resources and potential wealth. Yet, Africa is perhaps also the weakest continent on the globe. Her sons and daughters rank amongst the poorest of the world and her societies among the least developed. It is peripheral in the
world's geo-politics and economics; and is characterized by the paradoxes of habitation, acculturation, fragmentation, retardation and location.²

2.1 Socio-Economic Environment.

In the socio-economic sphere, the African condition is a painful and disgraceful reality - a distressing scene of a vast majority of desperately poor people living side by side with an aristocratic, privileged and shamelessly opulent few. In its mid-term review of Africa's recovery programme (1986-1990) an ad hoc United Nations Committee submitted that:

The African situation is characterised by unsustainable, crushing burdens of external debt, substantial declines in export earnings due to several depressed commodity prices and significant decline in resource transfers and private investment and land.³

As in the rest of the Third World, this situation is traceable to two broad categories of reasons: one, natural factors of inclement conditions and, secondly, human factors of an unjust world economic order, corruption and the incompetence of political office holders. For, as Paul Harrison points out, "the astronomical order is as unfair to the Third World as the economic order they so often rail against".⁴

2.1.1. Problems of Africa's Geographical Location.

At the centre of this "unfair astronomical order" is the unrelenting sun whose debilitating rays fall with unremitting intensity on the African soil. Africa is the most exposed continent in the world with the two tropics, Cancer and Capricorn, cutting across the continent and making of it the world's hottest zone comparable in heat only to some of the desert areas of Asia.⁵

To be habitable, the earth has to maintain a radiation balance; that is, to reflect back as much heat as it receives from the sun. Different parts of the globe, however, do not do so at the same rate. The temperate zones have a radiation deficit (sending back more heat than they receive) while the
hot zones have a radiation surplus (absorbing more heat than they return). A balance is maintained through a global weather machine consisting of winds, rains and storms. All the poor nations of the world (including virtually all of Africa) belong to the hot zones and pay a high price for holding mankind's "front line" against the sun.

Most parts of Africa have a temperature average of well over 25° centigrade at which level humus is broken down much more quickly than it forms. The effect is that most parts do not have good agricultural soil. There is an explosion of life forms hostile to humans. For example, mosquitoes, tse-tse flies, black flies, sand-flies, etc., along with their diseases, which weaken or kill humans, wilt and blight their plants, eat up crops alive in the fields or quietly feast on them in granaries and storerooms. Finally, Africa suffers from an irate pattern of rainfall. It is always the typical tropical weather: "never moderate, always extreme. Too much rain or too little". This, too, is linked to the tropical sun.

The net result of all this is that several parts of the continent get flooded and suffer drought at different times of the year. The floods create enormous erosion problems with gaping gullies dotting the landscape in several parts of the continent, and the attendant loss of arable lands and plant nutrients.

2.1.2. Human Factors Impeding Africa's Integral Development.

The human angle to Africa's deplorable socio-economic status can be divided into two: the external factors of an unjust world economic order and the international division of labour, and the internal factors of corruption, incompetence and mismanagement. The external factors are easily traceable to Africa's colonial past and neo-colonial present. The success of the 19th century industrial revolution in Europe created the need for ready markets and secure sources of raw materials for her nascent capitalist and industrial economies. Slave trade was forcibly suppressed. At the instance of the then German Chancellor, Von Bis-
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BETh 5/1: 1993.

March, the infamous Berlin Conference (1884/85) was held during which African colonies were divided among competing European powers. Several decades of colonial rule followed during which Africa was made the dumping ground for European industrial manufactures; and the economies of Africa were carefully tailored to meet European industrial needs. World War II (1939-45) generated sufficient momentum for nationalistic demands for change which brought political independence to most countries of Africa in the 1960s. This momentum was, however, not strong enough to alter the essentials of colonial economic relations with the West.

The essence of the colonial order was the exploitation of the "men and materials" of the colonies for the benefit of the metropolis. In the past, colonial administrators supervised Africa's production of raw materials and minerals for European industries. Today, under the dutiful supervision of native leaders, Africa still produces raw materials and extracts minerals which are hauled away mainly to Western Industrial nerve-centres. Thus, the exploitation continues on two broad platforms: through an international division of labour effected during colonialism which assigns to Africa the task of producing low-priced minerals and raw materials; and through an unjust economic order in which the West determines, much to Africa's disadvantage, the prices of our own exports as well as their own industrial manufactures.

The Kenyan novelist, Ngugi Wa Thiong in his book, Devil on the Cross graphically portrays the nature of this unhealthy relationship of exploitation in a moving parable about a peasant farmer and an ogre. He writes:

The old man told me... of a peasant farmer who used to carry an ogre on his back. The ogre had sunk his long nails into the neck and shoulders of the peasant. The peasant was the one who went to the fields to get food, the one who went into the valleys to fetch water, the one who went to the forest to get firewood and the one who did the cooking. The Ogre's job was to eat and thereafter to sleep soundly on the back of the peasant. As the peasant became progressively thinner and more depressed at heart, the ogre prospered and flourished, to the extent of being inspired to sing hymns that exhorted the peasant to endure his lot on earth with fortitude for he would later find his rest in heaven. One day the peasant went to a diviner. The diviner told him
that the solution was for the peasant to boil some oil and to pour it on the nails of the Ogre when he was fast asleep. The peasant said: "What if I should burn my back?" The diviner said: "Nothing good was ever born of perfect conditions. Go home". The peasant was saved from certain death only when he did what he had been advised to do by the diviner.\textsuperscript{10}

Our continent has found neither the pluck nor the wits to free itself from the strangle-hold of various exploitative tendencies. Nothing demonstrates the truth of this affirmation more clearly than the insuperable debt burdens of the various nations of Africa. It is, according to Babu, a pathetic situation of "institutionalised colonialism".\textsuperscript{11} By 1985, the total debts of sub-Saharan Africa were put at between 130 and 135 billion dollars!

Reports by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Bank for International Settlements indicate that by the end of 1984, that is, some six years ago, Nigeria, Sudan, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Congo and Mauritania owed net debts of 20.8b, 7.1b, 2.1b and 1.8b dollars respectively to Western creditors. These debts averaged at $1,170, $1,230 and $2,003 per head in Mauritania, Congo and Gabon respectively.\textsuperscript{12}

Today, after six years, Africa's worsening economic crisis has resulted in the deepening of her debt crisis. In Nigeria, for example, the total external debts have risen from 20.8 billion dollars in 1984 to 32.2 billion dollars by the end of 1990. Nigeria spent over 3.2 billion Naira in servicing those debts.

Far more worrisome and, perhaps, more damaging than any harm done from without either by nature or by the human agent is the sufferings which Africa's political leaders and public office holders inflict on their people through a growing culture of corruption, mismanagement and gross incompetence. Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, whose history is said to be "a story of missed opportunities, of how a nation could snatch defeat from the jaws of victory" will suffice for an illustration. Assessing Nigeria's thirty years of nationhood, C. Don Adinuba writes:

Unlike Japan which has no mineral resources but has through efficient
mobilization and utilization of human resources become the world's technological and economic miracle, Nigeria has an abundance of natural resources, but owing to gross inefficiency in management, remains a typical 'Third World' country. Unlike the mountainous South Korea whose arable land is only 22 percent of its 98,484 square kilometers but today exports food, Nigeria, with 87 percent of its 923,768 square kilometers arable, imports food items. Unlike ... Malaysia which some three decades ago began to plant Nigerian palm trees and cocoa seeds in its soil and has since become the world's largest exporter of palm produce and cocoa, Nigeria has in the recent past had cause to import palm oil from the Asian country. Unlike the Arab countries which have used their petro-dollars to invest massively in different countries, thereby diversifying their revenue sources, Nigeria, at the height of its oil boom in the 1970s... preferred to play Father Christmas by paying the salaries of striking workers in the Caribbean, by sponsoring expensive jamborees and embarking on white elephant projects with its head of state telling the world that 'money is not our problem but how to spend it'\(^1\)

These white elephants or abandoned projects can be seen scattered around the country and are valued at several billions of naira. In Kaduna State alone, the total value of abandoned projects were placed at 5.5 billion naira in 1987.

It is thus the case that after three decades of independence and the launching of five national development plans, Nigeria still lacks most of the basic amenities of a modern state: dependable sources of good drinking water, steady supply of electricity, mass-transit systems and good roads. Most Nigerians still live either in rural huts or in urban slums under very poor sanitary conditions. More than 30% of school age children are not in school because their parents cannot afford the fees paid in the nation's poorly equipped and ill-staffed primary and secondary schools. Yet, Nigeria has spent billions of naira importing five-star hotels, modern stadia and television stations, and more than 15 non-viable local airports and three international airports. Millions of scarce foreign exchange have also been wasted in sponsoring expensive sports jamborees, unnecessary foreign travels by ministers and government officials and in maintaining bloated foreign services around the world.

