Vision and service

papers
in honour of
Barbro Johansson

edited by
Bengt Sundkler & Per-Åke Wahlström
Barbro Johansson, the best-known Swedish missionary of her generation, has just completed thirty years of service to Tanzania. A number of her friends, mainly from Tanzania and Sweden, have wished to honour her with a collection of papers, relating to her unique contribution.

Barbro Johansson trained as a teacher in Sweden, and went to Tanzania in 1946. She re-opened and rebuilt the Girls' School at Kashasha, Bukoba, and played an active role in church, community and political affairs. In 1959 she was elected Member of Parliament for Mwanza, and served in that capacity for a number of years. In 1962 she became a Tanzanian citizen. Later, on President Nyerere's request, she became principal of the Girls' Secondary School, Tabora. For three years she was Adviser to the Tanzanian Ambassador to Sweden. She has been active in Adult Education and community programmes in Tanzania and has served on the Board of the University of Dar es Salaam. Her greatest contribution has been the links she has helped to forge between Tanzania and Sweden.
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FOREWORD

It is a great pleasure to me to write a foreword to this volume in honour of Barbro Johansson, and thus to associate myself with its purpose. For in doing so I can pay tribute to one of the exemplary citizens of Tanzania, and at the same time acknowledge the existence, and the importance to mankind as a whole, of dedicated and selfless service for the betterment of others.

Barbro came to Tanzania - then Tanganyika - as a Swedish Missionary Teacher. In that capacity she gave great service; there are very many women from the West Lake Region of our country whose lives were changed for the better because of her work. But fortunately for our people, she was not unique in this work. We had - and still have - a number of dedicated expatriate men and women who worked faithfully and well for the education of our young people, either as Missionary Teachers, or as employees of the government. Barbro's special contribution has come from the extension of her work into the wider society.

For Barbro Johansson learned as well as taught. And the most fundamental thing she learned - very quickly - is that education is either part of life or it is nothing. You can train people in skills without being involved with their lives or their future. But if you hope to educate people, then the whole of their life is relevant to your work, and the whole of your life is a factor in their progress. A true teacher is therefore concerned about the society in which her pupils live, and she is active in working to improve that society.

I do not know how, or even when, Barbro Johansson first learned about the nationalist movement of Tanganyika and its demand for independence. Certainly there were few Missionaries or Principals of Secondary Schools who did seem to be aware of the purposes and import of our people's nationalism at the time Barbro and I first met in the mid-fifties. But when, as President of TANU, I first visited Bukoba, our supporters knew her and were happy to take me to meet her. Later it became quite natural for TANU to ask her to stand for the Legislative
Council when - according to the constitution of that time - it was necessary for TANU to support one African, one Asian, and one European in each constituency. She was elected then, and re-elected again in 1960 to the Parliament which was to take Tanganyika triumphantly through Responsible Self-Government to Independence, and then to Republic status.

Since independence Barbro has done many different jobs, according to what has seemed to be needed. She returned to being a Secondary School Headmistress; she did adult education work through her Church, and through the Ministry of Education; she worked in the Tanzanian Embassies to the Scandinavian countries; she trained the teachers of adults, and developed visual-aid and reading materials for new literates; she acted as liaison between many Tanzanian and Scandinavian groups which were working together for the development of our country; and she served on numerous special Committees of the Party, the Government and the Church. These various tasks had two things in common: they were jobs for Tanzania which Tanzanians wanted doing and felt Barbro was able to do, and they were consistent with her own concept of service to God through the service of His people.

Tanzania is a secular one-Party state; it has no state religion, and the Party asks no religious questions of its members. But the socialist philosophy of the country, which we adopted in 1967, is not anti-religious either. We do not believe that a socialist has to be a metaphysician, and we therefore do not ask whether or not those who work for us believe in God. But it is a fact, which we recognise, that some people have become socialists, or workers for our socialist policies, because they believe that in this way they can fulfil God's purpose for them. Thus it is not strange to us that on the National Executive of CCM we have Christian Priests and Ministers as well as Muslim Sheikhs and people who deny the existence of a God. For in their political work all the NEC members are dealing with problems of poverty, of inequality, of production and distribution. They are working together in trying to serve a society made up of people of many different religions, customs and private beliefs; in
particular they are trying to help all these people to develop themselves.

The same principles apply in other public work in Tanzania. The religious institutions are free to serve their members and to teach their beliefs within the framework of the law; freedom of worship exists and is of fundamental importance to us. But we are especially happy when religious leaders, teachers, or lay workers, are also able and willing to participate positively in the development of our people and our country. For there is a very great deal to be done. Our people's lives are still dominated by avoidable poverty, ignorance, sickness and fear; dedicated work by thousands, or even millions, or individuals will be needed before these conditions are changed.

It is not easy for a person born and brought up in a developed and prosperous society to join in the struggle of Tanzanians as an equal and a member of the community. Sometimes their motives are not understood; sometimes they are the victims of deliberate and mischievous misunderstanding - Tanzania is no more composed of angels than any other society. Without being false to themselves they have to adapt their knowledge and their ideas to those of the community among whom they live and work, and yet they can only make their own special contribution because they remain integrated personalities who have fused their past and their present lives into one whole.

For Barbro Johansson it may be her religious beliefs which have enabled this fusion to be made and to be reflected in her life of service to her adopted country. We only know that she lives and works as we hope that a Tanzanian socialist will do - finding fulfilment in service and happiness in fellowship.

July, 1977

Julius K. Nyerere
BARBRO JOHANSSON - SWEDISH AND TANZANIAN

J.E.F. Mhina, Tanzanian Ambassador to Sweden

When Barbro Johansson looks back over her sixty-five years of life she has much to be proud of. She has dedicated her life to the service of others and in that dedication she has done so much in her working life. Tanzania has much for which to be grateful to her, and now that she is a Tanzania citizen that make Tanzania more proud of her.

The story goes that when President Nyerere was in London for the constitutional conference in 1960 he solved all the Tanzania constitutional problems in fewer days than allocated and when he realised he had spare time he telephoned Barbro Johansson in Stockholm for her suggestion. She replied and proposed that he visit Stockholm. In her sister's house at Bromma at a private supper she introduced President Nyerere to the political leaders of Sweden, Mr. Tage Erlander and Mr. Olof Palme and many others. The friendly relationship between Tanzanians and Swedes started that evening.

I am not writing a book but just to say how this Embassy is grateful to the services of this great lady for when she was a Counsellor here 1970-72 she not only publicised Tanzania in Sweden but made it known to many Swedes that the Tanzania Embassy is here to help them. She lectured all over Sweden to raise funds for several projects in Tanzania such as Maternity ward in Tabora Hospital with funds from Kristina Boman Memorial Fund, Day Care Centres under the Union of Tanzania Women, the Women's Hostel, Morogoro Road, Dar Es Salaam, and introduced the Community Development Trust Fund in Sweden where it now gets funds annually.

Miss Johansson is indeed a Tanzanian, she is a member of the
Kangabusharo village in Bukoba and finds time between her many official engagements to stay there a few days every year. Even when she was working in the Tanzania Embassy in Stockholm, when she was attending the University of Dar es Salaam Council meetings she found time to visit her village.

For those of us who have had the pleasure of meeting Barbro Johansson, it is very inspiring to talk to her and invigorating to work with her. She is a great Swede and Tanzanian. Her work is very much valued and appreciated both in Tanzania where she lives now, and in Sweden where she was born and where she visits often.

The members of this Embassy and members of my family wish her a happy birthday and good health in the future.
BARBRO JOHANSSON--MISSIONARY, CHURCH LEADER, POLITICIAN

Olof Sundby, Archbishop

The life-achievement of Barbro Johansson is characterized by very wide perspectives. She has served two churches and two countries situated each in its own continent.

Now this may not seem to be noteworthy in an age which in itself is characterized by internationalism and world fellowship. The peoples of our earth have more and more been able to gain the experience of being members of one great family, mankind. This perspective has in fact for many become a vital condition for the future and continuation of mankind. It is still more noteworthy that in the case of Barbro Johansson her personal contribution at the same time has reflected and included a chapter of very important modern mission and church history. The active life work of a person is in its duration a relatively short period of time, seen in a historical perspective. Nevertheless it is obvious how much has been accomplished during Barbro Johansson's active period of work relating to church fellowship and church cooperation.

Mission--Church. Barbro Johansson has served as a missionary, sent to her field of work by the Mission Board of the Church of Sweden. She has experienced and herself participated in the mission field's change into a young independent church. Barbro Johansson began her active period of missionary work in 1946. She has had the privilege of participating in the founding of the Evangelical Church in North-west Tanganyika in 1960 as well as the foundation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania in 1963. The progress which has been made has put white missionaries from the western countries to a severe test regarding their understanding of the demands of the on-going development. So also regarding the ability and willingness to reformulate and reinterpret one's own work as the chief responsibility was transferred from a European board of missions to the young newly-formed church. In the footsteps of this development a theological and church debate has followed
dealing with the older western churches' mission enterprises in altogether new and altered social conditions.

Young Church--Young Nation. When Barbro Johansson arrived in Africa Tanganyika was still a British trust territory. When the day of freedom dawned at last on December 9th 1961 a period of creative action began for the young African state. This was met by an attitude of good-will from the whole world, perhaps to a greater extent than any other country on the continent of Africa. It is a well-known fact that missionary work and especially mission schools have played a great part in educating young leaders of free African states. In an altogether special way Barbro Johansson has functioned in this creative work by means of her early friendship with the young teacher and politician, Dr. Julius Nyerere.

Barbro Johansson has also directly entered into service in the new state as a school leader and active politician. In the latter capacity she has also represented her new home country as an official representative in the land of her birth. She has taken citizenship in Tanzania and has been elected a member of its Parliament. Therefore it may be said that she represents and symbolizes the impact of western Christian missionary work for freedom and independence, for social change and renewal. She has from the inside experienced the recreating and society-changing power of Christian faith. She has participated in the change of direction of Christian social involvement, from day to day dealing with the needs of the moment to an active long-range development programme in the light of the Gospel.

The Church and the Churches. When the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania was honoured with the responsible task of being host for the sixth General Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation this signified an outward manifestation of the part of this young church in the international fellowship of churches. It was altogether natural to engage Barbro Johansson actively in the extensive preparation work needed for this assembly.

Due to unfortunate circumstances Barbro Johansson personally
was prevented from being present and participating. But from
her hospital bed in the Kilimandjaro Medical Center she follo­
wed our proceedings in her prayers. At the State Reception
for the Assembly in the extensive grounds of State House I per­
sionally had the privilege of having a conversation with the
inspiring and inspired leader of Tanzania, President Nyerere.
Our conversation dealt naturally with Barbro Johansson's con­
tribution towards church and society in today's Tanzania. We
were one in our gratitude for what she has been and has accomp­
lished as a missionary, a church leader and as an active poli­
tician.
A CONCERNED PARTICIPANT

Ernst Michanek

"We must concern ourselves with the welfare of our fatherland." This policy declaration can be read from the outside wall of the Prime Minister's office in Stockholm. It is one of the mottos emanating from the Royal Chancellery in the period centuries ago when Sweden gradually liberated itself from foreign domination, built itself up as a nation-state and, in that process as it were, nationalized the many alien inputs and influences.

It was a great task to make one fatherland the common concern of its peoples and of its great men--the country rather than clan or county, and Sweden rather than other countries. It took hundreds of years to reach the goal. When once during the struggle--the year was 1593--a clergyman formulated the sentence "Now Sweden has become one man, and we all have one Lord and God", this draft reflected indeed not a reality but an aspiration for religious, cultural and political unification on a national basis.

Now in the twentieth century, may we conceive that our time be remembered in the future--as has been suggested--not so much for its technological achievements as for the fact, yet indeed to be established, that in this era mankind began to concern itself with the welfare not only of individual countries but of the globe as a whole?

In this contemporary striving to make one world of our "only one earth", a liveable place out of our unjust, disaster-prone planet, one interesting example of concern beyond national boundaries may turn out to be the co-operation between Tanzania and Sweden. These two nations--one poor and one rich in exploited resources, one young and one old as a united country--have met on a stepping-stone midstream in the historical process and joined forces. Their aim is not to enrich one party at the expense of the other, or to dominate jointly a third party, as is the case with so many bilateral treaties; their aim is only
and simply to concern themselves with the poorer of them, and to do so in unlimited respect for each other's development philosophy. If successful, their common endeavour may set a pattern for the building of "the home of man"—to quote one more of Barbara Ward's books on international co-operation for survival.

Ibrahim Kaduma of Tanzania coined a motto for this co-operation between two countries, when in a statement to a high-level Tanzanian-Swedish seminar in Dodoma in 1976 he said, "If Sweden is interested in the success of Tanzania's struggle—and indeed we believe she is—then she must be a participant and a concerned participant too." What is required, Kaduma went on to say, is "mutual trust and confidence between the co-operating parties". An active involvement by Sweden in the development process of Tanzania, when requested by her, is the consequence.

No partner of ours in the international effort for development has in actual practice taught Sweden as much as Tanzania has done. This is so not only because the joint programme has been greater and wider than any other where Sweden has taken part, involving more trial and error and success than any other. It is also because the meaning and the content of such concepts as liberation, self-reliance and development—and of co-operation for development—have been demonstrated more clearly and comprehensively to Sweden through our working together with Tanzania than in any other similar relationship.

Sweden has chosen Tanzania as a partner. But Tanzania has also chosen Sweden. There was a discriminating choice on both sides.

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 states, "Even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our needs from external sources, is that what we really want? Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Gifts which start off or stimulate our own efforts are useful gifts."

Tanzania has been invited to share Swedish experiences through hundreds of interpreters of Sweden's development in various
fields. And Tanzania has reciprocated—in fewer but important fields.

Reading from the soil of the Rift Valley, probably the earliest habitat of the human species, Rolf Edberg in his recent book *Dalen* ("The valley") has helped us—himself assisted by the findings of the archaeologists Richard Leakey and his parents—to understand the conditions of mankind, in a perspective a few million years longer than that provided by the relatively newly-conquered land of the northern peoples including present-day Sweden. Writing in a house on the ocean-front at Bagamoyo, Per Wästberg in a book recently has summarized twenty years of bringing to our knowledge and attention the thinking and action of African leaders and the writings of African authors and poets.

The most beloved of our African teachers is Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. In one of his lectures on liberation he said, "We do not believe that one country can ever free another. They can only be assisted—or hindered—in getting freedom for themselves." (Speech at Oxford, 1975)

In the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa from foreign domination and apartheid regimes, Tanzania and Sweden have been close partners for ten years. Much of the Swedish support to liberation movements has been dependent upon Tanzania acting as a channel, as the host country for refugees, as a training ground for nations coming into being—particularly so for Mozambique, and now for Zimbabwe. Tanzania has carried a heavy burden in this effort. Her active fight against colonialism did not end on her independence day, and we have learned many lessons from her continuing struggle. The diaries of many Swedish ministers and others contain notes which have been highly important for Swedish foreign policy.

Another aspect of liberation may be illustrated by a note from the present writer's diary of Prime Minister Tage Erlander's visit to Tanzania in 1968. Inaugurating a rural water supply scheme, the Prime Minister and the President overlooked the Kisongo area from a hill. Mwalimu said, "Mr. Prime Minister, can you see the woman walking down there, up the hill with a
big can on her head? She is carrying water from some well or puddle, and she may have to do that several times a day, year after year, spending most of her time on this endless toil. Do you see what it means now that we are going to set this new pumping station in motion, bringing the water by pipeline close to her home? To her, this means freedom."

Innumerable examples could be given of the dialogue that has taken place between the two partners on development issues over the years--on democracy, its meaning and its practice, party life and how to promote open discussion in a one-party state, human rights, trade union activities, people's participation in community life and decision-making; on socialism and what it means in the Tanzanian political philosophy; on adult education and its methodology; on administrative efficiency and ethics, planning and control; on environmental protection; on "relevant technology" (Kaduna's expression) that Tanzania wants to import in order to meet her basic needs on the basis of local raw material and production; on water management; on "health by the people"; and so on. In this exchange on change, both countries have been donors and both recipients.