With the growth of profligacy in government spending, corruption in public office has also increased. In 1983, for
example, the then Communications Minister, Mr. Audi Ogbeh, in a Newspaper interview, revealed to a bewildered nation that Nigeria was losing 50 million naira monthly in the P and T department as salaries to non-existent workers. In order words, in one year, Nigeria would have lost a whopping 600 million naira in this single racket alone. And, of course, that says nothing of corruption and looting in other federal ministries and in the civil service of the 21 States of the Federation nor does it speak of the Customs department and of the private sector.\(^\text{14}\)

In sum, the above factors: inclement weather, an unfair world economic order, corruption, incompetence and mismanagement in public office (not to mention political instability) have combined to drive Africa into a very severe socio-economic crisis. Consequently, hunger and malnutrition are the greatest killers in Africa. According to figures provided by the United Nation's Economic Commission for Africa, 100 million Africans, a quarter of the continent's population, get less than 80 percent of their daily food needs, while thousands, die every day from malnutrition.\(^\text{15}\) This situation reached a climactic head in 1984/85 and 1991/92 with several hundreds of thousands dying of hunger and starvation in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia. Only the effective intervention of the international community and the highly successful fund-raising efforts of leading pop musicians prevented the catastrophe from reaching the proportions of the Nazi holocaust. Human misery of such proportions calls for a programme of development that is ethically grounded.

3. Development Co-operation: Some Ethical (Practical) Propositions

(a) The Problems of the North and the South are Interlinked: Many of the problems that exist in the South and characterise the so-called "under-development" are also to be found in the North (for example: destruction of the environment, health problems, refugees). Many of the goals
that have been set in the context of cooperative development work for the South are equally important for the North (for example: strengthening democratic structures, environmentally supportable food production). A lot of the problems that currently exist in the South can be traced back to the structures and modes of behaviour found in the North (for example: the debt problem, unequal trade relations, cultural alienation).

(b) "DEVELOPMENT" Must take place in the North and in the South simultaneously and on a Reciprocal Basis. "Development" can no longer be understood as something that is almost exclusively necessary for the so-called developing countries. Cooperative development work can no longer be regarded as something that is applied by the North to the South. Cooperative development work only makes sense and is justifiable when it is viewed from a global standpoint and when its activities are defined on a reciprocal basis. "Development" has to be redefined through a more democratic process - socially, politically and economically - with simultaneous interdependent changes in the North and in the South. For example, the analysis of the problems, the discovery of the potentials and the definition of the goals in a particular area must take place simultaneously with regard to the North and to the South. Parallel measures to realise the collectively defined aims have to be undertaken in the West as well as in the Third World.

(c) Interference in a Foreign Society is only Justifiable on the Basis of Reciprocity: The dominance of the North over the South is based on economic and military supremacy. A solely economic viewpoint that also prevails in cooperative development work has thereby justified the one-sided interference by the North. This standpoint reflects a hidden Euro-centric ideology that requires the South to evolve along the same lines as the North and accepts the "logic" of market-based economic thinking: the industrialized countries are regarded as the centre of the world and the model to which the developing countries - as marginal and subordinated areas - are adjoined. It is in this
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sense that cooperative development work has to be decolonised.

(d) Cooperative Development work in its entirety requires new Forms of Communication and Analyses: Development is a complex social process in which a very large number of different influences and powers interfere. Cultural, social, emotional and symbolic aspects are therefore as important as the economic dimension. Development models cannot completely take account of the role played by these powers. For comprehensive cooperative development work an intensification and distinction of the communication between partners in the North and the South is important. Democratically organised structures and forms for communication and analyses have to be developed cooperatively, in which vision, openness and willingness to learn have a place, and values as measured by the North do not dominate. This also requires that existing power differences are made transparent and become a subject of discussion.

(e) Cooperative Development Work has to be More Engaged in a Just Distribution: The worldwide prevalence of the market economy system also integrates the so called developing countries more strongly into the world market. An exception are the poorest countries that tend to be dissociated from the world economy. Attempts at delinking from the world market, as a chance to pursue self-reliant development, have led to a dead end. It is the task of cooperative development work to counteract the continuing concentration of economic power in the North. The aims in the South as in the North are the limitation of unchecked market forces, the redistribution of power and wealth at all levels and the strengthening of local and regional structures.

(f) Decision Making to Lie with Mixed Bodies: The competence to take decisions has to lie with bodies in which South and North and the sexes have equal representation. The democratic functioning of these organs and the realisation of common criteria for the implementation of the measures has to be guaranteed.
(g) The Interdependence of the problems of the North and the South Demand Specific Strategies for their Resolution: Cooperative work between two countries/regions/partners can in practice take on different forms:
- Changes will be realised by targeted measures that have a positive effect on global problems. For example, alliances with the same objectives between partners in the North and South that attain the goal through the use of specific measures (e.g. the reduction of CO2 emissions);
- In both countries appropriate measures should be adopted to improve a situation that has a particularly negative effect in the South although the problem is rooted in the North. For example, the prevention of the flight of capital from a Third World country to Switzerland.

(h) Cooperative Development Work is not only the Business of Aid Organisations: Cooperative Development work that is based on the double approach cannot remain the business of aid organizations alone. It demands cooperation with movements, organizations and institutions - in the North and in the South - that are accordingly active in the area. Governments, Churches, trade unions etc., cannot delegate the responsibility for balanced development between North and South to aid organizations. The aim of this broad based cooperation is an improved coherence in the relationship between the West and the countries of the Third World.

(i) Making Contact is a Concrete Way of Gaining New Experiences: The simultaneous realisation of activities that are by their definition interlinked makes possible a broader exchange between groups, organisations, villages and towns in the North and in the South. This means a further development of initial links that already exist today. What is important is the development of networks between individual projects and their foundation within a global framework.
NOTES


5. Loc. Cit.

6. Ibid., pp. 23-24


8. Harrison, op. cit., p. 24

9. Ibid., p. 25


15. See Newswatch, Lagos, March 5, 1990, p. 16
THE THEOLOGY OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

John Mihevc

At one extreme, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Paris Club for debt rescheduling are present as a secular Trinity, converting African countries from their sinful ways and showing the route to salvation to an ignorant and ungrateful multitude. At the other, the Fund, the Bank, the Paris Club and the commercial banks are portrayed as a modern Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse complementing and completing the work of war, drought, epidemic and famine in a prostrate and defeated continent.¹

During the 1980s the debates and struggles concerning development strategies for Africa dramatically focused on the issue of structural adjustment. Structural adjustment does not merely denote a set of economic policies to assist countries in addressing structural problems related to trade, growth and balance of payments. Structural adjustment also, and most profoundly, embodies a social, cultural and religious vision, not only for Africa, but for the world. Such a statement represents a counterclaim to the conventional characterization of structural adjustment as primarily a technical and economic set of policies to rectify the structural problems endemic to African economies. Unfortunately, those who oppose this agenda generally fail to appreciate the importance of engaging in a theological analysis of the structural adjustment agenda. This paper engages in a theological critique of structural adjustment.

Unlike their Northern counterparts, theologians and social scientists in Africa, and in the South in general, intimately understand the fundamentally religious character of the discourses and visions of development promoted by agencies like the World Bank. Their responses increasingly draw upon a more integrated and coherent analysis of the various facets of development. The Road to Damascus: Kairos and
Conversion, written by the theologians and social scientists from Asia, Latin America and Africa, succinctly captures the insight that the political crisis is profoundly theological and that the church is unavoidably a site in the struggle:

Christian faith has now been introduced into the political conflict. Both oppressor and oppressed seek religious legitimation. Both sides invoke the name of God and of Jesus Christ, and Christians are found on both sides of the political conflict.  

Theologians, social scientists and church bodies in Africa, Latin America and Asia have come to identify the issue of structural adjustment as the most important theological concern of our times.

The structural adjustment agenda represents a fundamental challenge to the piecemeal manner in which theology and the social sciences have approached development issues. This lack of coherency and integration seems especially prevalent among scholars and activists in the North who are critical of structural adjustment. The issue of theological relevancy challenges theologians and social scientists in the North and South opposed to the dominant development agenda to discover their common assumptions and together develop critiques and alternatives. An inter-disciplinary approach also provides a more integral understanding of questions of faith and values in development struggles and helps to explain why churches are so intimately involved and at the forefront of these struggles.

1. The New World Order and the Marginalization of Africa

If the 1980s have been described as the "lost decade" for Africa then the 1990s may well become the decade when "Africa [is] rendered irrelevant to global development, so marginal[ized] that their only real resource is to call upon the pity of the world by threatening to die in mass starvation on television".  

As the global economy is reorganized into regional trading blocs dominated by transnational corporate interests, sub-Saharan Africa is no longer even considered as an important
source of cheap raw materials and commodities. During the 1980s, the cumulative effect of international economic developments on Africa has been overwhelmingly negative. Two-thirds of the countries defined by the United Nations (UN) as "least developed" are in Africa. Real wages have declined by 25% and employment has fallen by 16%. Over 30 million Africans are unemployed and an additional 95 million are underemployed. Per capita consumption in sub-Saharan Africa has fallen by one-fifth. Spending on health care has declined by 50% and on education by 25% over the last decade. As many as 10,000 African children are dying each day from the effects of malnutrition and rudimentary health care. According to the United Nations Children's Education Fund's (UNICEF) 1990 report, The State of the World's Children, children, the poorest and most vulnerable, have paid the Third World's debt with the sacrifice of their normal growth, health and opportunity for education. It is estimated that Africa's share of global infant death will rise to 40 per cent by the end of the decade.

In spite of efforts to meet their balance of payments, Africa's foreign debt grew faster than that of any other region in the Third World. In 1970 it was US $6 billion; today that debt stands at $280 billion. When measured in terms of export earnings and ability to pay, Africa's debt burden is twice as heavy as that of Latin America. Behind the pretence of Northern countries assisting in the "development" of the poorer nations lies a far more disturbing reality: over the past decade the South has transferred to the North approximately $418 billion - the equivalent of six Marshall Plans. The ecological toll has also been dramatic: the intensification of rain forest depletion, soil erosion, famine and global warming. During the 1980s a number of important agencies came to the forefront to provide their own analysis and solutions. In Africa, none has been more influential than the World Bank.

2. The World Bank

Over the 1980s profound changes have occurred in Africa. Engineered by the World Bank and the IMF, Structural
Theology of Structural Adjustment

Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) were put in place as a means of responding to the debt crisis and of putting African countries on a sound economic and development footing. This adjustment was deemed to be the necessary penance for past inefficiency and mismanagement.

Critics charge that the social costs of this adjustment have been staggering. They maintain that structural adjustment measures such as currency devaluation, the removal of food subsidies and cuts in spending on health care and education place a disproportionate burden on the poor - especially women and children. In Africa, as well as in much of the South, women have been forced into additional forms of remunerative activities in order to survive as the farming of cash crops is consolidated into large, male dominated and foreign-owned estates. Young girls are taken out of primary school not only because of the introduction of school fees but also because girls are needed to help their families grow and market food. The World Bank has countered that countries that postpone their day of reckoning and refuse to "adjust" are demonstrably worse off than those that courageously swallow the bitter medicine of adjustment.

While many voices have supported the need for structural adjustment in Africa, it has been the World Bank that has assumed control of Africa's development agenda. Under the World Bank's tutelage, virtually every country in Africa has been forced to come to terms with the World Bank over the past decade. While other agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), multi-nationals, the governments of the G-7 countries and the banks have also played a significant role, the World Bank has been the key international development agency which has been at the forefront in advocating and implementing a structural adjustment development agenda for Africa during the 1980s.

Over the past decade structural adjustment has exacted a heavy toll in sub-Saharan Africa. Structural adjustment policies do succeed in maintaining the wealth and power of elites in the North and South, taking no serious account of the vast majority of the world's inhabitants. The ideology of SAPs is one which calls African countries to continue to sacrifice their dwindling resources and labour on the altar of
the global market in the hope that one day their economies will recover. SAPs moves us towards a global market where corporations, without national or community allegiances, control every aspect of production. It is this reality, as John Cobb Jr. and Herman Daly observe, that lies behind the rhetoric of trade liberalization:

Free traders, having freed themselves from the restraints of community at the national level and having moved into the cosmopolitan world, which is not a community, have effectively freed themselves of all community obligations.5

The corporate free trade development model has begun to eclipse the debt-financed developmentalist model. This model allowed industrialized countries, banks and corporations to export their surpluses to the South as the South fell into an abyss of debt to finance the imports that were to place them on the road to modernization. This experiment failed, not because of an unexpected rise in oil prices or interest rates, but simply because it was unsustainable in that it has served the short-term interests of banks, transnationals and elites in poorer countries. It was not a model of development rooted in respecting or considering the voices that were killed, left homeless, landless and impoverished in the name of development and modernization.

The All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) has called attention to the effects that SAPs are having on the poor and have called on churches, in Africa as well as in the North, to take a prophetic stand against what it describes as a "low intensity war" against Africa. According to the AACC, SAPs have only led to "the obscene widening of the gap between rich and poor and the increasing impoverishment and pauperization of the great majority of the African population".5

SAPs and the economic crisis have been identified in many churches as the most important theological issue confronting Africa, an issue about which the churches must speak out clearly and prophetically. Women's networks, lay centers and youth groups are beginning to implement programmes, workshops and seminars to study SAPs, and develop appropriate strategies. The theological responses and the movements to which they are giving voice, provide an important
social space for organizing and implementing resistance strategies and alternatives.

A more comprehensive understanding of the forces that operate at the local level can be achieved by studying the dominant theories of development which attempt to explain the causes of poverty and their proposed solutions. A framework which considers the implications of development as a "global" phenomenon is capable of illuminating the complex patterns and processes that contribute to the current crisis. Such a perspective, which can be referred to as a global economy approach, argues that the current crisis must be understood as multi-faceted, deeply rooted and global. In this respect, a global economy approach is a radical critique requiring a multi-disciplinary approach.7

In order to sustain this kind of critique, the traditional categories of development, i.e., growth, trade, debt, modernization and industrialization etc., have to be examined in light of their effect on local level impoverishment and land degradation. A global economy approach provides some important insights for this endeavour. By remaining closely attentive to local level concerns, a global economy approach uncovers the connection between global development, impoverishment and environmental degradation at the local level.

North American theologians generally struggle to articulate an analysis and vision which connects development and ecology. Much of this difficulty can be traced to the reluctance in appreciating the value-laden character of development discourse.

The theological task is even more daunting when the entire global political economy becomes the subject for enquiry. This has been an especially nettlesome problem in the field of social ethics. The reasons for this difficulty are many and complex. The most obvious, however, rests in the pervasive assumption that the market operates according to its own laws. For Franz Hinkelammert, the market can, "judge over life and death but cannot itself be judged in terms of the effect it has on the life and death of every individual."8 The free market is claimed to be value-free, natural and most efficient at allocating resources. Another reason for the lack of theological critique of development theory is to be found in the all too
pervasive view that, while theologians and ethicists can inform economics by contributing general moral principles, they are "out of their depth" when they attempt to critique or propose specific economic policies.

The difficulty that has been encountered by social ethicists in naming the current crisis rests primarily in the complex task of penetrating the veneer of invincibility that neoclassical economics currently enjoys. What are often cited as the root causes of our current crisis are merely their symptoms. Moreover, the debates about alternatives often become mired in bitter disagreements between reformist approaches, which seek realistic opportunities for improving the conditions of the poor and marginalized within existing frameworks, and more radical approaches, which call for a complete transformation of the existing economic order.

3. Globalization as Social Control

When considered from the perspective of smallholder farmers, poverty and ecological degradation are elements of the same process of marginalization generated by the gradual loss of control over resources and land. The incorporation of the poorer countries into the global economic system (a process which began with their colonization) has radically transformed land use practices and has also firmly established unsustainable development practices on a global level. One of the most destructive features of this process has been the transfer of decision-making control over land from local economies into the global economy.

The value-laden aspects of development as a form of social control often elude most critiques. Grounded in what appear to be a set of self-evident natural law principles development theories often fall into the same conceptual traps as economics because they share many of the same presuppositions. Even alternative development theories do not result in a "rejection of the basic development paradigm but in merely broadening it beyond the parameters of pure economics".
4. The Fundamentalist Theology of the World Bank

Structural adjustment needs to be understood as a clear agenda that has been undertaken by agencies like the World Bank to tie together a set of policies, the effects of which are known and understood. It is an agenda and a discourse which is, at its core, a fundamentalist one which not only denies the legitimacy of alternatives, but has actively sought, over the past decade, to ensure that all of the options available to developing countries have been narrowed to one.

In the context of Africa this has meant the further marginalization of this region as a producer of commodities. It entrenches an "open" trading system and the subjugation of national priorities to a global corporate agenda. The World Bank has succeeded in narrowing the discourse around SAPs to one which is highly specialized and excludes alternative voices and perspectives.

World Bank Annual Reports are replete with examples espousing a theology of "faith" and "hope" with regard to the poorer countries. Fantu Cheru remarks on the practices of World Bank economists in distinctly theological terms: "The old Christian missionaries have been replaced by an army of Western neo-classical economists who peddle their 'free market' ideology, which, it is hoped will take Africans to the 'Garden of Eden.'"\(^\text{10}\)

This raises a serious challenge to the traditional role which has been ascribed to theology and ethics as they relate to issues of development, economics and ecology. The traditional reluctance for theology and ethics to be directly involved in these conversations calls for a sober rethinking of the theological and ethical frameworks adopted for the study of these issues. This process is already seriously under way in Africa as well as in other countries of the South.

The imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes has had a dramatic impact on the churches in Africa. There are a number of movements within the African churches which are struggling to understand the implications of structural adjustment programmes both locally as well as in terms of their relationships with their Northern counterparts. Many of these groups in the churches are in conversation with other
groups, NGOs and movements which seek to put alternatives in place. Out of these dialogues emerges a challenge to the churches to rearticulate their mission within the context of these emerging alternatives. These have not yet emerged as fully developed social or political movements. For the vast majority in Africa, the present struggle involves mere survival. In these struggles there exist inchoate processes consisting of many faces and voices of transformative potential.