Nobody can tell who gains most in the long run--from the Tanzanian development projects and the Swedish involvement in them, from the Swedish-financed transfer of goods and services and the indirect results of them in commercial trade, from the training in adaptation of technology to Tanzanian conditions and traditions that takes place in production and education and health and administration, et cetera.

Indeed the motive behind the official programme of co-operation on the Swedish side was not to gain any short-term advantages; the needs of the poorer peoples and the moral demands on the rich to assist--in one word, solidarity--was clearly stated as the main policy consideration. At the same time, Sweden never overlooked the importance of justice for the attainment of peace, of supplies and markets for the build-up of trade, of cultural exchange for a richer life for all partners, of personal relations for international friendship to be established.
The Swedish-Tanzanian co-operation is beginning to run into thousands of millions of crowns or shillings, thousands of experts and students and visitors over a few years. The number of organizations that have contributed to the official and the non-governmental co-operation is great and constantly increasing.

Concern cannot be counted in money terms; a concerned participation in a country's and a people's development cannot be expressed in figures. A mutual relationship which development is indeed priceless.

How did it all begin? As always, so much depends on individual personalities. For the purpose of these notes I asked Tage Erlander, "Where did the relationship between the governments of Tanzania and Sweden originate? As I recall it, you and Nyerere got to know each other and this became the basis for the partnership between our countries that has development through so many channels and personalities over the years."

The reply was immediate. The personal contact between the two leaders "sprang directly from Barbro Johansson". In the memory of the former Prime Minister, Nyerere after one of his missions to Great Britain, which had ended in disillusionment, went to Sweden before his return to Africa, to see Mama Barbro who was on leave in her native country. A telephone call to the Erlanders, her old acquaintances from university days, resulted in a meeting at the Prime Minister's country residence at Harpsund, and ...

In the SIDA library I found a little pamphlet, written by Barbro Johansson in 1953, on the reconstruction of Kashasha Girls' School. Its title may be translated, "Re-clearance of an old field." I recognize Mama Barbro in the text, her thinking and her attitudes, her active personality. When comparing the old text and Mama Barbro as I have got to know her over the last decade, I can also recognize her personal development. A concerned participant from her first day in Tanganyika thirty years ago, she has been a donor and a recipient, and two countries have greatly benefitted from her hard and devoted work, the great example she has set.
for so many participants in partnership. None will ask who has benefitted most, but all will remain grateful for her concern, her vision, and her service.
"It is the human being who counts; I call upon gold, it answers not; I call upon drapery, it answers not, it is the human being who counts."

African proverb

This African proverb gives in a comprised form the nucleus of the problem of implementing human rights everywhere. It gives a clear indication that human rights must be implemented in such a way that it benefits each individual, it is an "I" who is calling.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948, as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and nations. The declaration is not legally binding for the member states. It took another eighteen years for the UN to prepare binding instruments concerning human rights. That happened when the UN on December 16, 1966, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession the following international instruments:

a) the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;

b) the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights;

c) the Optional Protocol to the International Convenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The covenants could enter into force only when thirty-five member states had ratified them. Ten more years passed before that happened.

Obviously the common road for the implementation of human rights has been difficult to pave smoothly. The obstacles have been of different nature. Surprisingly many of them
have arisen in the rich countries in East and West: lack of solidarity with the weak and poor in their own countries, reluctance on the side of the ruling political and economic elites to give up their privileges, fear for the judgement of those not belonging to officially recognized parties.

All these obstacles and many others have considerably slowed down the process of implementation. But this is not the place to review these situations. The focus should be on the African scene. In a short paper it is impossible to deal with more than a few aspects of the problems concerning the African countries. My selection is personal and can of course be criticized, but so can others be when the space is so limited. I have chosen to report and comment on some trends in the debates related to apartheid, the African tradition and modernization of life, political rights and education in human rights.

Apartheid--crime against humanity. On the continent of Africa there are now two regimes which practise apartheid, South Africa and Rhodesia. Apartheid is the only systematic denial in Africa of the principle that the constitution of a country has to be colour-blind, i.e. to disregard the fact that there are people of different colours. Regardless of race, sex, religion and level of education, all citizens ought to be treated as equal before the law.

The outrageous policies of Smith and Vorster are manifestations of the denial of these basic human rights. They are in frontal conflict with principles concerning human rights which the United Nations has adopted. It is encouraging that now more and more nations are united in condemning these regimes.

The free African countries must in their fight against apartheid, get the full support of all the governments, especially those on the Northern part of the globe. So far this has not been the case. The rich countries in East and West are now put to the test.
For Christians in Africa as well as those in other parts there has been a special burden that "Christian" regimes practise racial discrimination. The World Council of Churches initiated in 1969 a special Programme to Combat Racism. In a review of the first five years of this programme Elisabeth Adler said:

Racial injustice in countries which call themselves Christian, and the support they receive from other "Christian" countries, obscure the witness of the Church to Christ as Lord of all. More than that--they counteract this witness.

Judging from my own experience while attending many meetings of various UN bodies, the creation of this programme has made a great impact on the opinion many African statesmen have about Christianity. They have openly recognized that the World Council of Churches vigourously supports the fight against apartheid and colonialism.

It is now hoped that even stronger pressure can be built up against the racist regimes.

The handling of human rights problems. In the past few years significant dimensions have been added in the debate on human rights in Africa. With the emergence of a large number of independent countries in the past two decades, it is only natural that this debate has taken place in the context of the building up of new political institutions and the impact of modernization of traditional societies. As the invitation of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania the United Nations Division of Human Rights organized in co-operation with the Government a "Seminar on the study of ways and means for promoting human rights with special attention to the problems and needs of Africa". It was held in Dar Es Salaam, 23 October to 5 November 1973.

Mr. Amadou Makhtar Samb, member of the Supreme Court of Senegal indicated in his introduction to the first discussion during the seminar that there were three areas which deserved special consideration:
One serious problem arose out of the seeming conflict between the "right to development" of every State and the human rights and fundamental freedoms of every individual. In seeking a solution to this problem some African States had apparently considered that it was more important to give men and women their freedom, and had sacrificed human rights in their efforts to hasten economic development. A second serious problem was the continued existence in newly independent African States of certain customs irreconcilable with respect for human dignity, such as bride-price and the inheritance of widows, varieties of which could not be reconciled with the prohibition of practices similar to slavery or with the principle of the equality of men and women. It was however almost impossible to put a speedy end to such customs and traditions, which had persisted through many centuries, even when they were explicitly contrary to the law. A third serious problem was that African countries had in many cases inherited from the colonial powers systems according special privilege to particular categories of residents or to particular private outside interests. (par. 18).

The participants at the seminar expressed different views how to deal with these problems. Some expressed the view that violations of human rights could be eliminated in spite of the imperatives of development and the requirements of political stability. Others felt that certain practises, widely considered as violations of human rights, were merely efforts to correct situations created during colonialism. As examples were given one-party political system and expropriation and nationalization of foreign enterprises. Others stressed that there was no point in talking about human rights as long as the serious economic problems had not been solved.

These different views are significant for the debate about the African human rights problems and also for the debate in other Third World regions.
Another trend in the discussion about human rights is the reluctance on the part of some to discuss civil and political rights. During the seminar this was expressed by some delegates "as falling within the domestic jurisdiction of States". (par. 41). Others however joined in the discussion and dealt also with "the conflicts arising between individuals and their Governments with respect to the enjoyment of certain political rights." (par. 42 and following).

Problems growing out of the African soil. Some people talk about African problems of human rights and generalize them to such an extent that they all look alike regardless of the countries in which they occur. This method can be used for some problems but is unsuitable for others. An area where this method can be helpful concerns the influence of traditional African customs. Although traditions differ from area to area, from country to country and from people to people, they have so much in common that they to a high degree have a bearing on the present situation.

The conflict between old and new customs and foreign influence has been well described by Dr. Francis Mading Deng in his major work Tradition and modernization. A challenge for law among the Dinka of the Sudan. (Deng is a lawyer and anthropologist, and has been a teacher at Khartoum University, Yale, University of London and New York University. He is at present Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan).

The Dinka peoples, to which Deng belongs, are a Nilotic-speaking group in the south of the Sudan. Deng describes the situation for the Dinka in the following way:

Like many traditional people throughout the world, the Dinka are on the verge of modernization. Lying ahead is a hazardous road with many stumbling blocks and dangerous corners. Change was far too slow during the colonial era, but post-colonial change has been much greater than the amount of care it has received. In addition, the change
in unbalanced: small factions of society are more modernized than the masses; modernization has not affected all aspects of culture equally; introduced practices have been taken out of their source context; and changes have not been integrated into the receiving culture. As a result, modernization is disruptive. The violence, the unrest, and the revolutionary trends in the African scene today are matters of common knowledge. (page XXV).

Deng points out that the premise in this situation is modernization with emphasis on the use of science and technology in the promotion of interactive values and institutions but that this does not necessarily mean that this process has no disadvantages (page XXVII).

The Governments of Africa are here faced with an enormous problem. It is not enough to try to solve the problem of just one "tribe" in a country. Most likely there are several "tribes" in the same country to deal with and they must be handled in different ways.

Sometimes the situation can be as among the Dinka:

The starting point is to see the Dinka as family-oriented. The family conditions participants at all levels, and it projects to broader circles the principles which govern familial relationships. The fundamental determinant of value distribution is the myth of permanent identity and influence which aims at immortalizing a man through his lineage. Since this concept is closely associated with childbearing and its social implications, "permanent identity and influence" is used interchangeably with procreation. (page XXIX).

Even such situations can be used. That was an opinion expressed at a Consultation, "The Churches and Human Rights in Africa", sponsored jointly by the All Africa Conference of Churches and the Commission of the Churches on Internation Affairs of the World Council of Churches, in Khartoum, February 1975.
The Khartoum consultation was organized as a follow-up of the guidelines adopted by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA) in its consultation in St. Pölten, Austria, October 1974, Human Rights and Christian Responsibility.

The participants of the consultation declared:

We have a tradition in Africa of centralized government based on tribal or ethnic group structures. Our leaders were often "kings" whose power was divinely ordained, and who mediated between god and the people. But even the most powerful rulers were subject to strong "checks and balances". The king held his position for the people. If his performance was not satisfactory, if he became mad or corrupt or unfaithful, he was removed and replaced. There was little room for dictatorship or absolutist power. Power was in one way or another distributed. Decisions could not be taken without some form of prior consultation with counselors or other representatives of the people, such as the elders who were the repositories of wisdom and tradition. (par 2.2.).

Those who took part in the Khartoum consultation came from different African countries. But they shared the common view that the traditional society was held together by its religion, "from it were derived authority, loyalty, unity, values, and a certain social equilibrium and stability." (par. 2.4).

In the Khartoum consultation there was a realistic approach to what was going on in Africa, a realism sometimes lacking in other meetings. No idolatry of times past. The shortcomings during earlier periods were carefully noted: tribalism with fighting, domestic slavery, killing of twins, ritual deaths, etc.

The difficulties arising from the missionary era were also noted and described together with the influence of the colonial rule (par. 3). The alienation of traditional religion,
the fabric of society, is said to have contributed to social instability. The consultation continues: "It also contributed to the insecurity which lies at the roots of the contemporary African leadership crisis; alienation from historical foundations; the creation of a duality of life which is manifest in the religious, political, economic and cultural spheres of present-day Africa (par. 3.4). The Khartoum Consultation was organized as a follow-up of the St. Pölten Consultation, "Human Rights and Christian Responsibility", October 1974 in Austria, convened by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. The meeting in St. Pölten was an important step concerning the work of the World Council of Churches in the field of human rights. The participants came from East and West, North and South. Despite of the very different backgrounds, it was possible for them to unite on a progressive programme for the human rights work.

One important result was that one of the working groups stressed that the different human rights must be looked upon together. "The group strongly felt that all human rights, be they social, economic, religious or political are inter-twined and inter-related. Therefore, they must be taken as a whole and the Churches should give each one of these rights the same importance and seek the application of all of them."5 (page 35). This statement should be seen in the light of the many expressions from representatives from Third World countries that the human rights, as they are spelled out in the UN documents, are a manifestation of Western civilization and therefore not applicable on their situation. I have briefly dealt with this problem in a paper, "The UN and Human Rights."6

It was important that the church representatives took this integrated approach. Very often people concerned with a specific human rights problem demand that that problem be solved, regardless of what happens with the other. Political freedom must be established, religious freedom must be implemented, etc. Such requests are often raised without even a look at other problems.
Military regimes and one-party Governments. Of course, specific violations of human rights sometimes take place without any relevant relation to other difficult political problems and could consequently be condemned. This, for example, is the case with military regimes and different kinds of dictatorship. Some leaders feel insecure and refuse to be judged by the people. Political leadership looks tempting to many and when some people arrive at that position they use all methods at their disposal to stay there. The Khartoum consultation expressed its feeling about this in a very blunt language:

In the worst of situations this tenacity to retain power has caused leaders to go to extremes. Dissent is generally labelled "subversive" and is seen to come from "foreign influences" (while the ones criticized are often themselves subservient to influences coming from abroad!). Terror, in some countries, has been resorted to in order to compel submission. In fact the installation of systematic repression, terror, generalized suspicion and fear, and wide-spread spy networks is a natural, though extreme extension of the power-fixation discussed earlier. It is interesting to see how some leaders have even resorted to picking out certain elements of traditional African culture to anaesthetize the masses. Despite what is said, this frequently, has little to do with a return to the positive, authentic dimensions of African tradition. (par. 5.3).

Unusually brave words in the context of Africa! Regretably, they give a true picture of some very unfortunate situations. But it would be wrong to stop here and the Khartoum consultation did not do that. Instead it adopted guidelines for the future work in the field of human rights.

The Khartoum consultation stated regarding military government that irrespective of the excuses which lead to that kind of regime "the rights of the people are best secured under a representative and constitutional government in which the people freely participate". (page 38). It was stated that it is
the duty of the churches to educate the people for this, start­ing on the village level, on political rights and other major rights and liberties.

It was stressed that in order to achieve due process and the rule of law the following reforms should be called for:

- Creating an independent judiciary.
- Acceptance by governments of the decisions of Courts of law.
- Open and public trial and in most cases trial by jury.
- Publicising illegal laws and practises.

In the present situation in Africa it was pointed out that there were some negative factors affecting the rule of law and due process: the wide and permanent use of emergency powers, torture and forms of excessive and degrading punishments and military rule. It was the duty of the churches to expose these practises.

The Dar Es Salaam seminar, September 1976. Another important contribution to the ongoing debate on human rights came from the international seminar on "Human Rights, their Protection and the Rule of Law in a One-Party State" convened by the International Commission of Jurists. 7

It is interesting to recognize that while the Khartoum consultation had critical remarks about one-party Governments, the Dar es Salaam seminar looked at them in an entirely different way:

The seminar considered that the one-party system was fully consistent with the preservation of fundamental human rights and the maintenance of the Rule of Law, provided that its political form was a truly democratic one. To achieve this, the ideal of government by and for the people should be realised by the provision through the electoral process of a genuine choice between alternative candidates to the legislatures. Where such a
choice existed, democracy could flourish to as great or even greater an extent than in a multi-party system where choice was, in practice, confined to the nominees of rival parties in whose selection the people as a whole had little, if any, say. Moreover, the inception of a one-party system had sometimes been prompted by a political situation in which a ruling party with massive popular support was opposed by a party or parties with only a small minority backing. In such a situation, choice had become meaningless since the ruling party candidate was almost invariably returned. The introduction of one-party government in those circumstances had meant the restitution of choice to an electorate which had effectively been denied it in the multi-party context. (par. 5).

The seminar pointed out that it was necessary that all citizens must be allowed to take part in the work of the party. If that pre-condition was fulfilled the seminar was unanimous that there was "no inherent reason why fundamental human rights should not be preserved and the Rule of Law maintained successfully in a one-party environment." (par. 7).

One of the reasons behind the difference in attitudes in the Khartoum consultation and the Dar Es Salaam seminar may be that in the later one the majority of the participants were governmental officials while in the former that group was in minority.