5. Resisting SAPs - A Theology of Self-Reliance

The theological responses to the deepening development crisis have been varied. To the extent that theological responses engage in an analysis which regards economics, ecology and theology as discrete forms of discourse, the root causes of poverty and ecological degradation are partially understood. At the same time, there is a growing body of theological literature which bears witness to the voice and analysis of the impoverished and marginalized. This is not only reflected in recent World Council and Bishop's statements but in the work and documents of the All Africa Conference of Churches and its member national churches. This contextual theology recognizes that the poor do not speak of their faith, their poverty or the destruction of their land as distinct realms of discourse but in a language that illuminates their intimate or unitary character. The numerous women's networks, movements for popular participation, cooperatives and training for transformation programmes that are spreading across Africa are hopeful signs of transformation and pose a challenge to the way these issues are studied:

As theologians, ethicists, feminists, ecologists etc. we have not done enough to stop the market from being treated as something sacred and put an end to the sacrifices required in its name of the poor sectors of our countries.  

A variety of challenges have been directed at the World Bank's structural adjustment agenda over the 1980s. This paper suggests an understanding of the SAP project as a religious vision imbued with a coherent theology and value-
system. As such, it can be placed on the same terrain of analysis with the alternative visions of development promoted by churches and grassroots organizations.

The recognition that the theology of SAPs is essentially community-destroying and death-dealing\(^\text{12}\) lends an urgency to the ethical task of linking issues of participatory and self-reliant development, ecology, feminism, peace, and other social justice movements. When a global perspective is adopted the integral relationship among these issues is illuminated, along with some indices for common action. This global perspective is physically rooted in the concerns and struggles of local communities, the poor and the marginalized in Africa. It is only by studying development through these lenses that it has become possible "to corrupt the self-evidence of development in its masquerade as natural law".\(^\text{13}\)

One of the fundamental features of present global development policies is the process by which basic livelihood decisions are increasingly being wrested away from the local and community level and ceded to the impersonal forces of the market. The kind of analysis, which focuses its attention on the interface between global economic structures and local level concerns, is gradually emerging as a trend in the alternative development literature. A social analysis which considers the interface of the global economy and local level processes holds the most promising prospect for alternative social spaces to emerge.

There is a growing sense of optimism shared by academics and those in social movements that the SAP agenda can be successfully resisted and overthrown. Henry Bernstein is convinced that SAPs will fail in Africa: "trying to coerce African states into basic policy 'reform' does not confront, hence cannot resolve, the contradictions of agricultural modernization' in the face of the environmental conditions, social processes of peasant farming, and historical patterns of commodification in Africa".\(^\text{14}\) In place of SAPs the option of self-reliant patterns of development is gaining prominence, not as a decision between two models of development, but as a necessity for survival. Africans, to the extent that they become increasingly marginalized and irrelevant in the global economy, can move in the direction of delinking with the
global economy. Many regard this as a positive affirmation of the values of self-reliant, participatory and sustainable development which affirms the diversity of Africa's peoples and traditions. A vision of development that is about people, their goal and aspirations, persists in Africa, in spite of the countervailing forces which attempt to impose a value-system which reduces all human activity to self-seeking individualistic "rational" choices.

The alternative development perspectives put forward by churches, and other grassroots organizations stresses participatory self-reliance, basic human needs and long-term sustainability in their attempts to respond to the impact of the current SAP agenda. The vitality of analysis, debate and concrete action that is emerging from the churches in Africa at the grassroots level as well as at the institutional level are evidence of the serious reflection that is taking place in the churches in Africa; a reflection that is struggling to respond to the SAP crisis that bears witness to a liberative transformative model of the church. Noteworthy in this process is the increasing collaboration occurring between churches and other grassroots organizations as well as the attempts to integrate social analysis and theological reflection. This is accompanied by an analysis which is also grappling with the ambivalent history of Christianity in Africa, and which seeks to uproot theologies which have been oppressive, racist and destructive of indigenous cultural traditions of its people. These oppressive theologies persist in Africa and are reinforced by revived attempts to evangelize the continent currently waged by a number of fundamentalist religious groups from the North. This suggests the need for an analysis which reflects upon religion and religious based movements in terms of both their liberative, transformative as well as their reactionary, oppressive features. As Jean-Marc Ela suggests:

We must rethink our basic faith because it has failed to enter genuinely into African life and root itself there, and because its claim to universality has been destroyed. As we bring Christianity face to face with the African reality, we must rethink God.15
Theology of Structural Adjustment

Women in the churches in Africa are increasingly voicing their opposition to the gender bias which continues to persist in the church structures. Many women regard this as the key locus in the struggle for social and economic transformation. The economic and theological analysis developing under the womens' church network provides a very valuable contribution to gender analysis on SAPs. Women's organization in Africa offer the greatest transformative potential for participatory, self-reliant, and sustainable forms of development. An important component of this struggle lies in critical reflecting on the transformative potential of women and women's networks and supporting these initiatives:

From women's perspective, a new understanding of development has to follow the vision of a just, peaceful and sustainable society whose primary concern is to care for the integrity of creation. As a result of their specific history, the gender related role assigned to them by patriarchy, and knowledge and experiences gathered from that, women can take the lead in concretizing this vision.16

These emerging voices and perspectives in the African churches provide a powerful challenge to Northern churches and to theology and ethics. They specifically challenge theology and ethics to become more integrally involved in issues of the economy. They call for a widening of current understandings of economics to embrace ecology, gender, culture and religion as integral aspects of economy. They view ethics and theology not simply as a realm of discourse that provides the basic principles and ideals on which social and economic policy is built. This kind of approach ignores the very patterns of social and economic relations which in effect constitute particular theologies and ethical world-views. Theological reflection arrives too late on the scene in restricting its focus to the consequences of the dominant economic theologies. Douglas Meeks argues that this theological gap is, in particular, endemic to theologies in the North:

There is a deficit of theological work with regard to political economy. God concepts have been criticized in relation to racism, sexism, the technological mastery of the environment, and ordinary people's loss of democratic control
of their lives. But not enough attention has been given to how God concepts in North Atlantic church and society relate to the deepest assumptions of the market society.  

Meeks' critique of theological reflection on political economy in the North challenges our theologies to reflect our concrete participation and collaboration, not only with other disciplines concerned with development, but also with the social movements (both in the North, but more importantly in the South) which attempt to articulate and live out alternatives to the prevailing economic order premised on the values of SAPs. The lack of attention in theology to the theological character of development and economic discourse gives rise to the isolation and co-optation of environmental, native, labour or poverty concerns by the dominant interests which succeed in defusing and mollifying these challenges to the extent that they remain disparate. 

The African churches responding to SAPs are involved in the task of renaming development in the context of the oppression and domination of those who have been marginalized by this process intensified by SAPs. Ela reminds us of the rich tradition of resistance that is rooted in the consciousness of Africans. For Ela, the African church reflects both the perpetuation of colonialism and resistance to it. It is the poor in Africa who are at the forefront in building communities of resistance:

Working through historical dynamics, the poor are called by the gospel to ask hard questions and to become participants with the power to change their own living conditions. This is all happening at a moment when the strength of the gospel is being discovered in the midst of the plundering of the Third World, the destruction of its cultures, and its relegation to a simple source of raw materials for the dominant industrial countries. This is a momentous experience of faith ... The most striking development is their will to make common cause in a dynamic directed to create a different society.  

So too, in the North, these irruptions of the poor challenge "our images of God, our spiritualities and ethics, and our visions of the mission of the Church in this world."  

The perspectives provided by churches and social move-
ments that are responding to the SAP agenda also pose a challenge to the social scientific framework out of which development issues are studied. They challenge the traditional division of disciplines as part of the very process by which an oppressive system is allowed to perpetuate itself. The task, then, is to make clear that development issues are at the same time political, theological, economic, social, cultural, and ecological.

The experience of alternative social movements suggests the interconnectedness of these issues and points to the need to break down the barriers between how issues are named and studied. These barriers often create artificial conflicts which impede both a clearer naming of the problem but also the strategies for change.

An ecologically sustainable development ethic challenges traditional ethical frameworks which attempt to view issues as if they stand apart or outside of eco-system or social systems. By maintaining this arms-length approach to the study of development and ecological issues, moral concerns have effectively been marginalized. The dominance of the current SAP agenda is a testimony to the failure to question the assumptions of the modernization paradigm of development which infect the social sciences and theology. Currently emerging perspectives recognize that the ecological and development crises can only be addressed in a comprehensive manner.

The task of "re-thinking development," currently undertaken by social movements, church-based organizations and NGOs on an international scale, is increasingly sensitive and attuned to the cultural and religious dimensions of development. It is these values, which development theory has tended to overlook, that are being reasserted on an unprecedented scale. Indigenous groups on the brink of extinction demonstrate in a dramatic way that the survival of this planet depends on the continued survival of the diversity of cultural and religious forms that have survived and adapted over the centuries. It is our indigenous peoples who are playing a key role in providing alternatives to the wasteful economic models of consumption and rampant destruction of the earth's resources.
Responses to the SAP agenda are becoming more comprehensive. They are refuting the basic claims of SAPs at the level of facts and analysis. It is vital for social scientists to be engaged in the endeavour of countering the "rational" and "hard economic" data presented by institutions like the World Bank to legitimize SAPs. Solidarity groups, as well as political groupings in the North and South, are using this research to great effect in their own struggles and campaigns. NGOs, grassroots and church-based organizations are also organizing on an international level and across interest groupings in opposition to SAPs. Currently, there are efforts under way to institute international databases and campaigns on SAPs which draw upon the rapidly growing literature which challenge the SAP agenda.

The insight provided by theological reflection on the SAP agenda lies in the recognition of their comprehensiveness and value-laden characteristics. The strategies adopted to resist this agenda elucidate the values implicit in the SAP agenda and counter them with alternatives that articulate and respect the diversity of visions committed to social, political, economic and ecological justice.

God is on the side of the poor, the oppressed, the persecuted. When this faith is proclaimed and lived in a situation of political conflict between the rich and the poor, and when the rich and the powerful reject this faith and condemn it as heresy, we can read the signs and discern something more than a crisis. We are faced with a kairos, a moment of truth, a time for decision, a time of grace, a God-given opportunity for conversion and hope.  

NOTES

Theology of Structural Adjustment


7. Gustavo Gutiérrez writes in a similar vein about coming to grips with the complex reality of poverty and the need to adopt a variety of analytical tools to comprehend it: "The use of a variety of tools does not mean sacrificing depth of analysis; the point is only not to be simplistic but rather to insist on getting at the deepest causes of the situation, for this is what it means to be truly radical." "Introduction to the Revised Edition," A Theology of Liberation, New York: Orbis Books, 1988, p. xiv.


20. The Road to Damascus: Kairos and Conversion, par. 46.
SELF-RELIANCE OF SPIRITAN YOUNG PROVINCES AND FOUNDATIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

B. Ikegwuonu c.s.sp.

1. Introduction:

This paper draws on my experience as Provincial Bursar of the Holy Ghost Congregation in Nigeria - a developing country. I was not long on this job before it dawned on me that dependence was the key issue. Considering the situation in Third World countries, it is clear that not even the governments or the particular Churches are completely self-sufficient, but all seek and exercise some self-reliance. Within the religious communities, there is also need for self-reliance along with solidarity.

The areas that are generally affected and where the need for this self-reliance is felt most are: (1) Formation: there is the ever-present need to have the structures in place and to finance the training of the new members: postulants, novices or those in the post-profession formation programmes; (2) the formation of the formators: this can be very expensive especially for those needed in higher Institutions of learning. Solidarity is specially called for in this regard. (3) The support for missionaries: to be able to produce personnel who are available for missions is one thing, but it is another thing to provide for them in their areas of ministry. Through solidarity between the provinces it is possible. (4) Making adequate provision for social security and old-age pensions: the present world economic system is such that medical and retirement services cannot be easily borne by individuals or communities without the assistance of insurance schemes. How far can this be applied in Third World countries?

The religious communities in Third World countries would like to be able themselves to support their Formation programmes effectively and to generate the resources for these
programmes from within their respective countries. No one doubts that support from outside is "temporary" and that until they are able to source their programmes they cannot easily take any independent initiatives. This is true not only in the acceptance of new missions and missionary tasks but in experimentation with new formation programmes or programmes of old age and retirement which could be considered more suited to their countries.

2. Implications Of Different Types of Administration.

Different Religious Institutes have worked out various ways of handling their financial difficulties. Those who adopt a centralized financial programme have their finances controlled from the centre. Funds which are disbursed to cater for the individual initiatives of members on the local level would have to stand scrutiny. It is also possible that this system may not present the proper challenges to the members in their various apostolates.

The communities that operate a decentralized system will still need to find ways to help the poorer communities and establish some form of "solidarity" to finance the formation programmes that have been already set up and also to support the missionary efforts. While respecting and encouraging the initiatives of the poorer communities, this solidarity will help towards the setting up of new structures and covering the day to day recurrent expenditure - especially where the growing number of candidates may require the collaboration of all the members.

3. The Socio-Economic Situation.

Experience has shown that like the governments in developing countries, missionaries are faced with the problem of the depreciation of the local currency. The purchasing power of the currencies become weaker and weaker daily. This affects the purchase of even the most essential commodities. Despite the fact that my country, for example, is blessed with many resources - fertile agricultural land, mineral and industrial products and an energetic man power - it is no
longer able to pay for government's own services and for imported goods from abroad.

A worker is no longer adequately supported by his wage. Salary increase is not as high and as fast as the cost of living. Faced with this situation, the society is continuously in need. The salary structure does not seem to have any answer to the widening gap between the rich and poor. Public sector employment is so difficult to get that people try to find other ways of supporting themselves rather than waiting indefinitely for it. Private companies give the unskilled labourers a barely subsistence level of pay. Even the skilled workers cannot adequately pay for their needs from their salaries. This explains why the workers go for a second job in order to increase their earnings.

Medical treatment is beyond the means of the ordinary person even in mission hospitals. In the Government hospitals, one has to pay for every item of drugs except where the social welfare services intervene on behalf of the "pauper". Only the rich are sure to receive the best attention and treatment in hospitals. Where the treatment fails, they can afford to be flown overseas for treatment. Even travelling is exorbitant. Taxi fares have increased ten fold in two years and a new car that cost N2,500 in 1970 (or $3,677) would now cost N350,000 (or $17,500).

Take the story of two young men who studied together in the same university in Italy. One was a Nigerian and the other an Italian. The two became friends and discussed their problems together. Both graduated from the university with good grades. The Nigerian returned to Nigeria where he was employed in one of the Government ministries, while the Italian was also employed in a similar way. To show what an uncontrolled inflation in a Third World country means, the salary of the Nigerian, who is supposedly well paid by the Government, cannot purchase a car when added up for a period of 20 years while his friend in Italy was able to pay for a car within a year. That is not all. Were the Nigerian able to buy a car after 20 years, he will find that by the third year he will need all his salary for repairs. In such a situation, self-reliance would mean abandoning the car; yet he needs it. Self-reliance brings with it serious questions concerning
falling standards of living.

It is against such a background that one can attempt a consideration of the issue of self-reliance for young Provinces in the Third world countries. It must be remembered that the situation was not always so desperate in the past. Our fore-fathers were very happy and contented with themselves. They had no cars, no television sets, no electricity. They drank neither tea nor coffee; yet they were well fed, and showed no signs of malnutrition. They left their doors open to strangers and always shared their meals with the visitor. What they produced in their farms and in their petty trading was enough to support them and, because the flow of money or cash was limited, they kept their reserves in material goods.

However, such an economy is gone for good. Modern life has brought with it new needs and new demands with attendant problems. Money and market economy, financing education, paying rents and taxes through a salary system barely able to meet the day-to-day expenses of the workers are part of the new realities. Then there the inter-dependencies in the economic systems and the unjust world order which makes the developing nations poorer even when they are producing more than before. With weak currencies, ever growing inflation, importation of necessary goods and technology, and less cash yields from the exported raw materials there is less and less self-sufficiency or self-reliance in Third World countries. It seems justifiable to conclude that the modern financial and economic system has not cared and does not care to find a solution to bridge the gap between the rich countries of Europe and America and the poorer countries of the Third World.

4. The Faith is Growing.

Despite the difficulties, the faith is catching on in the developing countries. It is slower in some areas than in others. Specifically because the christian population is growing fast, churches have to be built as well as houses of formation for religious communities in order to accommodate the increasing numbers. Vocations are also on the increase.
The seminary where I studied had a population of about 40 students when I entered about 30 years ago. The same seminary has been subdivided into three with a total population of nearly 2000 students. A similar growth is recorded in the religious congregations of women and men.

5. Problems Ahead and Proposals.

From my own personal observation, the main burden of the cost of maintenance for all these structures has been borne by foreign agencies. The big question is how these mounting costs, based on the standards once in use in Europe are to be maintained. Local resources alone are inadequate considering the shaky financial conditions in these countries. Without any exaggeration, it can be certified that the cost of giving a university education to a person in Europe for a year is equal to what would give a similar university education to 15 Nigerians in Nigerian Universities. That was not always the case especially when the Nigerian currency was strong. Perhaps, some sort of indigenized formation programme can be worked out as part of the effort towards self-reliance.

The first step which naturally suggests itself is to make use of the local facilities wherever they are available. The emphasis should not be that of making the poorer countries as rich as the countries of Europe over-night but on helping the people seek and find the rich resources that they already possess and utilise the same for their own advancement. Missionaries should not give in to the strong temptation of devoting more of their time to planning ways and means of raising funds for their projects. The greater work that should attract their attention is how to help the people to develop the resources that already exist there. The future development of a people or community depends on how far they can survive with the facilities native to their environment.

The way of life of the European missionaries has certainly influenced the church in the developing countries not only in the set up but also in the training. What was regarded as luxury some years ago is now taken for granted. If we, the missionaries from the Third World countries, are not prepared
to live within the social setting and means of the people to whom we minister how long can such an extravagant life style continue to be supported from abroad? If the people looked up to the missionary as people with means, who have the use of expensive and imported goods, what kind of christian message are we bringing to them? Perhaps, a completely new orientation in missionary behaviour and a different kind of formation system would have to be evolved in order to address these serious problems.

6. The Change Over and the Noble Inheritance.

With the present diversification of vocations to the priestly and religious life, change of responsibilities is bound to occur. The indigenous priests and religious should continue the missionary work initiated by the expatriates. This should not be seen as a failure or discredit but rather as a success which is to the credit of the missionaries who have made it possible through their labours to train priests and religious who are able to continue where they stopped.