The seminar recommended a number of reforms to secure the implementation of human rights and the maintenance of the rule of law. One of the key recommendations was to stress the independence of the judiciary in the exercise of its judicial functions: "The cornerstone of the independence of the judiciary lay in its power to dispense justice without fear or favour and with total impartiality and respect for the principles of the Rule of Law." This should be ensured "by the embodiment within the Constitution of clear rules governing the qualifications and calibre of persons appoin-
ted to the bench, objective methods of appointment, security of tenure of office and protection from removal from office save on the grounds of gross misconduct or physical or mental incapacity as determined by an independent tribunal or similar means." (par. 8). These recommendations are good examples of the high quality of the specific proposals coming from the seminar.

**Education in human rights.** Firm establishment of human rights in a country depends in the long run on how well they are built into the minds of the citizens. In African societies, which are rapidly developing from the traditional era to one where science and technology and confrontation with foreign cultures and political systems play a very big role, the understanding of the rights of the individual is of paramount importance. This does not come overnight. Careful and detailed building-up of an ethos appropriate for the new situation must take place. Here the churches, other non-governmental organizations as well as governmental officials and politicians have important contributions to make. It is hopeful to recognize that this happens in a number of African countries.

**Notes:**


4. The Churches and human rights in Africa. A consultation jointly sponsored by the All Africa Conference of Churches and the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches in Khartoum, Democratic


The first students of Kivukoni College entered the converted hotel on the harbour front, facing the Dar es Salaam Club, in July 1961. The two buildings looked at each other without recognition. The Club was a "Europeans Only" haunt of Civil Servants and businessmen in the British upper-class tradition. The College was created by the Nationalist Movement of Tanganyika for adult men and women who needed further understanding of politics, economics, and related subjects in order to be more effective in serving the cause of freedom and national development. The Club represented the colonial past, and ceased to exist within a few years. The College was, in its origins, both a precursor of the future independent state and a fruit of the people's efforts; it has expanded and developed.

The decision to establish "a College for adults, like Ruskin College, Oxford" was made at the TANU National Conference at Tabora in 1958. It is an indication of TANU's concern for education that this should have happened, for most of the time of that Conference was spent in a hot debate about whether or not the Party should participate in the proposed elections for some seats in the colonial Legislative Council. But once the decision was made to start the College, TANU immediately ran into problems. In particular the colonial authority eyed the proposal with great suspicion, as they assumed that such a College could only be a centre of "subversion".

TANU got round this difficulty by establishing the Tanganyika Education Trust Fund, with seven Trustees who were TANU members and six who were businessmen or individuals sympathetic with the proposal. The Chairman of the Trust was Julius K. Nyerere—the President of TANU—and it held its first meeting at the end of 1959. By that time TANU had already allocated £5,000 of its own money for the College, and successfully appealed to other Tanganyikan political institutions and educa-
tional charities for funds. But the Trustees realised that a full-time Secretary with adult education experience was needed if the College was to be organised quickly; I took up this appointment in April 1960.

Yet the central factor about the establishment of Kivukoni College was the active involvement of the people in the work. During 1960 and 1961 TANU organised public meetings in District after District at which the purpose of the College was explained, questions answered, and collections taken. TANU members took College Collection Boxes into villages which could only be reached on foot—always explaining; they organised dances, football games, and other activities to raise money. And when people had no cash at all they contributed goods—an egg, a cigarette tin of nuts or beans, chickens and (in the more prosperous areas) even sheep and goats. These gifts were then either sold by auction or taken by TANU Youth League members to the local market. The total value of these thousands of small gifts, made by people who had virtually nothing in the way of material goods, eventually amounted to over £4,500.

More important, the people began to think of Kivukoni as "their" College; the masses of the people still look upon it in the same way.

It was on the platform at such a meeting in Mwanza that I first met Barbro Johansson, at that time an elected "European" member of the Legislative Assembly who had been put up by TANU, and worked with the Party. I soon discovered that her presence was no mere formality; Barbro involved herself actively in the work of publicising Kivukoni College at the same time as she was continuing her own grass roots political education work among the people. From her own experience she was also able to give useful advice and help about its structure and teaching—advice which was always available but never pushed!

All the finance needed to open Kivukoni College on an austerity basis was raised within Tanzania, and the College students had from the beginning to practice the kind of self-reliance which later became the official education policy of the country. Its
curriculum was designed to meet the needs of the people who were selected; almost all of them came from TANU or the Trade Union or Cooperative movements, and few had more than six years of formal education—with some having less. The idea was that after their course the students would go back to their previous work, but as "more effective servants of the people". Yet at the beginning the teaching at Kivukoni had to be in English; there were then no books in Swahili, and the teachers in the early years all had to be expatriates, for the paucity of educational opportunities in colonial Tanganyika meant that there were no local people qualified to teach these subjects. This inevitably meant some incompatibility between the purpose of the College and the manner in which it operated. The problem was minimised, however, by careful selection of the staff and by the ruling that no certificates or other formal qualifications were required for entry. There was great competition for a place, but only two qualifications were necessary for consideration. The first was a record of service to the community, and the second was a knowledge of English sufficient to benefit from the course of eight months. As it turned out, more than one of the students of the early years had learned his English by working as a house servant!

In practice, the intentions of the College founders were somewhat overtaken by events. Tanganyika became independent in December 1961; and such was the desperate need for citizens in all branches of government and administration, that some students were pulled out of the first course before it was completed in order to undertake new political responsibilities in Government. All the rest were also allocated jobs in Government at the end. But the consequent danger of Kivukoni College being regarded merely as a stepping stone to rapid political advancement was gradually overcome in the years that followed.

For Kivukoni flourished in the new political environment. The Tanzanian emphasis of its courses became greater as the staff learned more about the country—both from discussions with
the students, and from their own travels and studies. Also, Tanzanians were recruited on to the staff as rapidly as they became available, and gradually more and more of the work could be done in Swahili.

Eventually, however, it was decided that the informal links between TANU and the College needed to be institutionalised, and the "independent" Board of Governors was replaced by a Sub-Committee of the Central Committee of TANU. Kivukoni College has since then become the leading institution for political education in the country. It runs special courses for selected groups of Tanzania workers—such as, for example, all Secondary School Heads attended a nine months course there—as well as its general courses for people selected by TANU for further political education. And, over the years, it has steadily expanded. Up to 150 students can now be accommodated at any time, and in addition it has five "branch Colleges" in different parts of the country where localized or otherwise special short courses are run.

Barbro Johansson was rarely a formal part of these developments, although she has taught and participated in a number of the special courses at Kivukoni College—especially those connected with adult education work throughout the country. For this has developed into her speciality.

For a period she was appointed as Headmistress of the Tabora Secondary School for Girls, and while there she instituted the practice of school participation in development and adult education work in the town and nearby villages. But after she had been relieved of this work—at her own request—she immediately returned to adult education in the villages. At different times she has worked as a member of the Ministry of Education Adult Education section, or as a Church "adult educator", or as a "special lecturer". But whatever her formal position Barbro has always been a practitioner, never merely a theorist telling others how to teach adults. She has taught the teachers, and she has run courses in the villages herself; she has organised seminars with and of the political
leaders in Ward, District, and Regional levels. And she has produced and used basic education visual-aid materials with the most elementary equipment, and of such a nature as to give real help to people who never had any formal education.

Barbro's work has not been very much with "literacy" as such—although she was, like everyone else, involved with this during the campaign against illiteracy. But her major effort, and most important contribution, has been connected with spreading an understanding of the rights and duties of Tanzanians in their developing socialist and democratic society. At different times she has explained, for example, the meaning to people in the villages of the Tanzanian constitution, or the electoral system; she has explained the Five Year Development Plan and what it implies; and she has taught about the meaning of ujamaa in practice and what it involved and could mean for the people's progress—and so on.

No-one who has been really involved in adult education, or in spreading an understanding of ujamaa among the people of Tanzania mainland, could have avoided coming across Barbro at one time or another. She has been an integral part of this work. And yet Barbro has always "led from behind". It is other people who are at the forefront on formal occasions; Barbro is working quietly in the background.

It is good to have this opportunity to record that the enthusiasm for energetic service, the dedication and commitment, of the Tanzanian citizen Barbro Johansson has not gone un-noticed. The people who have taken Barbro into their hearts, especially those in the villages of West Lake Region which she regards as her home, are not fluent with pen and ink. But for many others of us Barbro has been an example and an inspiration. It has been a special privilege also to have her as a friend.
EVALUATION AND CONTINUOUS PLANNING OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Carl Gösta Widstrand

A tremendous lot of money goes today into development projects of a variety of kinds in the poorer parts of the world. The funds usually come from the taxpayers in richer countries or from voluntary contributions, organised through a bewildering array of government and private aid agencies.

During the beginning of this decade more and more interest has developed in finding out if the money is put to its best use. There has been a wealth of approaches to project monitoring and project evaluation.

Planning and evaluation have more and more come to be regarded as a continuous process. The following discussion is meant to illustrate how to use evaluation practices as a continuous steering instrument for programmes. The examples are mainly from Kenya.

The discussion is based on a simple model of the planning-implementation-evaluation-replanning process: we plan, we decide and we act. But we cannot only plan, decide and act, - there must be some extra factor which makes the planning-decision-execution process a continuum, which makes it stick together. This extra factor should also serve as a steering instrument, a kind of project gyrostabilizer.

The word evaluation can be used as a term for this extra factor. It then means continuous planning, a continuous assessment of positive and negative effects with constant feedback into the process:
For this type of assessment it is necessary to increase the capacity of the observation, analysis, and memory functions of projects and to devise a rational and practical device to learn from continuous experience. In practical terms this means that goals and expected effects are outlined both in long-term programmes of action and in yearly work programmes. It also means that the results are continuously followed by a system of reporting that (a) monitors activities and costs, (b) follows the factual production in quantitative and qualitative terms and (c) measures the contribution of the project to the fulfilment of over-all goals.

1. Plan

This includes research, feasibility studies and general project appraisal. Special problems at this stage include definition of objectives, ranking of objectives and the whole question of the mechanics of popular participation in planning.

(a) Research, feasibility studies and project appraisal

This process has also earlier been called "project evaluation", but I would prefer it to be called project appraisal or simply planning.

One "evaluates" a project against national plan relevance - national significance, one tries to identify negative and positive effects, if objectives are reasonably attainable, etc. There are many techniques for such studies.

The most common is the ordinary cost-benefit analysis, mainly an economic tool. However, measures of economic input and output are never innocent of social bias. We have lately seen an upsurge in approaches toward
measuring total social political and economic costs. These are weighed against their benefits. But to try to measure "life quality" and other real, but very vague aggregates is extremely difficult. Social and political costs should be measured but are seldom, because of deficient sociological tools and the weakness of indicators of social development.

For example, when studying co-operatives in Kenya, I have found that in many cases the local organization has taken increased labour costs but at the same time increased the social benefits, such as more labour opportunities, of the local co-operative programme. Investment in education is another such obvious example. Cost-benefit studies (called "the Public Benefit Cost Approach") of this type have been described by Göran Dahlgren.

(b) Definition of goals and objectives

Definition of objectives is of course of utmost importance in the planning process. It is, however, not always easy to define the aims of a movement, a programme or a public agency in other than very general terms, such as: "improve development capacity", "establish procedures and techniques for accelerated and self-generating rural development", "improve the quality of rural life". What does "improve the quality of rural life" mean? More fun? For whom? To make the elite stay? Making money? A new bus-line, to be able to get out of the place? A good road to your place so that you can get a lorry to come and get your things and move out?

It is necessary to make operational definitions of objectives in order to make implicit values explicit. If the objectives are brought clearly into the planning process, we are likely to end up with programmes much more definitely directed towards the objectives that we think important. We are also likely to end up with programmes containing much that is new and radically different from what has been done in the past. This is likely to introduce or to cause initial conflicts.
among the policy makers as it focuses on the hot problems now buried in vague resolutions and non-committal objectives. On the other hand, avoiding the initial conflict more often than not means postponing it until a later stage where a lot of money, manpower, energy, expectations and other resources have been put in and where the conflict usually will not be less. The alternative to explicit and defined objectives is of course one or more implicit objectives.

The problem of measurements of objectives is a large one, and cannot be dealt with in detail here. Suffice it to say that some objectives are quantifiable, or one can use quantifiable elements which correlate closely to the qualitative objective. Measurement generally means, according to the modern theory of measurement, the finding of an expression for the degree of difference in distinguishable qualities. There are measurements besides the normal interval and ratio scales. Especially for the so-called purely qualitative objectives there is in cases of distinguishable degrees of achievement the possibility of measures according to rank: rank orders.

The problem of interdependence of objectives is obvious. It has to do with the priorities or differential importance of objects. Which is more important, "to raise incomes" or "to improve the quality of rural life"? I have brought this question up, as "...some researchers are inclined to select the most important objectives and to recommend that course of action which is most efficient relative to it... This could lead to an 'incorrect' solution to the problem. Dropping less important objectives from consideration is not merely a convenient simplification of a problem; it is frequently a major disortion of it."

To give an example: "Increase employment opportunities" is very often the stated goal of many development projects. But the local people may not reap the benefits of this because they are not skilled. So drivers, mafundi for dip-building, typists and so on are likely to come from other
areas. In some of the pastoral areas of East Africa the local people are not skilled. Even digging holes for holding ground poles has been done by nonlocals. But what does one do in an area where the only way of increasing employment opportunities (in any meaningful number anyway) would be to start Chinese-style road and irrigation programmes, with carrying, and sweating and digging, which no one wants to do anyway. Such programmes do not "improve the quality of life" as seen by people like the Pokot in Kenya, who state that their favourite pastimes are to watch cows, tend bee-hives (if any) and attend traditional meetings.

(c) Ranking of objectives

One common technique is to establish a hierarchy of goals, a kind of ranking list of what is considered important at different levels. Inputs lead to outputs. If outputs are produced then purpose will be achieved. If purpose is achieved, then progress towards a higher goal will occur.

Take a cattle-dip programme as an example. A survey reveals heavy incidence of tick-borne diseases, which leads to proposals for a dip programme, which leads to planning and budgeting, official submission and their processing, which leads to financial allocations, which leads to programming, community development involvement, which leads to joint planning meetings, which leads to staff and other inputs, which leads to dip building, which leads to recurrent commitments to service dips, to dip attendant training, to community development drives to use dips, which leads to effects on ticks, on animal health, on mortality, live weights, meat quality, prices, incomes, income distribution, herd size, overgrazing, readiness to accept range management measures, ability to pay school fees, etc., etc. You can cut this chain at any point and call everything before that planning and everything after that, outputs, goals and objectives. An output may be a decrease in animal mortality, or an increase in animal offtake, an
objective may be an increase in rural incomes.

One has, however, to simplify and one needs simple rules for choosing indicators at different points along the hypothetical chain. One obvious point in this chain is where the concern with the dips programme itself leads into a wider range of "outputs". Using the dips programme as an example one may therefore construct a tentative hierarchy of goals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>TARGET</th>
<th>SUBGOAL</th>
<th>GOAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building dips;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect self-help funds;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train attendants;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply dip fluid;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform and train community;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of animals</td>
<td>Increase in value of</td>
<td>Increase in income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dipped</td>
<td>cattle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A lot of different activities are required to get the dips build and to get them working. The purpose of the dips in the first instance is of course to get cattle dipped, and this may or it may not be a problem. It is however, still quite easily measured, on a suitable time-basis. If the dips are there and the cattle are being dipped we have come a long way, we may have reached our production target of x cattle per month. We still have a problem however, unless we can feel certain that the dipped cattle are better than undipped cattle, that their value to the owner or presumptive buyer is increased by the dipping may also be necessary to "measure" if the cattle get rid of the ticks and if they command a better price. This may still be a rather simple thing and we therefore end up having no evaluative problems at all until
we want to find out if the owners of the cattle are any better off with tick-free cattle.

Here is where we may find out that nobody buys the cattle and we may have to build another branch on the subgoal level:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>TARGET (Production)</th>
<th>SUBGOAL</th>
<th>GOAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building dips; Collect self-help funds; Train attendants Supply dip fluid; Inform and train community;</td>
<td>Number of animals dipped</td>
<td>Increase in value of cattle</td>
<td>Increase in income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock marketing staff: recruitment; build staff quarters; Holding grounds: procurement of land for holding grounds and stock routes; Sales yards: rebuilding; building new yards; Costing of livestock marketing operations: capital, recurrent social costs;</td>
<td>Staff available Holding grounds ready Stock routes planned or scrapped Sales yards ready Preliminary costs for operations ready</td>
<td>Marketing facilities available Successful sales held</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the line with this model a hierarchy of goals is a logical analysis (based on whatever knowledge of causal chains is available) where the lower level (to the left) is expected to lead to the next level to the right. (The number of levels one chooses to put in the model, is, of course, arbitrary). This would seem to be the logical extension of the operational control system and a goal hierarchy of this kind should, optimally, help the planners/implementers to decide on what levels, in what angels, the uncertainty is greatest. Most of the causal
connections may be self evident, but the higher one gets - the more to the right - the more difficult is it usually to know if one or more steps lead to the next level. It is impossible to follow-up and report and study every single aspect of a project/programme, but it is essential to study the crucial chains.

(d) **Popular participation in planning**

Participation is the sweetest of all the words in the vocabulary of public policy, especially when used together with words like "grass-roots" or "from below". What does it mean? In connection with planning it means simply that you participate in decisions about your own future. In practice this does not often obtain.

There are several reasons for the non-participation of the people in the planning process, that is the people that really need to make their voice heard, the poor, the pastoralists, the far away. I think one can identify some gaps that play a crucial role in making participation in planning for rural development very difficult. One is the gap between the activists/the entrepreneurs/the big men and the parochials at the local level. Another gap is the communication gap between the bourgeois bureaucracy and the parochials. A third gap is the gap in the administrative structure for planning and implementation (see below).

In a political situation for example, where the development philosophy does not stress social development, equitable distribution and social justice but where a rather crude capitalistic system (with the help of the IBRD, and foreign interests) stresses productivity, returns and capital concentration, it is quite clear that popular participation is a difficult problem. In the absence of a strong political organisation that binds people together and in the absence of a strong parliament the bureaucracy has retained all the powers bestowed upon it at independence and also gained control over other areas. Planning is done by civil servants, but as
G. Hydén has shown, "it is misleading to conceive of the Kenyan bureaucracy as very powerful in relation to other institutions in society. It is fragmentary and torn due to the character of the social structure and the parochial pressures it brings to bear on administrative decisions... in this situation it is extremely difficult to introduce a 'development administration'". But the "parochial pressures" are not pressures from the masses, rather such pressures come from what W.O. Oyugi calls the natural leaders, that is the entrepreneurs, the activists, the big men who often share a niche (to use an ecological term) with the civil servants. The aspiration of the latter is not only to serve their masters and the public, "it is as much to rise up the social ladder". The civil servant is not only an official of the government and a member of the rising bourgeoisie. He is also an informal leader of the local community from which he comes. This means that he readily identifies with people in a similar position in the society where he works (for implications on the national level).

The little man has difficulties in making his voice heard. He is usually called to a meeting, baraza, where he will be exhorted to work hard, not to be lazy, pay tax and obey government regulations. As W.O. Oyugi has shown, the baraza is a very unsuitable institution for participation. The stress is on implementation ("don't be lazy") and on announcing government policies and actions on matters of development, not on finding out the wishes of the local participants. Indeed, at such meetings there is hardly any intelligible communications between the civil service and the local participants. Their ways of looking at the same problem may be so different as to make it difficult for each group to grasp the substance of the importance of what the other is talking about.

For example in Kenya, planning at the grass-root level is still largely a formal exercise which has not yet involved local citizens to any great extent to significantly affected local development activities which take place in spite of planning. And this situation will not
likely change until planners themselves gain greater influence in the allocation of public goods and services in rural areas and invite the preferences of local groups to guide allocation decisions. But this may open a Pandora’s box of rural instability caused by excessive political claims and too few public goods and services to satisfy these. Perhaps planners and other public officials know this and perhaps this is why popular rural participation in planning and public decision making may not get beyond the stage of rhetoric in Kenya.

To solve this problem there is a need for a large scale adult education programme in the widest sense of the word, to involve people and find out what they want. This takes time and money.

Secondly, there is a need to abolish the (ministerial) difference existing between community development and rural development. Thirdly, there is a possibility to look for some items in the plan that directly involve people and their future and discuss those parts with them. Forthly, there is the possibility of reorganizing the variety of Development Committees at the local level to allow some participation by representation, although experience so far is not very encouraging. Structural changes alone do not ensure efficient planning.

2. Decide

The decision to implement a new plan is made by the government. But whoever controls evaluation is liable also to be controlling the direction in which the various programmes move.

3. Act

After the decisions are made, the government and its various agencies act towards the implementing of the programme. In large scale programmes there is of course always the problem to differentiate between what people think ought to happen, what people think happens and
what really happens. Several ministries leave a gap between the provincial level and the district level.

Sometimes, as happens in all nationwide bureaucracies, local officers involved in the implementation of a programme are not prepared enough to perform adequately, there may be the low personal capacity for planning, there may be language difficulties, especially in communicating in writing with the centre. In Kenya, English is still the language used for this communication. Another problem is the very common tendency (to be found all over the world) to conceive of the project as finished or almost implemented this stage because so much effort and energy has gone into the planning and the selling of it to decision makers (who may in the end work against the project or be indifferent because of the politically difficult future personal consequences that may occur as a result of being identified with a failed rural development project).

4. Observe

As social scientists usually talk more about their methods than about their results, evaluation methods are a field for academic controversy and debate. Many methods of observation are described and analyzed in the most common textbooks on business administration, agricultural economies and rural sociology.

Let me only say a few words on one type of procedure which one could call audit techniques:

It is sometimes argued that economic performance has to be evaluated through common audit techniques. Especially donors, with agencies politically responsible to taxpayers in their home countries, very often have the idea that continuous book-keeping checks or quarterly audits are the only requirements to evaluate performance.
Through such procedures one may check corrupt practices (which sometimes seems to be a main problem in the view of a donor country or its tax-payers) or the use of money for other purposes, but I am still to be convinced that this is a rational efficiency control. The method is only assessing the costing of activities.

5. Analyze

The major problem of analysis is that most groups in a society have "vested interests" in any development programme. They have thus different assessments of effectiveness. Let me put it this way: There are objectives of a programme and for a programme. Objectives of a programme - or for that matter of an organisation - concerns their function in society to produce, to "develop", to give services of various kinds. But the objectives (goals, aims) for a programme or an organisation are tightly connected with and based on the feelings, ideas and opinions of groups of individuals connected with the programme in some way or another.

Administrators may see the programme as effective when it helps them in their career. Research workers may find it effective when it produces research opportunities (useful for their career). Politicians may find the programme effective in producing political fringe benefits. Donors consider it effective in relation to the pressure from their tax-payers who produce the money. Local capitalists will find new roads and increased access effective for their business. The target population very often has no explicit or "new" ideas, or only general ideas such as: the programme is effective if it produces more health centres, more cows and more opportunities to get out of the area.

Influential groups (government, donors) manage to have their ideas about effectiveness of the programme made "official", and thus they create a conflict. The most important difference in this respect is between the society's and the individual's interests. If, for
example, private profitability were to govern even public expenditures, an investment in an educational programme would probably be considered less profitable than tax reductions for local successful businessmen.

6. Learn

How do organizations learn? How is it possible to sift the information that has come in during the earlier stages in the process, and then get the right pieces of information through to the "learners" in various parts of the organization? Let me come back to this under (8) and only raise one problem here: the problem of rapid turnover of project, expatriate, government or local staff in most development projects the government must of course be aware of this but no very much has been done to reduce the turnover rate, even in technical ministries. Much experience gained is thus not used because officers are transferred to another district, sometimes after such short tours as nine months.

7. Improve

Let me under this heading make some heretic statements. So far the discussion has been concerned with theoretical implications of the formulation of goals and objectives, of evaluation techniques, etc. I think the discussion can be decomplicated a bit especially if we look at what has happened in practice. There may be a conflict over objectives, and over which objectives should be made official. Various persons and organizations have various criteria in evaluation and these are liable to be related to particular individual or collective interests. This may not, however, happen in practice. There is often a great plasticity in programme objectives at present and this may be beneficial. They are typically broad so that everyone can agree with them. This is an important political point. They are not an issue and are not likely to become one. If someone wants to add "equitable distribution of income", who will object? Nor will anyone do anything about it.
In planning at the district level people keep some such objectives in mind for a short time, but then they leave them behind. There will still probably be some conflict between objectives and the problem of interdependence but in practice the relative ease of achieving different objectives may indeed have a stronger influence on what is actually done. Official over-all objectives may therefore not be determinants of which programmes are designed and adopted. Where goals do appear important is in evaluation of what I have called effectiveness. Whoever evaluates in a system where this feeds back into re-planning (as has been suggested here) is also determining the objectives or at least the operational interpretation of objectives. If evaluation is effective, whoever controls evaluation is liable also to be controlling the direction in which the various programmes move.

8. Remember

The memory function is probably the most important and least known part of this model. Past mistakes and past improvements must not be forgotten. The problem is obviously a practical one, and also a problem of high level manpower and that scarce resource: executive capacity.

Let me make a few points:

(a) The introduction of computerized techniques in development administration is under way in Kenya with the help of Canadian (CIDA) technical assistance. The project ambitions were initially probably too high but the project has now been trimmed to size and will offer information on development projects and research old, new and planned. It remains yet to be seen how this will function. As with all computerized information one problem is the quality and also validity of the data-input.

(b) Another point which partly overlaps with (a) is: It is often said that there is not enough information.
In some cases this may be true, but most often it is the other way round. There is a wealth of information of various kinds pertinent to both planning and evaluation to be had from files and reports (Ministry of Agriculture, Provincial planning, officers' files, etc.). There is indeed too much information available. What is needed is to retrieve it, collect it and analyze it in operational terms understandable at district level.

(c) There is a sophistication in simplicity. It is necessary to use optimal techniques and heroic simplifications, to measure what can be measured most cheaply (in terms of staff time and finance) and what can be expected to have the highest payoff in re-planning and re-duplication.

9. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to present some ideas about evaluation as continuous planning and about evaluation as an instrument for recycling of information and its use as a sort of steering instrument for rural development projects.

Let me finally point out some additional difficulties of a more general nature. Most rural development projects are decided on by governments, but funded or even run by other agencies, such as the various agencies for technical co-operation, churches and voluntary organisations. In that case the government must decide and really know what it wants from the programme and what it wants from the evaluation that takes place. The responsibility for continuous planning rests with the government for the following reasons. The government must decide the goals for the programme, it must know what it wants in specific terms, and it must thus do the evaluation itself. If a government does not provide this type of evaluation (or any other type for that matter) the donors will. With the heavy technical assistance input of personnel and finance a programme will be evaluated in terms of efficiency, because that is what the donors need for the
political support for development co-operation, they have to show that the tax-payers' money is put to "good" use. But the long-term effectiveness will not be evaluated and that can only be done by the government. Where the overall knowledge is to be found about the aims and the political direction of the development of the rural areas. The donors may also have the manpower and the resources to find out what "people really want", what at times may come as a surprise to the centre and not agree with the "official" view.

Moreover, and this is maybe the most important point, if the government leaves all evaluation of programmes to donors, the donors will thereby be determining much of the content and of the objectives of the programme, despite official declarations and official philosophy of rural development. Whoever controls evaluation is liable also to be controlling the direction in which the various programmes move.
MEETING AFRICAN WOMEN

Kerstin Aner

Africa was a jolly, black, motherly woman by the name of Alice Ndunda.

We had spent three weeks in an international church conference, and all international conferences are alike—the same kind of hotel rooms, similar food and much the same conference routine. But I was fortunate. A Swedish research worker who had been studying the situation in Machakos, forty miles from Nairobi, took us away from the capital, to his friends in the village, and it was here that I met Alice Ndunda and real Africa.

The most remarkable and unexpected experience was to find that to visit Alice was like coming home. The exotic and foreign aspects faded away as compared with this fundamental feeling. It was like coming home to summer in rural Sweden when I was a child.

Was it then not an underdeveloped country? Well, one recognized that when taking a walk around the compound. There was a grave where recently one of the daughters of the family had been buried. She had been sick from and had died of pneumonia—a sickness which should have been easy to cure. But the fine hospital in Nairobi was too far away, and the local clinic had no sulfa drugs.

And the women working in the fields, bent over the hoe so that just a look at them gave one pain in one's back—while the men sat drinking their beer, the only occupation worthy of their manhood.

The young Swedish scholar had of course plans for trying to help them, including some kind of village industry. I hope that this will succeed. But what impressed me during my visit was not how Whites promise economic help for Blacks but how Africans show Whites generous hospitality. For that was
what it was. We shared everything as friends and to all of us it was a day of rejoicing as we could meet over these vast distances and know that we liked one another.

A woman herbalist lived nearby. She looked like any other hard-working woman, with a certain innate authority and pride. Her task in the village was honoured and necessary. People used to visit her when ill. Usually she would already have dreamed of their visit and their illness and what herbs to choose the preceding night. Thus all was ready when the patient arrived in the evening.

I talked to her of medicinal herbs in Sweden and wished that I could have spoken to her directly, without an interpreter. Here one could touch one's hands another epoch, an altogether different culture—yet this solid professional woman was not very different from any ordinary Swedish midwife or head nurse.

I returned from that day in a village in Kenya with the consoling thought that one can feel at home anywhere on this earth—if only one meets the right kind of people.
When Barbro Johansson in 1946 came as a missionary to Tanganyika, a new era in world mission had just started. The second world war had fundamentally changed the conditions of mission. It had made the whole world one struggling, suffering community. After the war the countries of Asia and Africa had started to liberate themselves from the colonial system in such a decisive way that it could not be stopped. The new situation made it necessary to review and renew international cooperation between the Christian churches. In fact political and social development in the world made a renewal and reorientation of world mission a necessity.

Let me take the Church of Sweden Mission in Africa as an example. The mission work had earlier been carried out on the mission fields in Southern Africa, which had been opened by Swedish missionaries in the late 19th and the early 20th century. During the war when German missionaries were restricted from continuing their work in Tanganyika, the Lutheran World Federation called for assistance from other Lutheran missions. Swedish missionaries were thus given the opportunity to contribute to the growth and consolidation of the Church in Tanganyika/Tanzania. This development became of great importance for the international relations and co-operation in mission—both in Tanzania and elsewhere.

Missionaries of different nationalities took part in this work, which was to have a very positive influence on the life of and the relations between the churches in Tanzania, North America and Europe, among them the Church of Sweden.

After the second world war a new emphasis was also laid on the identity and the responsibility of the churches in Africa and Asia. Western missionaries, who at this time contributed to the shaping of the future of the churches, came with a new goal, even if the striving for the independence of the "youn-
ger churches" had been in the focus for a long time. From that time great emphasis was laid on independence in the sense of mutual interdependence with respect for the other partners' identity and right to self-determination.

In a way one could say that the new ideas of co-operation and partnership, which were presented and practised by Swedish missionaries like Bengt Sundkler, Elisabeth and Gustav Bernander and Barbro Johansson together with missionaries of other nationalities and Tanzanian Christian leaders were fulfilled at the General Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Dar es Salaam in June 1977, when Bishop Josiah Kibira of Bukoba was elected President of the Federation. Many regarded this event as a sign of the fact that the African churches have come to play a much more important and leading role than before in the "new Community in Christ" (the theme of the Assembly).

This fellowship and co-operation between churches and Christians is not limited by confessional boundaries. The churches, not least in Africa, are taking their common task in mission seriously, especially when Christians realize that they do not represent a powerful majority but a minority. The call for togetherness in mission is accepted as a challenge and a hope for the future.

The task of evangelization is regarded as urgent not only in Africa and Asia but on all six continents. The number of people who have not heard or not accepted or not understood the Christian Gospel is increasing every year.

In order to meet this challenge there is a need of common planning and common strategy both on the global and on the regional level. During the last years there has been an increasing emphasis laid on regional co-operation between churches. Both in Africa and Asia strong regional Christian organizations have developed vital new programs for missionary outreach.
Also in another way the political development during and after the second world war was of decisive importance for the future direction of the life of the Christian Church. Countries in Africa and Asia became involved in the general world development in a much more direct and important way than earlier. The process of political liberation had started in most of the colonized countries. Industrialization and urbanization increased rapidly. Both education and training on an academic level were given high priority. Efforts to reach economic independence and thereby also an acceptable standard of living for all people increased rapidly. For the Christian churches in these countries this development has opened up new challenges and possibilities. Many churches as well as individual Christians have devoted themselves to participation in the upbuilding of their nations.