For various reasons many things were imported from abroad in the past especially those needed for liturgical functions - vestments, vessels, bread and wine, church decorations, etc. The vast areas to be covered made the purchase of cars necessary. Today, there is need for the indigenous missionaries to re-examine and re-assess the situation, to sift what is necessary for the ministry itself from what is superfluous. This helps to make clearer whether all that was imported should continue to be imported or whether a quite new approach more suited to a place should be evolved.

7. Dangers to be Avoided.

One of the big dangers that should be avoided is that of the business mentality. It is an attitude that is developed towards missionary work as if it were a business where the gates must be closed at a certain hour whether there are customers standing outside to be attended to or not. This mentality does not encourage volunteers for non-paying and difficult tasks in the missions.
Another danger is that of evaluating member missionaries on the basis of yield. This may be in terms of finance, external achievements like the building of churches or the visible increase in the number of converts in their areas of operation. None of these alone is a proof that some members work harder than others. In the same way, members working in developed countries who receive good salaries need not undervalue the efforts of their brothers or sisters working in Third World countries with little or no pay.

A third danger could result if the two above are not avoided. When there is no openness towards non-paying and difficult tasks, when the spirit of self-sacrifice which is a primary requirement for all missionary endeavours is lacking, when the missionary insists on personally assuring the provision of his personal needs before accepting work in the missions, then one must seriously ask if the spirit that motivated the early missionaries is the same that guides the members of today.

8. Solidarity.

Our Provinces in the countries of Europe and North America have many notable advantages over the new Provinces and Foundations in the developing countries. In the first instance, they have the experience and gains of centuries of experimentation in development. The religious houses have also, over time, come in various ways to be able to control property. In these places, individuals and firms do make wills and establish funds for the promotion of religious projects, works in the missions, seminaries, etc. This idea is presently being explained to the people in developing countries but it will take time before it bears fruit. At present, our people think that their small contributions now and again are sufficient to take care of the needs of the religious communities.

Edifying also is the recognition which some European missionaries officially enjoy from their countries of origin. An example is the big reduction made by some European Airlines for missionaries travelling to any of the developing countries. Those who make use of these concessions may take them for
granted, but they are clear examples of the various ways an expatriate has an advantage over the indigenous missionary. It is true that with time and education a change can be brought about but it is important to note that as of now, missionary works in Africa and the rest of the Third World do not have the patronage of this level of mass-enlightenment and official or public recognition and help.

The testaments and endowments are not forthcoming from individuals, and the christian communities in these areas can hardly be expected to shoulder alone the whole financial burden. Yet, since these instances cited from Europe and America are not necessarily government initiatives, they should inspire the indigenous missionaries into teaming up and working together towards obtaining similar benefits in their own countries. However, the need still exists for the solidarity of the older churches and Congregations and will continue to exist so long as some balanced financial situation that reduces the vast differences between the various economies is not yet evolved in the world.

9. What Can be Done to Help the Situation.

Some initiatives can be suggested here. Good and friendly links should be maintained with local Bishops so that dioceses also are involved in funding the formation programmes of the young provinces. There is need also to get the local people involved through some organised movements run by the lay people themselves for the support and the training of priests and religious. In this matter one will discover pretty soon that the lay people will more readily support the moves for "mission works abroad" than for "formation" alone. That is why religious communities seeking financial support would rather use the picture of a starving African child than a photograph of a religious priest or sister.

Efforts should be made towards the reorientation of formation programmes and structures as earlier mentioned. Members should be trained, each according to his or her capabilities, in skills or professions, especially those needed in the missions. Another vital need of the provinces in developing countries is the Training of Personnel in Manage-
ment and Investment Competence. As business economy and financial management become more advanced there is need for people with these kinds of training so that they can handle the funds of their respective provinces or communities effectively. This helps to work out and effect a transition from the situation whereby money is obtained from abroad for running projects to one whereby dependence on external financial support will gradually diminish.

The need for such a transition is urgent, but it can only be gradual and not automatic. As things now stand, the need to have foreign benefactors is vital. Incidentally, the number of individual benefactors seems to diminish with the years. The reason is probably because of the universally rising cost of living or because people tend nowadays to support charitable work through the big world funding agencies. New ways may and need be worked out in the future, but until then, what are we to do to ensure the continuation of the missionary work already started? Since the younger Provinces and foundations in Third World countries are hard hit by the overall economic situation, as I indicated above, they will still need the help of the elder-sister-Provinces in order to embark on the journey towards self-reliance.

A major and necessary contribution on the part of older Provinces could be to help provide every new Province or Foundation in a developing country with a fund or endowment. These funds should then be invested and should be so managed that the essential expenses of these younger provinces can be covered from the interest. Before a new Province or Foundation is approved, the provision of such funds should be regarded as one of the requirements. This measure is to ensure that financial self-reliance is possible within a foreseeable future. It is going to be more effective than trying to sponsor every single project of the younger provinces from outside. Moreover, these new Provinces and Foundations will feel challenged but not abandoned completely to their own initiatives towards providing for the needs of their missionary endeavours.
10. What the Treasurers Can Do.

Whenever there is need for a change over, the transition should be allowed to be gradual, friendly, systematic and open. The method of packing the books and keys in a chest and dropping a note for the indigenous new comer to the job is far from being a constructive way to make a hand-over. The treasurers should realise that their work is not easy and yet their place in the mission work itself is very essential. The Congregation which receives a mission from the Church depends on the treasurers to work out the ways and means to support it. Consequently much of the future of the mission depends on them, the future of the religious community and even the preaching of the Good News there.

A new mission or one that is newly handed over to indigenous hands is like a new born child and needs some care and support in order, first, to survive and, then to grow gradually into relative self-reliance. The indigenous personnel need the moral trust of the older ones, that they too could carry on the work of spreading the Gospel, that is, that they could be missionaries. A young child needs to be adequately provided for. So too a mission that is new in indigenous hands. Patience and confidence do it a lot of good. Self-reliance should be aimed at, in order to avoid remaining eternally a baby. But too much stress on self-reliance may seem to indicate a tone of reluctant support, giving the impression that the only yardstick for measuring development is that of finance. Perhaps, the proper attitude should be: we are working together for a common purpose; our available resources will be employed according to the needs of the various missions; when we are no longer able to support any of our missions, we shall admit our limitation and together pull out so that others may take over where we cannot continue.

Above all, there must be the exercise of faith. It is the Lord who gives all good gifts. The missions belong to Him. For Him we work as bursars and treasurers. When 200 denarii were not sufficient to buy bread for the crowd, the Lord found another way of providing food for the thousands so that all had enough to eat. We should not be afraid to accept a change, change of missions, change of community, change of
personnel and even change of the ways we have been doing things for so many years.

11. Conclusion.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the treasurers have a lot to contribute towards making the financial self-sufficiency of new provinces in developing countries possible. It will be a gradual process requiring a lot of patience on the part of the treasurers themselves and training and hard work on the part of the members of the young provinces. Solidarity in the Congregation will continue to exist in order to ensure continued support for the works of the Congregation whether our financial system is centralized or not.

With the growth of the Church in Third World Countries, there arise also new demands. This calls for a re-examination of the practices which were taken for granted in the past but which need now to be adapted to local conditions. Where possible, a fund should be provided for the young provinces to cover their day-to-day expenses and also to allow them free hand in the management of their resources.

Lastly, I would suggest that since this topic of self-reliance is such a vital issue in missionary circles today, it should be investigated further by a research group for the benefit of the Congregation as a whole and in particular for the benefit of the missionary groups working in Developing Countries.
THE PRICE OF FAITH: MONEY IN THE ECONOMY OF SALVATION

Matthew Hassan Kukah

Money, being the energizer, the propeller of human activities, was surely going to be a controversial aspect of the human quest for meaning in life. It is commonly defined as a mere tool for exchange. But where this quest enters into the realm of human happiness, the stakes become very high indeed. To the extent that the human person is flesh, blood and spirit, a crucial and controversial question would inevitably be posed: what kind of happiness does money really give? What are the limitations of this salvation?

Jesus entered the scene at his own time, offering a new way of looking at every other aspect of life. Since then, no fact of life has been the same. "I come to bring fire to the earth", He says, "And how I wished it were blazing already" (Luke 12:49). "Behold", He says, "I make ALL THINGS new" (Rev. 21:5). This intrusion into a world that was hitherto in darkness, a formless void, offers new meaning (Genesis 1:2). It is against this back-drop that money, its use and definition are all thrown into this fire that Jesus has brought to our world. It is therefore natural that all those who have been 'burnt' by this fire, must inevitably show signs of its effect.

This short paper is an attempt at examining the uses and abuses of money and their collective effects on the Gospel. Part One will present a general overview of the historical development of the argument, Part Two will try to address the theme of the Gospel of Prosperity. The Third Part will examine the Nigerian experience while Part Four, by way of conclusion, will suggest some important lessons which we need to draw.

1. Money and the Practice of Christianity.

The basic thesis of Max Weber's Protestant Ethic is that
Protestant Christianity sought to establish a Theological correlation between material/economic prosperity and the blessings of God. This position is in itself based on the narrow definition of what constitutes God's blessings.