Many of the churches were earlier mostly oriented towards a rural environment and their structures and attitudes were dependent on this situation. Now they had to tackle the problems of a rapidly changing and more complicated and sophisticated society than before.

Most of the churches had as a basis of their life and work a biblical conception of the wholeness of man and a holistic approach to their own call to witness and service. This conception has recently been expressed in a clear way by the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus in Ethiopia in its well-known letter to churches and church organizations in Europe and North America, in which the present practical and ideological division between witness and service was questioned and criticized.

For many of the churches in Africa these two aspects of their task were inseparably integrated both in principle and in practice. In this respect they continue a tradition from the very beginning of evangelical mission. The early missionaries, when meeting people in need, tried to help them in different ways, through medical care, education and social services of various kinds. For them these attempts to help people in need were
maybe not based on a conscious ideology but were still regarded as integrated in their missionary task and not separated from the evangelization and the building up of congregations. At the same time they were eager not to use the social benefits as instruments for making proselytes.

Barbro Johansson is a brilliant example of a missionary, who has been able to identify herself with the goals and aspirations of the African church, which she has been serving. She has been given important tasks in the building up of the new nation but all the time regarded her work as part of her call as a missionary of Christ's Church.

In some parts of western christianity today, however, a false distinction is made between the spiritual and the material needs of man. In the highly developed welfare societies of Northern Europe and North America the churches no longer have the same kind of social and diaconal responsibilities as earlier and as the churches in the developing countries now have. It might therefore be difficult for some Christians in the west to understand the situation of the churches in other parts of the world. There is also the risk that our churches in the west may become too well adapted to the welfare society. An ecumenical team which visited Sweden in March and April 1976 asked in their report the question whether the churches in Sweden were not too much a part of the welfare system and not a salt and a leaven in society.

During the last few years the principles and aims of Christian mission have been discussed in a lively way in Sweden. The Church of Sweden Mission's policy has been criticized by certain groups in the Church of Sweden. This criticism is related to the above mentioned tendencies in the present life and witness of the churches in Africa and Asia. The Church of Sweden Mission has been criticized for its ecumenical contacts and especially for its relations to the World Council Churches. It has been argued that the Church of Sweden Mission should concentrate exclusively on evangelical Lutheran mission and cut all its ecumenical relations. Furthermore the Church of
Sweden Mission has been criticized for its concern for social matters and projects. According to the critics it should instead concentrate on evangelization in the meaning of preaching the Christian Gospel.

In a public debate on these matters Barbro Johansson emphasized that western mission organizations and also the supporters of mission ought to listen very carefully to the opinion of the churches in Africa and Asia when the principles and practice of mission are discussed and decided upon. Unfortunately this is not always the case.

The Church of Sweden Mission, which has the same evangelical Lutheran confessional basis as the Church of Sweden itself, has, however, decided to continue to take part in and support ecumenical programmes and co-operation in mission. It will also continue to interpret the missionary task of the Church in the same holistic way as the churches in Africa and Asia. In the Church of Sweden Mission we think that this is the best way in our time to be faithful to the great commandment of Jesus Christ, our Lord.
WORLD WIDE MISSION AND VISIBLE UNITY PERSPECTIVES ON ECUMENISM IN TANZANIA

Carl F. Hallencreutz

In contemporary discussions on Christian Missions--particularly in Africa--we are used to emphasizing the synchronism of Western colonial expansion and Christian missionary outreach. Seen from an African perspective both developments implied pressure on traditional societies.

This perspective necessarily sharpens our understanding of Christian missions as factors in historical processes. It should be pursued, however, with reference to religious and cultural, social and economic dynamics in these societies and between them. Then it allows for a realistic differentiation of our understanding of the relationship between missions and emerging African churches on the one hand and colonial authorities and emerging national mobilization on the other.

Yet there are two additional perspectives on Christian missions as religious factors in historical processes which easily tend to be overlooked in contemporary discussions. One concerns the motivation of Mission; the other deals with the aim of this world-wide enterprise. Both perspectives have, of course, been understood differently in different epochs and in different contexts. Even so I suggest that both are basic for a relevant discussion both of the role of Christian mission in any historical situation and of contemporary ecumenical concerns. In the following I will try to explore these perspectives somewhat as a background for some comments on the search for visible church unity in Tanzania.

Mission: Fulfilment of the Messianic Promise. The call to mission belongs to the very core of Christianity as a World Religion. The basic Christian tenets which circle around the liberating atonement of Jesus Christ but which are interpreted differently in different traditions are seen to be of
ultimate and universal significance. As such they should not be kept and venerated within an isolated ghetto. They concern all and should be shared with all. To exclude any people or any culture would, in fact, mean an act of discrimination.

This characteristic Christian dimension is expressed in New Testament traditions in a most thrilling and overwhelming way. All four Gospels as well as the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's letters are unanimously agreed that there is a necessary relationship between the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ and his call to world-wide mission. It is as the Resurrected Lord that Jesus proclaims the "missionary commandment".

St Matthew's way of formulating this tradition has become particularly significant. I think the question of theological significance of this tradition is more important than how the missionary commandment was actually conceived and first communicated.

It seems to me that Matt. 28:16-20 is a piece of theology at its very highest. It expresses the universal significance of Christ's ministry. As he could not be kept within any limit—not even by the seal of the Tomb in the Rock—though he agreed to minister within set human structures, his Gospel message should not be kept within closed doors but shared to all peoples.

According to a main feature in St Matthew's school of thought, the ministry of Jesus Christ is interpreted with reference to Old Testament tradition. This concluding section, too, is shaped with Old Testament imagery in mind. As Bengt Sundkler suggested in Jesus et les Païens in 1937 and later on develops in The World of Mission, the missionary commandment recalls the Vision of the Son of Man in the Book of Daniel, to whom is given worldwide dominion (Dan. 7:13 f.). Thus St. Matthew expresses the ultimate and universal significance of Jesus Christ in terms of the fulfilment of the promise of the Son of Man.
To recognize the implication of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ as an affirmation of the fulfilment of the Messianic promise is characteristic of other New Testament missiologies as well. St. Luke is most explicit. In his account of conversations between disappointed disciples and the Risen Christ St. Luke deliberately combines Christ's application to himself of the Messianic promises which also include the tradition of the Suffering Servant, with his own interpretation of the universal significance of Christ's ministry (Luk. 24:40 ff).

In his pregnant introduction to the letter to the Romans, St. Paul, too, links the missionary proclamation of the Lordship of the Crucified and Risen Christ to the messianic promise (cf. Rom. 1:1-7). Actually his condensed terminology seems to suggest that he is playing with words in a most skilful way. Evangelion is the Greek word for the Christian Message. It corresponds very well to epangelia, which is one of the Greek words for prophetic promise. In Rom. 1:1 f, St. Paul, thus, introduces himself as servant of Jesus Christ and apostle "set apart for the Gospel of God which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures".

To affirm that the missionary commandment integrally belonged to Christ's fulfilment of Messianic promises was the most powerful way the early church could choose to confess the universal significance of Jesus Christ as well as express its own worldwide mission. In relation to the recognized Jewish religion within the Roman Empire and to other religious communities in the Hellenistic world, the early church emerged as a distinct religious movement with a worldwide mission.

Today there is some significance in reminding ourselves that this development took place in Western Asia and that it was as a new West Asian religion that Christianity first expanded in all directions. Actually until the middle of the seventh century there is a first world missionary era in Christian history. Parallel developments of expansion and consolida-
tion of Christianity in Britain, Nubia and China makes the seventh century particularly exciting in the History of Christian missions.

This century is also the period of the emergence of Islam. This development, where Mohammed's encounters with Nestorian and Monophysite missionaries in Arabia and his provoking experience of religions of the Book are significant factors, would mean a radically changed situation of Oriental churches in Western Asia and Northern Africa, however. It also had far-reaching repercussions on the world-view and missionary orientation of European churches.

To encourage local Church developments. The aim of mission, particularly in terms of special ventures in missionary outreach should also be noted. The overall objective presents itself as witness to Christ's definite salvific ministry and invitation to people to share in a new, restored and reconciled community. In New Testament missiologies the actual formulation of this objective and of the extent of the task may differ. St. Mark's interpretation seems to be particularly comprehensive. There references are made, in a section where the textual evidence is disputed, to a proclamation "to the whole creation" and to signs of the restored Kingdom of God which accompanies this proclamation (Mark 16:15-18).

However, focusing on individual ventures within which this Mission is pursued there is one characteristic feature in this objective. It is that the special missionary initiative is seen as a temporary venture, which prepares a continued development of indigenous, local Christian communities which are called upon (cf. ekklesia) to share in the worldwide mission.

St. Paul's missionary enterprises are characteristic of this view of rapid transfer of authority to the local congregation and of encouragement of local church developments and indigenous initiatives. With Antioch as his base he thus encouraged Christian growth in Western Turkey, and in Greece, and in other places. St. Paul also initiated the development of local
leadership, though the shape of the ministry within the emerg­
ging church was varied, until increasingly the episcopal pat­
tern became predominant.

In Protestant missions during the 19th century the idea of
missions as a temporary enterprise with a view to continued
advance by the local church was predominant. There was a Bib­
lical and sometimes even a Biblicistic emphases in this mis­
ionary enterprise. Much attention was given to Bible trans­
lation. That was, in fact, an expression of the idea of mis­
ion as an impetus to localized christian growth. The peoples
of Africa, Asia, Oceania, Latin America, the Caribbean should
be given a chance to make themselves acquainted with the care
and framework of the Christian message and to decide for them­
selves on issues of ultimate concern. Addressing the Bible
Society of his province in 1820, the missiologist of Swedish
hymn writers of the 19th century, Franz Michael Franzen, gave
a challenging formulation of this general view, "The liberated
Bible has recreated our continent. Spread to other continents
the Bible will carry this recreation further and complete it
in other parts of the world."

A few decades later Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Soci­
ty systematized missionary theories of his time and laid the
foundation for further advance. He formulated a programme for
Protestant missions which has become classic. Missions aimed
at establishing "self-governing, self-supporting and self-
propagating churches" in respective areas of service.

His own view of the role of voluntary associations within the
established church favoured that view. At the same time it un­
dergirded a view of missions as institutions called upon to
carry the Gospel further to regions beyond the area of diffe­
rent local churches. Vis à vis those churches in their respec­
tive regions, however, Venn assumed a "euthanasia of the mis­
ion". In America Rufus Anderson of the American Board ad­
vanced similar views, though he conceived of self-government in
other terms than Venn.
A number of factors including missionary involvement in colonial administration of educational programmes, difficulties in raising local funds for maintaining church structures which were adopted after Western models and pioneering institutions in development co-operation as well as certain weaknesses in Venn's and Anderson's conceptual framework often caused a delay in the envisaged rapid transfer of authority and initiative to the local churches. Sometimes there developed a frustrating tug-of-war between local churches and missions from abroad. Contemporary discussions on a temporary withdrawal of funds and personnel from churches in the Third world partly reflect dynamics in this relationships. They do not conceal, however, that in New Testament times as well as since the "Great Missionary Century" missions both aimed at rapid transfer of authority to local churches and created new relationships within the People of God.

Relationships within the People of God. With these perspectives as the background there emerges another dimension of Christian missions. That is that Mission establishes relationships.

In terms of local encounters of Christian missions and indigenous cultures the missionary message often causes splits in traditionally structured human relationships. This illustrates in a concrete way what Dietrich Bonhoeffer called "the cost of discipleship".

At the same time the Christian message provides a new basis for restored human relationships and wider community. As such it invites to mutually enriching fellowship within the worldwide Church. And here both foreign missions and local churches are involved.

Christian mission, thus, invites to wider relationships at different levels, locally, nationally, internationally. There develops interaction between dioceses or congregations of the same church in different countries. There emerge relationships between different local churches of different denominational tradition or between churches of different denomina-
tional background, though serving in the same area. Shared responsibility and mutual interaction unite local churches and overseas agencies.

I think it is well worthwhile to emphasizing the mutuality which is implied in these relationships within the people of God. A most compelling illustration is, of course, St. Paul's account of particular ventures in inter-church aid, which were made by certain congregations in Mesopotamia in support of the poor local church in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Cor. 8:11-15). Similar rewarding experiences of mutuality within the body of Christ can be quoted from other "mother churches" through the ages and I suggest that we should give greater attention to the impact which experiences of relationships with overseas churches make on developments of Western churches in continued church historical studies.

These varied relationships within the People of God illustrate the ecumenical dimension of Christian mission. Ecumenism is derived from the Greek word oikommene, which means the inhabited world and refers in the New Testament in the first place to the Mediterranean world.

Thus derived ecumenism in Christian theology refers primarily to two sets of problems: one is what is contained in the Church's ministry to the world wide human community, the other relates directly to what constitutes Christian unity and the search to restore and extend that unity.

Increasingly there also emerges a third dimension in the meaning of ecumenism. That is in how far dialogical relationships with people of other religious or ideological communities in order to achieve common human objectives such as peace and international justice should properly be classified as "wider ecumenism". Roman-Catholics and Orthodox seem to be more free to recognize this third meaning of the word.

Certainly any future discussion of the Church's worldwide task and of the visible expression of Christian unity, should be pursued with awareness of the role that the Church, which is
in itself "a community of communities", plays as a partner with other religious and ideological communities, which share the same human responsibility for the shape of future chapters in our common world history.

One or many ways to Christian Unity? When we pursue further our discussion of relationships within the People of God and focus on the call to Christian unity we may soon think of attempts by different Christian communities with different denominational background but working in the same area to find means whereby they can with integrity integrate their different traditions and express their shared organic life together as one Christian community within the worldwide Church. Most compelling still is the example of the Church of South India, which celebrates this year its 30th anniversary as one Church, though there are also other examples of ventures in Christian unity, some practising slightly different ways towards unification of the ministry in the re-united Church. However, when we speak of Christian Unity and particularly think of developments in Africa it seems as if we have to widen our perspective somewhat and also include other parallel developments. Actually interaction--and sometimes conflict--between different ecumenical developments is one characteristic feature in contemporary African church history.

One particular version of this problem presents itself in situations where developments towards both regional and confessional unity converge and contrast. By regional unity I here mean attempts such as in the Church of South India to unite churches of different denominational backgrounds which work in the same area. I do not differentiate at this stage between different forms of regional church unions due to the form of unification of the ministries which is applied. By confessional unity on the other hand I mean attempts to integrate churches which conform to the same confessional or denominational tradition but differ due to differences in historical development as well as ethnic variations, churchmanship, differences in ecclesiastical organization or other factors.
Certainly the search for regional church unity has a long history in Africa from the dramatic Kikuyu Conference in 1913 and early ventures in Eastern Nigeria. Co-ordinated advance in a common evangelistic task favoured more far-reaching solutions than merely comity agreements between related missions on boundaries between their respective fields of service. To be able to properly assess the developments and the failures in the continued search for regional Church Unity in contemporary Africa, however, it is necessary also to include in the discussion the parallel and often contrasting search for confessional unity and to recognize that this development, too, belongs to the search for Christian unity in Africa.

I suggest that particularly in Africa there is a characteristic ecumenical dimension in the development towards confessional church unions. Often in Africa missions, which shared the same denominational tradition but came from different countries and gave special emphasis to certain features in their common heritage were working in ethnically different societies, which had an identity of their own in a continued search towards national integrity. The development of indigenous churches was therefore marked by the particular traditions of special missions and local reactions to these traditions as well as of the dynamics in respective societies and its interaction to other societies in the region. Missionary traditions as well as ethnic identities, thus, formed local churches with distinct characteristics though they conformed to the same denominational or confessional tradition.