In the Bible, we encounter the man whose wealth was so much, he didn't know what to do. His plans were initially to "eat, drink and have a good time" until he was told that his soul could actually be taken from him. Jesus drives the point home by pointing out that: "So it is when a man stores up treasures for himself in place of making himself rich in the sight of God" (Luke 12:19,21).

No where does God/Jesus condemn money as such, rather it is the human attitude towards it. After all, the lack of it altered many conventional things in the life of Jesus. Had Mary and Joseph been rich, they probably would have made a reservation in the inn (Luke 2:6,7); the wealth of a friend enabled the Apostles and Jesus to have the last supper amidst a decent environment (Luke 22:12).

Money of course has tended to blur the image of the institutional churches with civil and political life. This has led to the false belief that the strength of the church can be measured by edifices and other paraphernalia of power. To what degree has our Christian Community escaped these temptations?

2. The Gospel of Prosperity

The Gospel of Prosperity represents a reinterpretation of the Weberian ethic as it concerns the link between God's blessings and prosperity of believers. Simply put, the Gospel of prosperity, capitalising on human greed and the quest for power argues, that believers are not meant to be poor, that to be poor is not consonant with the God of Wealth. Hence, it believes that: God is the source of wealth, to believe in Him truly means enjoying part of this wealth. It comes to believers through the grace of God's chosen instruments - His ordained Ministers. From their own wealth, believers are made to relate to God's wealth, hence, the preacher of this Gospel advises His followers in something like this: "Believe in the God of wealth as you can see this wealth manifested in my own life
style". The logic here is that clerics then start seeking to reproduce this Gospel by way of acquisition of the necessary paraphernalia of power. Thus, his (the Minister's) car, home, attire, etc. are supposed to be the most expensive that money can buy. He has to acquire a sartorial poise that fits his stature; and his new message is simply: "Come to me all you who are poor and I will make you rich".

The Biblical basis of the Gospel of Prosperity goes to selected texts in the Bible which are used to reflect this reality. A few examples are: Mark 11:23-4: "Whatever you ask for in prayer, believe that you have received a hundred fold here in this life..." Phil. 4:19: "My God will supply every need of yours according to His riches..." "Ask and you shall receive..." (Matthew 7:7). Preaching a sermon in Zimbabwe, one of the strong protagonists of this Gospel recounted an experience of his, which proves this blessing of God. It was about a farm in which God shows His preference for His own. In this farm!

"... the plots were seeded, and in time, a variety of vegetables began to sprout from the ground. As the growing season waned, however, and the dry winter months approached, something odd began to happen. The plots belonging to the unbelievers completed their production cycle, flowered, and went to seed, and died off as normal. But the plots of those Christians who had believed in God's word continued to produce - not just through the autumn months, but through the dry African Winter as well. There was no natural explanation. It was impossible. Yet it had happened. And it was not the result of the work of some dead ancestor or the consequence of a ritual dance. This winter harvest was the direct result of a people hearing and applying God's word".

To his listeners in Africa, this superfluous story would have stirred an air of expectation that to believe means a bountiful harvest defying all seasons. If being outside the fold means that one runs the risk of not having a good harvest, who will like to run the risk of hunger and poverty?

It is instructive to note that the proponents of the Gospel of Prosperity are seen as junior partners in the evangelical schemes of the very rich American "televangelists". Indeed, the Gospel of Prosperity has its origins in the United States
and it has been traced to people like E. W. Kenyan (d 1948). From him, the latter day preachers drew and later on presented a Gospel whose popularity has now got political, economic and social implications. Today, the names of Oral Roberts, Jerry Falwel, Jimmy Swaggart, Tim and Fay Bakker have come to be associated with the Gospel of Prosperity. However, the lurid details of sex and corruption which had eaten into their empires, raised questions about their credibility. Some of their empires of prosperity had to respond to the logic of market forces and their crumblings over the past years has been a lesson.

On the political side, preachers of this Gospel have used their wealth and influence to negotiate their way into the embrace of the powerful corridors of political power. Hence, it is now known that candidates like Reagan and Bush were put in the White House partly due to the power and influence of these preachers. The formation of the Moral Majority as an umbrella to articulate these positions and goals was the climax of their efforts.

It is the process of funding these ambitions that led to such sermons as that preached by Mrs. Gloria Copeland, the wife of one of the Evangelists. She said:

"You give $1 for the Gospel's sake and $100 belongs to you. You give $100 and receive $1,000. Give $1,000 and receive $100,000. Give one air-plane and receive one hundred times the value of the air-plane. Give one car and the return would furnish you a life of cars". 2

Is it any wonder then that this Gospel has acquired such acceptability in Africa? Let us now look briefly at the Nigerian experience.

3. The Role of Money in Christian Practice in Nigeria.

The growth of separatist churches which breakaway from parent ones has always been a matter of course. In the case of Nigeria, what seems to have changed with time is the motivation. There is, clearly, a qualitative as well as a quantitative shift from the theological to the mundane in motivational conceptions. Today, one does not hear so much
of groups breaking away due to fundamental theological problems, rather, some of the problems range from say financial disagreement, ethnic squabbles, charges of witchcraft, adultery and so on. In fact, popular thought in Nigeria holds that in the main, religion has become a money spinning venture and that people found these churches now merely to extort and hoodwink unsuspecting adherents. Let us briefly look at the profiles of some of these churches in Nigeria over the last ten or twenty years and the effect of money on them.

3.1. Emmanuel Olufunmilayo Odumosu

Today, hardly any Nigerians living in Lagos and its environs can feign ignorance of the empire of Rev. Emmanuel Odumosu alias Jesus of Oyinbo. Born in 1914, Emmanuel claimed to have had a call in 1952 in which he was asked to abandon his old ways and to carry out a mission for God. He responded by abandoning his job as a cabinet maker with the Posts & Telegraph Department of the Ministry of Communications. He soon began to seek public attention by lectures and bills. One of these called The Branch, had the following inscriptions:

"Do not allow the prince of this world to doom you. Meet your man, the messenger of the covenant. Do not look at me as an African, either white, Yellow, Red or Black... Do not joke at this for as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be in the days of the son of man. It will cost you no money. Come and learn. Knowledge is Power". ³

Rev. Odumosu started off feeding his members and helping those who had no jobs to gain employment where he had connections in Lagos. As time went on, Odumosu's empire began to expand; and the need for financial comfort became an important fact in his scheming. Thus, for him, money was an important factor in reconciling man to God. Said he: "You know it takes time to be righteous. If a man is not earning good money, you tell him to be righteous, he can't be righteous. Therefore, I make these people to be comfortable, that they may be righteous, and they are trying". Little wonder then, with more and more money, the self image of Odumosu
began to change. From being an ordinary cabinet maker, the preacher started calling himself "Jesus", "The Beginning and the End", "The Authority". To his people, he believed he was "the maker of their souls and everything that they are", "Their Lord and Master" etc. By the time Odumosu died on January 17th, 1988, his Kingdom had begun to reside in the psyche of most Nigerians as a cult where all kinds of atrocities were being perpetrated. He was said to have sired nearly 400 children from wives, members of his kingdom and, some say, his daughters. These facts, his closest associates have corroborated.¹

3.2. Olumba Olumba Obu

He has been the sole administrator of his church known as the Brotherhood of the Cross and Star with his headquarters in Calabar.

He recognized his powers when at the age of six, he was purported to have raised a woman from the dead. Since then Olumba saw his mission as being threefold: to teach and lead the whole world to the accurate knowledge of truth; to reform sinners unto righteousness and sanctity of humanity; to establish the Kingdom of God on earth.

He is seen by his followers as a man of immense power and charisma. He is said to be a healer, capable of reversing fortunes or ill-fortunes. Perhaps owing to his low level of education, he has not really been in the front-line as his colleagues who have courted and continue to seek popularity through using the media. On the contrary, he rarely grants interviews. Both Pa Odumosu and Olumba would all be of the same generation, though the scope, the direction and content of their messages varied.

On their heels came the late Rev. Oshoffa whose Kingdom also spread across the West African coast and beyond. As I mentioned, these men tended to lay emphasis on their awe, presence and charisma. They were somehow limited (perhaps culturally) in their appreciation of the media - this may account for their lack of concerted efforts to exploit the media - perhaps therein lay their own aura and power.

The media as a vehicle for shaping and transforming the values of society remains indisputable. It is little wonder therefore that one of the thresholds of the evangelical preachers became the Television. By the late seventies and early eighties, they had become such a pervasive phenomenon that the term "Televangelists" was coined for them. Their greatest showing came in the wake of the economic deregulation of the Reagan era. The television stations responded to this challenge by commercializing air time and selling the time to the highest bidders. The "televangelists" reached out for this and in a very short period of time, they were beginning to own the waves. Thus, for example, in the mid eighties, Rev. Jerry Falwel's OLD TIME GOSPEL HOUR was reaching some 1.5m subscribers weekly. He was not alone. Along with this money came a change in profile. A writer summed up the situation thus.

"Starting with electronic ministry itself, one enterprise began another, and then another and another. The preachers branched into real estate, records, amusement parks, books, lectures, and personal appearances. They travelled by jets and expensive automobiles, lived in luxurious mansions, and enjoyed lifestyles full of comfort".