Within different denominational traditions continued developments particularly from the 1950s have resulted in confessional church unions of different kinds. There have emerged Church Provinces with considerable autonomy for separate dioceses or Archbishoprics where considerable creative power is concentrated in regional Bishops' Conferences. There have been established church conferences on a national or regional basis uniting Methodists, or Presbyterians or Congregationalists of different backgrounds.
Particularly characteristic for Lutheran developments has been the search to find administrative expressions of wider confessional unity of ethnically different churches within one nation, including also patterns of co-ordination of personnel and economic support from related mission agencies. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT), which was inaugurated in 1963, is a very good example of this development. It also reflects a Lutheran priority of theological emphasis (justification by faith) over unified pattern of church leadership as the basis of Christian unity.

But there are other examples as well. One is the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, which was established in 1959 as a confessional unity of different Evangelical and Lutheran local churches with different backgrounds and different degree of autonomy. The extent of the theological basis for unity was one problem in the preceding discussion.

Another example is the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, which was agreed to at an exciting assembly in Rustenburg in 1975. Here four distinct regional churches decided to merge. One significant outcome has been the establishment of a joint Lutheran diocese on the Rand with Bishop Manas Buthelezi as its first, courageous, leader.

This development towards confessional unity, which is not limited to Lutheran church history, has run parallel to attempts to achieve wider regional Church unity and sometimes contrasted with such attempts. Conditions in Nigeria and East Africa provide interesting illustrations. The emerging scheme for regional unity of Anglicans, Primitive Methodists and Presbyterians in Eastern Nigeria was extended in the late 1940s to include also churches in Western and Northern Nigeria. The different background of different churches in different parts of Nigeria, which included also differences in ecumenical experience, meant that much work which had been done in respective committees in Eastern Nigeria had to be repeated on a wider national basis.
There was a deliberate attempt by the chairman of the Church Union Committee, Bishop Cyril Patterson, later Archbishop of the Church of the Province of West Africa, to draw on South Indian experiences. Thus, in 1955, the Moderator of the Church of South India, Hospet Sumitra, visited Nigeria and encouraged further advance.

However, parallel to this development, there was a search for confessional unity of churches which shared the same denominational tradition but had identities of their own due to different theological emphasis and different ethnic background. The problem was particularly involved among the Methodists, who merged in 1962 in the Conference of the Methodist Church. When the political situation became increasingly strained in the mid-1960s, unresolved tensions within this conference, too, came to a head. Related problems belong to the factors which caused a defeat of the Nigerian scheme in 1965.

In East Africa developments were not as dramatic. Here it was the legacy of the Kikuyu Conference in 1913, which anticipated a wider Eastern African perspective on Christian Unity. When informal discussions on church union in Kenya were pursued among some churches in Kenya a definite proposal to move on towards wider visible unity was advanced by the Christian Council of Tanzania in 1959. It lasted until 1961, however, when things really started to move. One factor for delay was in fact developments towards confessional unity among the Anglicans and the establishment of Anglican Church Provinces both for Uganda and for Kenya and Tanzania.

In Dodoma, in August 1961, the first serious consultation of organic unity of churches in East Africa was convened. Participating churches were Anglicans, Lutherans, Mennonites and Moravians. Later on the Kenyan emphasis was strengthened when the Methodist Church in Kenya and the Presbyterian Church of East Africa decided to join the negotiations.

Dodoma 1961, with Bengt Sundkler as chairman, proved to be promising and a continuation committee was established with
commissions to deal particularly with questions of the ministry and sacraments in a united church. These initial studies were reported and assessed at a "theological confrontation" in Arusha in 1963, when they were seen to pave the way for the next full meeting of the official negotiating committee in Dodoma in 1965. An emphasis on the ministry of the whole church within which different ministries including the ministry of the laity is differentiated and where apostolic succession is seen to have "significance only within the basic continuity of the church as the body of Christ on earth and in history" was inspired from parallel discussions going on in Ghana.

The envisaged episcopal structure of the anticipated church of Christ in East Africa was a tentative issue particularly within the newly integrated ELCT, which deliberately had accepted a pluriform pattern of church government. At Dodoma 1965 the majority of the Lutheran delegation were agreed to introduce episcopacy but decidedly emphasized that they did not see "any reason to establishing a continuity in order from the early church through the medieval period up to the present day". This, however, proved to be a minority position and the Lutheran delegation decided that it could not proceed to negotiate on the basis which the rest agreed on and which pursued emphases since Arusha 1963.

The Mennonites had already decided early on to take a passive-ly observing attitude to the negotiations. The Moravians on the other hand agreed to the basis of union but the delegation felt that this basis needed further study and interpretation within the communities it represented. After Dodoma 1965, thus, an Interim Basis of Union was published in the name of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican Churches, while the Lutherens and Moravians agreed to continue in further joint studies of liturgical and catechetical matters.

Assessing the situation in 1967, the negotiating committee of the three churches asked for a final revision of the Basis of Union which had been agreed to at Dodoma and since then studied
within respective churches. Further emphasis should ge given to the proper context of agreement about faith as the framework of continued discussions on the ministry. Characteristic of the new situation after the Second Vatican Council, Roman Catholic observers were invited to take part in the discussions. 

Work on this new basis was pursued until 1971 with a view to prepare an extended Conference of the Consulting Churches in 1972. At its General Assembly in 1971, however, the Presbyterian Church of East Africa surveyed the situation in the light also of prospects for general regional co-operation in East Africa. It decided to give priority to national developments and has since invited Protestant churches in Kenya to resume Church Union talks on a national basis. 

Thus, both political and ecclesiastical factors, including developments towards confessional unity and different views of methods of unification caused a temporary standstill in the search for regional Church Unity in East Africa. In this context it is challenging to remember how the then Bishop in Bukoba, Bengt Sundkler, interpreted priorities of his diocese within the ELCT. He did not see a necessary contradiction of confessional and wider regional unity, though he was convinced that confessional unity was not a definite goal. Both the geographical location and the varied theological tradition of the diocese he served necessarily implied a commitment to wider Church Unity. This is a vision which his successor as Bishop, Josiah Kibira, shares and which he now can serve in his responsible task as newly-elected president of the Lutheran World Federation. 

Local Ecumenism at other levels. However, there are at least three other perspectives on ecumenism in Tanzania, which also should be briefly considered. One has to do with the relationship of established churches which maintain international working-relations with overseas missions on the one hand and independent church movements on the other. 

Characteristic of church developments in Tanzania is the fact
that there are comparatively few independent Zionist or Ethiopian church movements. Concluding his survey of African churches in Tanzania, Terence Ranger states:

This double process of change has been happening in most of the historic mission churches of Tanzania. It means that today the most important African churches of Tanzania are no longer the independent churches but the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, the Lutheran Church, the Moravian Church and so on. It is within these African churches that the problems posed by Tanzanian independence will have to be worked out.

But there are some independent church movements which raise ecumenical problems similar to the situation in Kenya, Nigeria and Southern Africa. The dramatic history of the North Western Diocese, in fact illustrates such African initiatives. Relationships of the Church of the Holy Spirit with Sylvester Machumu as its charismatic leader and the diocese from 1954 to the reconciliation in 1963 illustrate both problems and possibilities in this ecumenical perspective.

More characteristic of ecclesiastical developments in Eastern Africa generally, which also have had considerable ecumenical significance, however, is the Evangelical abalokole revival was demonstrated at the Advent Rally in Uhuru Park in Nairobi during the WCC Assembly in 1975. Then Bishop Festo Kivengere, at that time still ministering in Uganda, preached and was interpreted in a most congenial way by Dr John Gatu, of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa.

A final perspective presents itself in conciliar relationships on national and regional levels and this perspective tends to get increasingly significant as a means to express Christian Unity after the Second Vatican Council. When it launched its challenge to embark on a united move towards wider Christian unity the CCT affirmed that while it was already a committed expression of Christian unity, it was not a sufficient visible manifestation of that unity. However, in the present situation it is a significant sign of ecumenism in Tanzania.
I do not in this context venture a more profound discussion on conciliarity as a key-concept in contemporary Faith and Order-discussion on Christian Unity. What I do want to underline, however, are the increased relationships since the second Vatican Council between local Roman Catholic Bishops conferences and Christian councils, though, on an international level Roman Catholic ecumenical strategy tends to give priority to bilateral discussion.

In Tanzania this new development has involved the CCT and the Roman Catholic Bishops Conference in advanced discussions on common policies as regards Christian education within the national school system and increasingly also on the role of the churches as voluntary associations within the unified educational system with *ujamaa* and *kujitegemea* as challenging goals.

With reference to the priority given to rural development and villagization programmes in the general development policy this new ecumenical perspective seems to open up new possibilities for expressing Christian Unity on the local level. Different attitudes can be traced within different churches to achieve involvement in the villagization-process. Therefore, a unified emphasis on *ujamaa* and *kujitegemea* implies exciting challenges to consider anew the ecumenical legacy of Dodoma 1961, Kikuyu 1913, and--ultimately--the High Priestly Prayer of Jesus Christ (Joh. 17). Such ecumenical ventures will mean an active response to the Church's call both to worldwide mission and to visible unity in Tanzania of today and tomorrow.
LUTHERANS AND MISSION IN TANZANIA

Joel Ngeiyamu

As General Secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) I have been very much impressed by the great enthusiasm for mission in the church, an enthusiasm which is felt not only in Tanzania, but also in neighbouring countries where our brethren now turn to the ELCT for help with the great task of spreading the Gospel. This is a new situation and it requires a comprehensive reorganization. Earlier, one used the term 'mission' only for the work done by western missionary societies in our country, but now we have our own department for mission and evangelism, by a board and with a full-time secretary.

The first missionaries were sent by their respective missionary societies to work in this part of Christ's vineyard. They were aflame for God—devoted men and women, called by the Holy Spirit for this work. In many cases they were not called by the country to which they went, these messengers of Christ pressed forward in blind obedience to the commission of the Lord to "make disciples of all peoples, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." They were directed by their missionary societies to a particular part of our country. Why they decided to work in one area and not in another I do not know. But as I reflect, I guess that there were certain geographical factors which played a role. The Bethel Mission, for instance, began its work in Usambara and then in Bukoba, the Leipzig Mission on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, the Berlin Mission in Dar es Salaam, and the Lutheran Church of America (Augustana Mission) in Iramba-Turu. I am convinced that this guidance was given by the One who knows the geography of the whole world, by Him who knows the needs of mankind, and where one must begin in order to lay a foundation for the future spread of the kingdom. "When you are admitted to a house, stay there, and go on from there"...so they set out and travelled from village to village, and everywhere they told the good news and healed the sick.'
It was Jesus alone who could show the messengers the road which they had to take in order to begin the work in specific places, where the attitude was more positive, rather than beginning in a place where the attitude was more negative, making it necessary for the missionary to obey the command in Luke 10:10-11: 'When you enter a town and they do not make you welcome, go out into its streets and say "The very dust of your town that clings to our feet we wipe off to your shame...".'

The Church. The ELCT was formed as a result of the work of the missions. Earlier on, regions such as Ulanga in the Southern Synod, Buhaya in the Northwest Diocese and Chaggaland in the north, used to be the specially-defined areas of a particular missionary society. This is no longer so. They are units within the ELCT, which is no longer a field but a plantation. This united Lutheran Church in Tanzania was founded in June 1963. All the Lutheran Churches existing at that time then became one united whole. For historical reasons, certain structures within this united Lutheran Church were influenced by the different missionary societies. This was understandable. Until then they felt the contact with their particular western missionary societies more strongly than with their sister churches in East Africa. Some of our friends like to emphasise that the ELCT is a federation rather than a church. This must be refuted. For the more one emphasises that aspect, the more confused the situation may be, and the more difficult it may be for us to reach our goal. We cannot anticipate a drastic change overnight. Unity is something that must grow naturally and I feel that this is what is happening in the ELCT.

The Missionary Societies and the ELCT. The missionary there are thus historical, social and spiritual bonds between the various societies and the various synods and dioceses in the ELCT. These bonds have a positive value and should be regarded as such. My experience tells me that these bonds are a help rather than a hindrance. But today they must be used for the ELCT as a whole, and for the increased unity between the ELCT and the co-operating agencies of the supporting churches,
as well as between the ELCT and her sister churches in the world. Therefore, when a representative of a missionary society or an organization approaches a group of churches in his own country or in Tanzania, we would appreciate it if they would approach the ELCT as such, rather than a Synod or a Diocese. In emphasising this, I aim at action to foster the unity of our church.

Possibilities in Mission for the ELCT. There are three areas of mission which the ELCT has particularly in mind. (A) Spreading the Gospel to non-Christians. (B) Christian nurture of children and young people. (C) Development.

(A) Evangelization. As an example we refer to the Mugumu field (near Musoma). There are already a number of places with regular services, and the local leadership urges us to extend each year to new centres. The needs of Kenya are great and the ELCT and its supporting agencies must try to meet this challenge. Nairobi and Mombasa represent growing areas for work. If only we had resources we could begin a dozen congregations in these cities.

Each new work which is started in Tanzania is usually an extension of some already existing work. One can in Tanzania see a great number of possibilities which deserve to be followed up. The work in Rufiji area and in Mafia Island is now cared for by the Eastern and Coast Synods. On the Coast, in Lindi and Mtwara, there are Lutherans who could begin to extend a work which might be fruitful for the local population. This work has been entrusted to the Southern Synod, but that Synod can only meet this challenge if helped by the church as a whole. Other places where the extension of the church is a growing reality are the Mwala District, southern Pare, Nyumba ya Mungu (Northern Diocese), and the Biharamulo District (Northwestern Diocese).

(B) The Christian Nurture of Children and young People. As from July 1st, 1970, the government has taken over the administration of all schools, and the churches have no longer any direct influence in state schools. But religious teaching is permitted, according to paragraphs 28 and 29 of the Act. The
church therefore has a special responsibility for teaching Scripture in all schools in the Republic. When meeting this responsibility the church is faced with several problems—a lack of teachers, the need for chaplains in institutions of higher education, and production of teaching material. In this field ELCT has established ecumenical co-operation with other churches through the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT).

(C) Development. Development projects must, of course, serve the whole of society and not only the Christians or Lutherans. This requires planning in order to avoid overlapping, particularly where both Lutherans and other churches are working. Because of this the CCT has formulated a five-year plan on "Services of the Church in Development".

In 1963 Tanzania's population was eleven million, seven years later it was twelve million, and now it is fourteen million. The increase therefore is about 3% per year. The church is growing at the same rate. The economic growth shows that while the first Five Year Plan for Economic Development aimed at a growth of 6.7% per year, the actual economic growth was about 4.3 per year. Income per capita is thus less than planned, about 500 shillings per year.

This is also paralleled within the church. Sometimes the young church has been forced to take over work for which it has neither the personnel nor the economic resources, therefore help from foreign churches and missions is both necessary and appreciated. This help must not be regarded exclusively as an economic question, but as a mutual exchange of spiritual gifts.
Josiah Kibira

Introduction  Barbro Johansson was to have worked full time from April of this year, 1977, as an organizer for the Sixth Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation to be held in Dar es Salaam at the end of June 1977. She had worked enthusiastically and devotedly for this meeting since it was first planned in 1974. But in April she was, with the writer, involved in an automobile accident, and she spent the time of the Assembly still in hospital, with a broken leg.

Despite this accident, we can rejoice that her service, and the vision that has inspired it, continues. At the Assembly prayers were offered for her and a special resolution of sympathy passed on. We can feel that in a very special way this World Assembly held in an African city was a tribute in itself to Barbro, who has devoted her life since 1946 to the service of God in the church and in the national life of Tanzania.

On a personal note, my family's connection with Barbro commenced in 1947, when my wife, Martha Jeremiah Lwabukambwe, was her pupil at Kashasha Girls' School. A few years later I myself interviewed her to tell her I wished to marry one of her pupils. From that time up to the present the fellowship between my family and Barbro Johansson has been maintained.

Barbro Johansson served the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania in the Diocese of which I am now Bishop, and when she was asked to serve our country as a full-time politician, she did so with the knowledge and consent of the church. Whether in church or government, she has continued to serve.

She commenced her service as an educator, and the diocese owes her many thanks for the host of women who went through her hands and are now themselves serving the Lord. She con-
continued her service as an educator when in meetings and discussions she explained the meaning and function of world organizations like the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation, and we owe her thanks also for this service. The selfless and sacrificial way in which she gave is rarely found.