Characteristically, the drift into the world of high finance meant that the evangelists had to begin to live out the logic of these mundane pursuits. Their empires were soon beset with skulduggery, back-stabbing and at times, blackmail. Of course, the fact that the Moral Majority had managed to put Reagan in power served to embolden them. Again, the pull of politics, though seductive, was short-lived, a factor that was to account for the change of fortunes for the various "televangelists" as they contested for advantage in the White House over the years. By the end of the eighties, most observers would later on remember only the steamy side of the lives of these evangelists and their court cases. As time wore on and conformity with the world began to take its toll, a commentator summed it up well by saying:
"Televangelists fell on hard times. In the wake of the scandals, audience ratings dropped. So did the revenues. As donations to ministries declined, lay-offs were imposed and broadcast air time was cut back. Public opinion polls sharp shifts from favourable to unfavourable. The great electronic tent show of the eighties, if not struck, was collapsing. The religious empire of televangelism, like temporal ones in American board rooms and corporate headquarters, was riven with dissent and locked in territorial take over and acquisition battles."

In Nigeria, the eighties also witnessed an unprecedented upsurge in what Nigerian journalists have come to call GOD'S FUNKY PREACHERS. These new groups, mainly part of a motley crowd expressing all forms of belief, power and faith-healing have come under the loose umbrella of what is commonly called the Evangelicals. Their claims to miraculous powers, prophesies, healings, etc., have been the source of their attraction. They are distinct from both the traditional churches like the Catholics, Anglicans or Methodists or the African Independent churches like the Celestial Church of Christ or the Aladura. They are held together by the God that is preached in the Gospel of prosperity. There is great emphasis in the externals in terms of dress, such paraphernalia like cars, houses etc. After all, their God is not a poor God. It is almost true to say that by their externals, you shall know them. For example, a journalist has observed that:

"The average pastor cuts a clear picture of great accomplishment. His suit, exquisite and modern, exudes the folksy touch of Christian Dior quietly reserves for the elegant and well appointed. His Italian shoes, smart Swiss digital watch blend coolly with an attire that obviously has been selected with a keen sense of fashion."

The relationship between them and the social scene is well captured by the same writer who notes that:

"The go-getting spirit of the preacher's evangelism, their funky American manners and youthful ordinariness appeal to members.... As the bandwagon swells, mind boggling financial empires are springing up as fast as Churches can sprout into life. A pointer to the growing wealth are the ambitious building programmes that the funky ministries now embark on."
Today, these churches look back at their humble beginnings, when they used to have less than 100 members, to their new symbols of opulence as their worshipping centres now show. Most Nigerians can look back at a Pastor Kumuyi's DEEPER LIFE BIBLE CHURCH, Benson Idahosa's CHURCH OF GOD MISSION, Kris Okotie's HOUSEHOLD OF GOD FELLOWSHIP and marvel at the transformation. They have come a long way, and the issue now is whether we can really move beyond the superficial claims that they have come into being as a means of ripping society off. Their groundswell of support cannot be the sign of people chasing a shadow, nor can it be argued that in these hard economic times, Nigerians are merely being led astray by clever preachers. Let us therefore now assess these Churches, their money and the economy of salvation by way of conclusion.

5. Conclusion

The first point that one has to make is to emphasize the importance of situating this whole phenomenon in its historical context. If we do that we will be in a position to appreciate the realities of the dynamics which have produced the picture that we have just sought to paint. Let us look at a few of these factors.

*It must be understood that nothing we have said here in meant to present the traditional churches as being the angels or the evangelical churches as being the devils. No! Some of the traumas that these churches are going through today, have been faced by the established churches. After all, the Catholic church has a very detailed legal format for accountability towards the usage of church funds. Yet, no church is free from the wrangles of financial bickering, frauds and corruption.

*It must be borne in mind that part of the reasons for the rather aggressive approach to the issue of finance in these churches is not unconnected with the fact that they have no where else to turn to, unlike their counterparts whose international, universal and historical origins have placed at relative advantage.

*The local sourcing for money by these churches proves
that we can make it, as it were, and discourages dependency on external aid.

*The gifts of healing are proving to be such great attractions and sources for people to make all kinds of financial contributions to these churches. The point must not be lost on us that in a society with so much poverty, sickness and death, the prospects of healing for free or attention to a long illness is enough consolation.

*Rev Kris Okotie's Household of God for example has set up what it calls the GRACE project. The target are the poor; and the project is said to be an offshoot of what the members of the Church referred to as the Mercy Department, which as its name implies caters for all kinds of human needs. Of it Rev Okotie said: "We give them (people who come) food, shoes and help them pay their house rents. Some time we help them set up small businesses". That, one may add, is a great way to spend money in the economy of salvation.

NOTES


2. ibid.


4. See the views of Alhaji Suaru A. Okuneye in the issue of This Week Magazine cited above, pp. 14-15.


7. This was founded by Jerry Falwel.


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.


When Gustavo Gutiérrez delivered his lecture, "Toward a Theology of Liberation", in July 1968, little did he suspect that in less than two decades this local theological effort will dominate the centre stage of the concerns of the Roman church, and indeed of the universal church. How could he have known that he himself, his colleagues, and their theological style will today be on trial? Gutiérrez seminal lecture is one among the fifty-nine texts assembled by Hennelly in this historical documentary of Liberation Theology. Many of these texts, like the one of Gutiérrez, may be appearing in English for the first time.

The selected texts cover the periods before Vatican Council II (1950-1962) and between Vatican II and Medellin (1962-1968). The texts expose the struggle towards a new way of doing theology (1968-1973); a way which roots theological reflection on praxis and takes seriously the social reality of the Latin American world. This pattern of theology which makes a preferential option for the poor had the uphill task of persuading the Latin American church to accept its choice. But, despite the conflicts, a measure of agreement was reached, during the meeting of the Latin American Bishops' Conference at Puebla, to preserve its fundamental inspiration (1973-1979). The claims of Liberation Theology and the conflicts over its theological method pitched theologians against bishops, theologians against theologians, and the Vatican against the pastoral life and theology of Latin America (1979-1986). But the conflicts were shown to be healthy. They led to the maturing of the official Vatican theology on liberation; and also to the maturing of liberation theology itself - action shaping thought and thought informing action. This is seen by Hennelly as a sign of hope in the church (after 1986).

In this historical documentary Hennelly brings to the reader known theologians like Gutiérrez, Segundo, Boff, and Sobrino, and courageous bishops like Oscar Romero. Impor-
tant documents from the Latin American Bishops' Conference like Medellin and Puebla, the numerous addresses of Pope John Paul II, selections from papal encyclicals, and the two key documents of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on this theology (1984 and 1986), are all available in this collection. Liberation theology has become part of the patrimony of the universal church. It bears witness to the pluralism of contexts and theologies in the one church of Christ. Hennelly provides for us the means of sharing in its treasures from its origins. (Editor).


The chief argument of this booklet is that Africa does indeed need a structural adjustment in its economy because the crisis in the African economy is structural. It criticises the prevailing World Bank and IMF "Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)" which are mainly a programme of financial reforms. The aim of these bodies is to "discipline" African countries through the imposition of fiscal reforms; after which they reorient African economies to the market economy model. According to the booklet, this brand of SAPs addresses the "symptoms rather than the fundamental factors responsible for Africa's persistent socio-economic crisis" (par. 41). The burden of the "shock effects" of SAPs has been borne principally by the poor. It is an economic programme formulated and implemented "as if people do not matter" (Introduction).

The African Alternative Framework to SAPs is based on the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000. It proposes a development "measured by the well-being of the people". It hopes to achieve this objective through "increased production" and self-reliance" (par. 16). Therefore African economies require "structural transformation, diversification and increased productivity in order to better the life of African people."
(par. 50). To arrive at this structural "adjustment and transformation" the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) presents a "menu" from which governments may select policies suitable for the condition of each country. This falls into four categories: strengthening and diversifying production capacity, improving the level of incomes and the pattern of its distribution, adjusting public expenditure to people's needs, and providing institutional support for adjustment with transformation (par. 58). For example, instead of cutting down on social services which would hurt people, the UNECA menu suggests a "well-studied government expenditure switching". In this devise resources can be switched from the military to the social services, and development projects (par. 78).

Some of the laudable economic programmes proposed by UNECA have been applied to the Nigerian situation. For example, the emphasis on agriculture and rural development, the integration of women in the overall development process, and the multiple exchange rate system, have all been practised by the Babangida regime. The last item was abandoned by the Central Bank of Nigeria because of the sharp practices of corporate organisations and individuals. The first and second led to the establishment of DFRRI (Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure) and the Better Life for Rural Women. DFRRI is said to be riddled with corruption, and controversy still rages around the Better Life programme which appears to benefit principally the wives of the urban elite and the ruling class. A formulation and an implementation of a people-centred economy require an ethical base. And in a continent where religious practice is very central to peoples' life, religious motivations have to inform convictions of the leadership to make the necessary sacrifices for a local structural adjustment with transformation to have the desired effect. Without such sacrifices by the ruling elite UNECA's African Alternative Framework will remain dead like so many development plans hatched for Africa. (Editor).
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