**Vision for what?** When we talk about the service Barbro Johansson was rendering to the Church in the preparation for the Sixth Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, we think also of the theme of that Assembly, "In Christ a new community". Her service has always been such as to lead towards the realization of that community. Her service is to all without exception or prejudice.

Now that the Sixth Assembly is over, it is probably the right time to point out the direction in which the Lutheran family of churches are moving in their attempt to realize and become the new community in Christ. The Sixth Assembly at Dar es Salaam has pointed out more clearly yet that the first duty of the Christian church is mission, to all continents of the world. This obligation is for all churches. All have something to give and to receive. Moreover, mission implied evangelization and re-evangelization to the whole human being in all continents. Thus, development is part and parcel of mission work in this present world.

The New Community, a gift which God alone can create and enable, is not yet realized because of the sin of human beings. The situation in Southern Africa, rather than improving, is becoming worse. The role of the church should not be quiet neutrality. She must seek to advise and reconcile, even in situations of open confrontation. The real problem is to find the right interpretation of the Gospel and its application when it is preached in a particular context. When we see what is happening in Southern Africa today, we in the church must question both what is happening within our walls and what we should be saying to the
"The task ahead of us is big and calls for our continued to­
tal obedience to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as we walk
towards the realization of the New Community in Christ, about
which we have been talking and writing for two weeks—a com­
munity which recognises no distinction of colour, race, age
or sex.

"The major task of the New Community is to be in mission in
all the continents of the world and to be in live ecumenical
fellowship and partnership. Here the question of 'self-re­
liance for discipleship' will hold high priority for every
member church. We are called to help each other towards that
goal." (Extract from the speech of acceptance of the Presi­
dent of the Sixth Assembly, LWF).

The New Community is incomplete unless all are included.
Therefore in the period we are entering high priority will
be given to ensuring that this happens. It must happen at
all levels in our churches.

The Lutheran World Federation itself is only an arm for ren­
dering service and carrying out the instructions given to
it by the member churches through the resolutions of its
Assembly. The direct body charged with the execution of these
resolutions is the Executive Committee.

For the first time in the history of the Lutheran World Fe­
deration the Assembly has appointed a President from one of
the "less developed" countries, from a church which grew out
of missionary endeavours from Europe. In a way this appoint­
ment is a small step towards the realization of the New Com­
munity. The Executive Committee has also been chosen with the
same end in view. Eight of its members are lay-people, and
six are women, among the twenty-nine members who come from
all continents. On the last Executive Committee there was
only one woman. There has been a deliberate attempt to make
this committee as representative as the number of the members
would allow.

"No doubt, from Dar es Salaam, a historical new starting point has been made. All these members from all backgrounds will bring in with them to world-wide Lutheranism their contributions which are drawn from the richness which is a result of the Gospel when it reached, molded and dominated their cultures."

When looking at the world scene from my own centre, Bukoba, one is conscious of the need for partnership of all members in the church of Christ. Each local church should regard itself as responsible for fulfilling the missionary task in its own area. In acting in that way, it does so on behalf of the whole body of Christ, and therefore cannot refuse the gifts and contributions of other churches. All churches should be considered as sending, giving and receiving churches, within the interdependence of the body of Christ. The resources available for mission, being Christ's, belong to the whole body. In the New Community, called to be together in mission, there are no limits to what may be shared.

There are, of course, still serious specific problems to be solved in translating the vision into the reality of service. It is perhaps too early to question the findings of the Assembly at this stage. We need to wait and see whether Dar es Salaam has in fact moved us a step further on in dealing with various subjects which are a problem for the Federation itself and for the world at large. But the problem of Apartheid in South Africa, especially in as much as it touches the life of the Lutheran Churches there, has not yet been sufficiently challenged. There were people who had expected the Assembly to come out with a rather more radical resolution on this issue. It is thus not clear whether the Lutheran churches are unanimous in condemning this policy, or not.

The question of the use of violence as a means of solving problems was also touched on. There is no dispute as to whether the Church as such should advise and sanction vio-
lence. The Church is here to proclaim the Gospel of Salvation and Liberation in Jesus Christ. She must bring hope to des­perate and oppressed people. But once violence has been used from the other side, the Church is faced with a question. What should she advise her adherents to do in such cases? How should a Christian defend himself or herself when confronted by an assailant? A clear reply in the light of the Gospel was to be expected from the Assembly.

There are other subjects which readers of the account of the Assembly will expect to find there. The struggle for equality of all people within the New Community in Christ; the equal distribution of the world's wealth; there are some of them. But it is gratifying to report that the question of Mission being the first obligation of every church was agreed on. All churches, whether large or small, must equally strive to fulfil the Lord's imperative to bring the Good News to all creatures.

Since the Fifth Assembly at Evian in 1970 this new understanding of Mission was been especially stressed by the Commission on Church Co-operation. It has been found that mission agencies in some countries have felt as if they have been left out of the CCC's activities. In such countries the older policy of entrusting the missionary obligation to a few interested and specialized agencies has been favoured.

At Dar es Salaam this was not disputed. Dar es Salaam is, however, a further step in consolidating the vision of Evian. But there is still need of a reconsideration of the classical understanding of mission agencies going out in search of "mission fields--out there". This in fact involves a problem of the true understanding of what the Church itself is. We must accept the concrete situation of the need for evangelization or re-evangelization in all parts of the world and be willing to do this together.

Conclusion We have spoken here of a person, Barbro Johansson, and of a great Assembly of churches. The Assembly was made
up of people representing churches, and while we acknowledge the need to change the unjust structures of society we must remember also that the vision and service of the individual Christian man and woman is necessary for this to be accomplished. The Lutheran Churches of the world came together into this Federation in order to assist one another. Mutual understanding of one another, as churches and as individuals, should be our policy. We shall help one another to see where "the root causes of economic and social injustice" are preventing the creation of the ideal community in Jesus Christ, and eliminate them.

Such has always been the vision of Barbro Johansson, and she has had the open eyes and ears which have made her sensitive to see the ways in which this could be done, and she has had also the God-given boldness to act on what she saw. So as we thank God for her vision and the service which has resulted from it, we pray for the same for each of us in this world-wide family of God.
THE PROPHETIC ROLE OF THE CHURCH, AS EXPERIENCED IN NAMIBIA 1975

Carl-Johan Hellberg

The prophetic role is an unavoidable obligation to each individual church. But what does this mean to a church living in a country or society that is struggling for freedom and human rights? What is to be done by an individual church in identifying itself with the suffering of a whole people being oppressed by a ruthlessly cruel government?

As we look around the world one of the best examples of the church engaged in performing its prophetic task can be found in the Lutheran Church in Namibia, a country sometimes referred to as South West Africa. Let us first have a look at the present situation of that country. Defying the decisions taken by the World Court in the Hague and by the United Nations, both emphatically declaring the continued presence of the South African government as being illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa stays on and applies its policy of apartheid--separate development--without regard to the wish either of the population of the country or of the world opinion. The continued occupation brings suffering to the entire nation. Any opposition is oppressed either by military or para-military actions, without concerns for human life and private property, or by applying laws, prefabricated to suit the interests of the occupying government through which people are detained incommunicado for unlimited periods of time, subjected to tortures and other maltreatments in preparation for mockery trials. All the tools of a totalitarian regime are applied to prevent the freedom of expression and the establishment of democratic rights.

Meanwhile, the rich wealth of Namibia in minerals and other natural resources is exploited by the occupying power, in cooperation with multi-national companies, with headquarters in South Africa, Britain, Germany and the USA. This is done with use of underpaid Namibian workers, employed as contract workers, a system that can best be described as a legalized slavery.
The struggle for freedom is carried out by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Namibia National Convention (N.N.C.), a struggle from both inside and outside Namibia. Thousands have left to neighbouring countries, where they have organized themselves for continued fight, either through diplomatic means or through military attacks over the borders to Namibia. Others remain in the country, constantly facing the danger of being arrested and deported to South African prison camps in the Republic, far away from their homes and families.

On September 1, 1975, so-called "constitutional talks" opened in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. It was a mockery of a conference, intended to please the world opinion by showing the "good will" of the South African government in listening to the population. It was a mockery as it was composed of carefully screened representatives of "ethnic groups", selected by the South African government in order not to endanger its continued domination of Namibia, while national organizations, like SWAPO and the N.N.C. were excluded. After two weeks, the conference rubberstamped a "declaration of intent" drafted by the South African government proposing a loose confederation of apartheid territories, and not a unitary state under majority role.

Two weeks before these talks were due to start almost the entire leadership of SWAPO, inside Namibia, with numerous pastors and layleaders of the Lutheran church, were arrested. They are held detained under the Terrorism Act or under the Suppression of Communism Act, in both instances having no access to legal or medical aid, being the unprotected victims of the ruthless South African police force. With nearly one hundred detained, UN reported on October 9, 1975 that "a reign of terror is being perpetrated against those who protest against South African presence in Namibia".

The majority of Namibians belong to the two non-white Lutheran churches, led by Bishop Leonard Auala and until recently by President Paul Gowaseb. At the end of June 1971, when the si-
uation in the country became acutely desperate, due to the suppressive action of the South African government, these two church leaders addressed and published an open letter to Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa. With reference to specific sections in the UN Declaration of Human Rights they protested against the inhuman sufferings and injustices, inflicted on the entire Namibian people by the South African government. Following the publishing of this letter the two church leaders met with Mr. Vorster in Windhoek, capital of Namibia.

The conversation was taped and excerpts have later been published. In order to understand the points expressed by Auala and Gowaseb, let me make some quotations. Auala started by referring to Ezekiel 3:16--17: "Son of man, I have appointed you as a sentry to the house of Israel; whenever you hear a word from me, warn them in my name". Auala continued: "Whenever injustices and discriminations are inflicted on the people, it is the duty of the church to speak. What we ask from the South African government is that it grants full human rights to our people...Apartheid is the mother of all the problems of the daily contacts between indigenous and white people...The black is supposed to make his contribution with eyes closed and mouth shut...Namibia, our country, with its many districts, is one. There is not a Namibia composed of a number of isolated, small countries...The government must pursue the aim of making the entire country autonomous, so that it can stand on its own feet."

So far Bishop Auala. President Gowaseb made similar remarks: "The whites have to accept that we also are human beings, just as they are, with the same worth and the same rights...The whole of Namibia must remain for all of us the homeland in which all enjoy equal rights."

This open letter and subsequent dialogues between the Prime Minister and the leaders of the churches have given a new recognition to the church and a new self-understanding of its own role in Namibia's fight for freedom. In a country where
any free political opposition is forbidden, the church has become "the voice of the voiceless". Let me very briefly try to analyze the immediate importance of this:

1. By speaking frankly and boldly for those persecuted by the South African government, the church has identified itself with the plight of not only its own members, but of the whole nation.

2. By this the church has become the unifying, socio-political factor for people of different backgrounds, although it acts out of purely Christian, non-political motives.

3. Thus the church represents for the occupying government a dangerous, political opposition and must suffer the consequences of this. The church in Namibia is a persecuted, suffering church. Members of the church, pastors and laypeople alike, are constantly subject to police action, including detention, torture and maltreatments.

4. The stand taken has forced the church to define clearly its own theological motivations. Those favouring the South African government accuse it of being a political organization rather than a church. Against this the church declares that it has broken with an "European-oriented, pietistic theology that did not see man in his totality." Or, as Gowaseb's successor, Dr. Lukas de Vries, puts it, "We have lived too long behind the walls of the church. We had forgotten that people outside the walls lived with their social and political sufferings. We are not any more guided by the policy of South Africa, but are led by the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ, that brings forth the revolutionary change of social conditions".

The prophetic role of the church in a situation like the one in Namibia, can hardly be better and more clearly defined. The Gospel is directed to the whole man, it comes with the claim to hold power, to make man truly free and to restore human rights and justice where people are violated and oppressed. A church faithful to the Gospel can
never be silenced. By its message of freedom and love that
do not know of any human limitations, it cannot allow it-
self to be restricted by any unjust laws, cannot be preven-
ted from speaking openly, freely and with divine authority
to the oppressed and the oppressors alike.

In Namibia the church is, as Auala put it, "the sentry of
Israel", called to warn against the cruel consequences of
apartheid, requesting the oppressors to recognize the jus-
tified plea for freedom amongst the non-whites, their jus-
tified fight for freedom, equal human value and justice. By
being faithful to the Gospel, the church in Namibia is fa-
cing a dangerous and painful task that it cannot avoid. It
must ceaselessly expose the evils of the present government,
exposing bad relations and discriminatory actions against
individuals and groups of individuals. It must continue to
be "the voice of the voiceless" by siding with those who are
violated and suffering. At the same time it must create res-
pect for what its stands for, namely hope, freedom, unity
and good will for all the people of Namibia, irrespective
of race, language or traditions.

The church is not and must never become a political party.
Its task is rather by preaching and living the Gospel to
provide the premises for a mutual understanding and respect
between all people, based on the true recognition of the
rights and values of each human being. This is an arduous,
delicate task, indeed. In Namibia of today this is, however,
the only hope—that one day may bring reconciliation, peace
and prosperity to all its people. You and I as part of the
church universal, are obliged to assist in this task as we
also are called to be "the sentry of Israel" in our own so-
cieties as well as in our own world of today.
FREE WOMEN OF BUKOBA

Marja-Liisa Swantz

"Perhaps men in our tribe are so oppressive that the women have found it hard to tolerate it, or the women are born with a spirit of wanting to be free".

This was the outcome of a discussion between a Haya University student Regina and her village sisters. The beautiful, intelligent Haya women have taken their place in the top ranks of Tanzanian society while their less-educated sisters have sought to escape from hurt and humiliation, utilizing the only thing that was in their power to decide upon: their own selves.

The spirit of freedom as a compelling force among Haya women has its historical roots. In a society of feudal lords and conquered peasants, history tells of arbitrary use of women as pawns for debts and as tokens of favours and petitions. It tells of trade links and labour migrations which opened roads to cities on other shores and of foreigners who in Haya women found beauty and pleasure.

In a society of landlords and tenants, of the royal class and slaves, of rich and poor, men and women either subjected themselves to the mastery of their rulers or sought their freedom beyond the borders of Haya country in Kenya and Uganda or in the cities of Tanzania.

When the Church of Sweden mission entered the scene in Bukoba the Haya were described as a "dying race". Venereal diseases were rampant, child mortality high, marriage institution broken down. The men in Kahororo Teacher Training school considered it a miracle if they could report that their mothers were still living with them in their homes. (Sundkler 1948, 1975)

Hardly in any other area of Tanzania has the Christian Church had such dramatic influence on the women's situation as in Bukoba, yet, even there, too few have been affected and, at
times, the Christian way has not spelled true freedom but rather subjection and unquestionable obedience to man as the master. The greatest influence has come either through the educational institutions which have opened up the way of learning and work, satisfying the enterprising spirits of the Haya women, or through the spiritual awakening of the Balokole, and inroad to inner liberty. Sustaining faith has born its believers over hardship and suffering, through humiliation and hurt to a life of equality and shared fellowship.

The following lines are glimpses of life-stories of Haya women, brief quotations noted down by two Haya University students, Regina and Magdalena, supplemented by their own thoughts and by the writer's own diary notes. They bear witness to the depth of the woman's cry and need, but also to the strength of the woman's faith and spirit. Some of these women are Mama Barbro's village sisters from Kangabusharo with whom she has shared toil and feast.

Elina was the women's development leader in Kangabusharo. She had had Std.4 education, had been baptized as a Lutheran Christian and had gained her leadership training within the Church Women's organization, Bethania. "Bethania newsletter is the only paper I read. At times I listen to the radio, but I hardly put it on on my own initiative. We women meet and share bits of news that we hear in the village or outside. When a letter comes from UWT headquarters it is read in a UWT meeting and as a women's representative I attend the village committee meetings. Since my children have already grown up I can take part in ujamaa activities, although men have discouraged us from starting our own cooperatives: We wanted to start selling fish in the village, but men feared our independent action."

Elina herself had gained income from the village cooperative tea cultivation and sale of handicrafts. Women had also cooperated in each other's individual fields and so had been able to increase production. This was a form of cooperation
started by the Church women much before ujamaa developments. Elina was fortunate in that her husband, who himself was in charge of the village cooperative shop, allowed her to have the money from bananas and even coffee sales for the household necessities.

Elina's husband had two wives. Each had their own coffee field which the husband helped to harvest. He also helped in planting and cutting banana trees, but all other field work was done by the women. The second wife Sofia had been previously married and had given birth to two children whom she had to leave with the husband when she had been divorced. She re-married but soon after she decided to leave. "My aunt was a prostitute in Mombasa and I wanted to go and try my luck. I returned home after five months; I could not take such a shameful way of life. To my surprise my husband took me back and I have been here since".

Did Sofia have some real reason to go? "It was just a desire to have my own income and a freer way of life, perhaps an adventure." But all the men are not like Elina's and Sofia's bigamous husband. Many statements of married, divorced and widowed women reveal bitterness which points to sources of grievances inherent in the social system and tradition and male attitudes molded by them.

Felista's husband had a prominent position in the village. He was a lapsed Catholic Christian with two wives. "I was married once before but I wanted to have a divorce because my husband used to beat me. The two children I bore for him I had to leave with him. My present husband had already three children who had been left behind by his first divorced wife I have not had much contact with my own children, but I was consulted when my daughter was married off". Felista was not happy in her second marriage either. She was tired of being married, with poor clothes and no money for her own use. "My husband takes all the coffee money. If I could get divorced I would never marry again. I could get some income from the ujamaa work, but because of my other duties in serving my husband I hardly have time to go there. It is the same with adult education. It is no use for me. We women have so much
to do and to think about that we cannot concentrate on learning".

Rhoda's husband was a medical assistant. "My husband earns a salary with which he buys what he thinks we need for the family. I brew and sell beer and get some income of my own. But the farm belongs to my husband. As long as I do what he tells me I get enough to eat and can sell some of the produce, but the coffee money belongs to my husband."

Bertha had finished Std. 7 and was now a young mother of three children. She cultivated coffee, beans, bananas and potatoes. "I am my husband's second wife. He had divorced one before me and now he lives with the third one in Mwanza where he owns a shop. I do all the farm work and harvest the coffee, but I have to keep the money until he comes to collect it. He decides how it is used and what the family necessities require. At times we go without salt, sugar, soap, fish and meat. I would like to go away but I don't want to leave my children who are still small."

In the case of Veronica "the farm, cows and coffee belong to my husband. We wives may come and go. He has divorced two wives, I am the third. The other two have worked as I am now doing. They left everything behind, including the children. I sell the coffee but give the money to my husband who gives me what he wants, perhaps sixty to a hundred shillings for clothes."

These were married women whose lot in life was dependent on the goodwill of their husbands. The women's weak economic and legal position was exposed as soon as the husband, father or brother no longer fulfilled their duties or did it grudgingly. Women had no land in their own names. It could be said, "Women have no clan after they marry", and when chased away from their husbands all they could claim was a share in the last harvest they had cultivated. Widows and divorced women were particularly vulnerable, especially if they had only female children or had not born any children at all. Divorces had been frequent in Bukoba. Rather than staying near their brothers' homes, dependent on the favour of their sisters-in-law and being duty-bound to work for their brothers' house-
holds, many women have followed the examples of their mothers and older sisters. The stories of returned prostitutes reveal that the Haya women have lacked constructive opportunities for supporting themselves and their children when left alone, yet there has been a gradual change and with ujamaa development they will have, in increasing degree, educational, political and economic channels for self-improvement and self-reliance.

The following statements of returned prostitutes, all living in a small village area in Bugabo, make it very clear that prostitution has not been just an adventure, but that there were serious causes for it, which society had failed to deal with.

"I was once a prostitute. My husband died when I was still young. I was poor and left with nothing. As a prostitute I earned enough to buy my own shamba plot when I returned here. Now I am registered as a member of an ujamaa village and I get an income from tea cultivation."

"I could not have children. I was of a royal clan but was not given a shamba as an inheritance. My pride was hurt and I left."

"I was barren, and my husband mistreated me. I went to see the world after a long experience of slavery."

"I had only a female child, and quarrelled with my husband. I left."

"I left after my husband died. There was a conflict with my brothers."

"I had no children, my husband married a second wife. Mine was a losing battle."

"I had only a female child. I left my husband but was told at my brother's place that I was just a parasite, so I left."

"I was a bisisi child. Neither of my mother's husbands accepted me. My mother left for prostitution. I felt homeless and followed my mother."

+ It is believed that the first child born to a woman belongs to the man with whom she first had intercourse. After a divorce the first child similarly belongs to the first husband.
"My father was strict. I had no children from my second marriage. My husband married other wives. I had never liked him; I had been forced into marriage.

"I had no children. I went with my sister."

"I had only female children. My husband was irresponsible. I went to look for family needs."

"I had no child. I wanted to buy a field and build a house in order to support my mother."

"I had no child. I was a Hima. People said, 'She cannot work like a Mwiru.' They called me a witch. I went."

"I had no child. I had no home of my own. I was a bisisi child. Why should I work since I had no one who would benefit from my work?"

"I had only a female child. I was not permitted to see her. I left my husband."

These fifteen cases speak for themselves. Prostitution seemed to many the only way open for freedom and many grasped it. Combined with petty trade it made it easier for the women in cities to keep up an air of respectability and for the relatives at home to accept their gifts.

But there has also been another road to freedom. Faith in Christ brought other solutions in the midst of a society which had little use for barren women or which pitied those with only female children. There were Christian couples who respected one another for what they were as God-given companions to each other and who served the community through their homes.

Magdalena, who at the University had learned what equality of men and women should be, had to admit that many common people of her home village, with no one to teach them what equality would entail, had been led in their spirits to follow what they, the radical young, were trying to achieve and fight for.

Mr. and Mrs. K. had been balokole, saved, since 1947. They had only one daughter who was married and had three children. The couple had been under great pressure from relatives and friends that the man should at least go and get a bisisi child in order to have an heir. But the husband had stood firm in his
belief that a marriage was complete even without children. They had lived together respecting each other, their relatives and neighbours, and taking care of their aging parents.

Was Mr. K. dominated by his wife as the neighbours argued? How could it be that he called his wife Ma and washed clothes and cooked when she was ill and tired? Magdalena's comment was, "They were really liberated and different from their surroundings."

Rosalia and her husband had both been balokole, but ten years later the husband had left the church. He had returned to old ways of treating his wife which Rosalia found hurtful and distasteful. He again expected his wife to crawl on her knees to give him his food, call him master, and be submissive. She was no longer able to express her thoughts freely, and all the housework was again left for her. Magdalena's realization at this was, "Where Jesus touches people's lives and he is accepted, he becomes the real liberator."

Angelistina was a widow. While her husband was living she had been pressured to go to some other man so that they could have children, since it was known that the husband was infertile. She was considered heartless for not going, and not caring for the future of the family whose only male offspring the husband was. The husband then married another wife, but died before she had any children. Angelistina inherited nothing after all the hard work she had done to create a coffee farm from virgin land. She left their common home with nothing in her hands.

Some balokole husbands who had long histories of loose living have changed their life-style and become gentle towards their wives, even staying faithful when there have been no children. In the words of one, Zacharia, "If anything will take me to hell it is the long years before I realized that men and women are all God's children sent into the world to perpetuate His love."
Magdalena's final comments about the balokole were, "They demonstrate a sense of togetherness by the love they share between themselves. They called each other brother and sister long before the Party started doing this; they help each other in times of hardship either of life or of faith, and they counsel each other. But they are just too few to make an impact in the society."

Then there are the many young educated girls like Eva and Judes who have boldly fought for respect and equal rights for their sisters and mothers through faithful service to women, youth and children.

Eva's father tried to marry her off at the age of twelve, when she was still in Std. 4. She ran away at night and sought refuge with the parish pastor who took her into his home and paid her school fees until she had completed Std. 8. She was determined to prove to her father that she could be useful for more people than her own home and render services wider than that what a paid bride-price would demand from a woman. Eva worked at an orphanage and eventually was sent abroad to learn more about such work. On her return she became head of the orphanage and carried out her duties with skill and devotion.

Judes was Barbro's student in Tabora. With her mother she had lived through all the difficulties a woman suffers when she is left by her husband. They worked from morning till night to make ends meet. Judes carried heavy loads for sale on her journeys to school and worked all through her holidays. She had learned from her mother's sad life-story that only through hard work and determination will women be ever able to show their worth. She herself, together with her brothers and sisters, all well-educated, are a clear evidence of a determined woman's achievement, bringing up her children all alone, in faith and honesty.

Magdalena herself was the eldest child in her father's family. The father noticed how bright she was and he kept on saying,
"If only you were a boy, with that head you could become a lawyer." Magdalena was small in size but full of life and energy. She went through long years of learning and has now graduated from the University of Dar es Salaam with a degree in law, bringing to shame all male prejudice.

There are still many hurdles on the way to women's acceptance by society as a man's equal. But the struggle continues and Barbro Johansson's great share in this struggle has been to combine the efforts of the church and the government in offering women and men alike equal opportunities for self-improvement and self-respect.
Marcia Wright

Ujamaa can be understood as "family-hood" or as a communal group working in a cooperative spirit. In idealizing the concept to promote Tanzanian socialism, many variations in family and communal life had of necessity to be glossed. Any effective community worker, on the other hand, must grapple with variations to understand the nature of and the reasons for certain patterns of social life, which may condition local receptivity to nationalized ujamaa. The following short excursion into the history and culture of the Safwa people of the Mbeya area in southwestern Tanzania is intended to illustrate certain modes of interaction between family and community, with special attention being paid to the position of women. The primary source material is derived from three remarkable volumes of descriptive and documentary material concerning the lives and times of the Safwa and neighboring people in the late pre-colonial and early colonial years, c. 1880-1910.¹

Safwa social values called for many practices of avoidance and deference. In-laws had to be treated with distance and care, seniors received respect, and passing contact between men and women was accompanied by especially ritualized greetings. Correctness required quick appreciation of the appropriate public behaviour and led to a suppression of spontaneity. No careless joking was to occur, lest it be construed as ridicule or malice. Altogether, Safwa etiquette bespoke underlying sensitivity and latent suspicion.

Two kinds of family relationships vied with one another in the reckoning of individuals. The first was defined by membership in a fairly shallow patrilineage, an extended family, the second by residence and strong attachment to a mother-focussed domestic unit, the core family.² In the late nineteenth century, the core family provided the resilience necessary to
survive and adapt in the face of famine and conquest. Mobility from place to place was encouraged by an overall lack of fixed wealth. Prosperity in general rested upon the success of annual cultivation within an agricultural system of very long fallow, the same land in more arid areas being used only two years in succession. An environment of hills and plains and irregular rainfall made for acute awareness of ecological niches and gardens were usually dispersed, perhaps with a plot by a stream, another on the plain and yet another on the slopes. Streams in valley bottoms were valued for the possibility of irrigation and an early harvest of beans in particular, while the mountains afforded refuge from famine, military incursions, and obligations to the Sangu conquerors once they had been established. Conditions of history and environment, therefore, encouraged dispersal. Physical distance served also to diminish the risk of conflict between brothers of one house, or core family, with those of another. Indeed, in the 1890s, plural wives did not usually live within the same compound, but were placed in different communities within a chiefdom. The norm of polygamy and dispersal did not always obtain. While chiefs had four to twelve wives, female slaves, and other females concentrated around them, many men were single until their late twenties and never achieved the ideal of polygamy.

Strong principles of cooperation existed despite the equally pervasive evidence of secession. Men and women formed work teams to prepare the land, and sow, weed and harvest the crop. Mobilization and direction of teams was dominated more by men in the initial phases, while women took over the management and primary labour functions during weeding and harvesting. Each sex, however, participated in all phases. The male domination of early phases cannot be explained by the heaviness of the labour alone. It also entailed essentially a political activity of coordination between core families, joint families, and the community. Within the community there were strangers and poorer people who formed a reserve labour force. The hungry months of January through March coincided with the preparation of fields and these persons gave their labour es-
sentially in exchange for food. Kootz-Kretschmer interprets the Safwa name for the month of April, Rexadje, as conveying a spirit of rebellion. At that time, with the ripening of early crops, the casual workers and even disgruntled children or wives able to find food and shelter elsewhere could convincingly threaten to move. When the women took over, the most acute seasonal hunger was past. Women worked in fields the produce of which became their own, to be administered for the subsistence of the core family. Separate men's fields were cultivated by men and "hired" help. The harvest of these belonged to the men and was exchangeable for livestock or commodities, or could be devoted to male prestige activities, such as the provision of beer.

It should be noted that neither men nor women led monotonously agricultural lives. During the long dry season expeditions could be undertaken by men or women to salt sources to obtain salt for trade. Men had various skills; all knew how to weave cloth and build, while some had special occupations such as blacksmithing. Iron in the standard unit of hoes was fetched from the nearby smelting areas of Unyiha and Bukinga. Cattle were replenished from raids or trade with the Nyakyusa and Sangu-Bungu. Women were the potters and were known to be doctors and diviners.

Before illustrating the remarkable independence of Safwa women, it is appropriate to describe the context in which Die Safwa came into being. Elise Kootz-Kretschmer had gone to German East Africa in 1894, together with her husband, to work in the newly established Moravian mission. After a short period in Nyakyusa country, they moved to Utengule, at that time the capital of Chief Merere of the Sangu, who had subjugated the Safwa. The missionaries were from the outset identified popularly with the subject people and Safwa spoke of them as if they not only opposed the Sangu but also interceded with the German officials. Politically, then, the missionaries were regarded as positive allies. But it was only with time and command of the Safwa language that they were entrusted with the life experiences which form the substance of Die Safwa
and other publications. The project of recording biographies was conducted jointly by Kootz-Kretschmer with Msatulwa Mwachite, a spiritual and community leader in the Moravian parishes centered at Utengule, near Mbeya. The idea caught on slowly, but it eventually became almost a vogue to participate and relate stories to Msatulwa, the every-ready scribe. Msavuje-Mugara later joined in as one of the prime movers, specializing in the gathering of sayings and fables.

The society reflected in *Die Safwa* had very little material encumbrance, no deep or rigid social stratification or overall political centralization, and wide latitude for negotiation and renegotiation of effective relationships. Women, while perpetual minors in a legal sense, come through as extremely important actors in the community. Women obviously had latitude and took advantage of it, becoming virtually omnipresent in the calculations of men.

Young men invested an average of four years cultivating for the parents of a prospective wife. Those of chiefly lineage sometimes avoided this service, which was part of a labour system as well as a form of courtship. Mature girls who had not been worked for during their adolescence would be married with bridewealth in goods and livestock alone. During the time of brideservice, the young girl, the mwali, was ideally excused from the obligation to work. While not secluded as were girls of that status elsewhere, she contributed to the domestic economy voluntarily. The freedom of the mwali sometimes resulted in her choice of another man and elopement with him. Strewn with details of the feuds, contests and acrimony concerning such a girl, the narratives indicate that competition plagued men and opened options for women.

Nothing better introduces the complications surrounding women as seen from a male perspective than two accounts by Sararanga Mfwango. The first episode concerns his own marriage:

I courted Samwandanga, the daughter of Mwandanga. Three years I worked for her father and I brought a sheep and two hoes; then she became my wife. But she declined to
enter my house, remaining with her mother because she was a very stupid girl and the parents were guruguru, irresolute. I was silent and this girl later took Mwandjandje, another man. From him the parents also took bridewealth, although they did not return mine.

Therefore I courted another, Simbera-Simwaryego, the same wife I still have. I worked four years for her father, Chief Mwaryego, and paid twelve gifts; four hoes, three goats, four sheep and one unsindika, a self-woven cloth.

Then I took Simwaryego as a wife and a child was born to us which died at once. The second-born is Nsyani-Phillipo. The third died in infancy and the fourth was Girongo-Ngavije. These two became Christians here in Utengule. Later two additional children were born to us.

In the succeeding episode, Sarananga discussed the situation of his own half-sister, Simbere, and demonstrated some of the handicaps of a commoner facing a royal rival.

Samwangwa courted Simbera, my father's child from the other house. But when the girl was grown, she did not care for Samwangwa, but married Mpira, known now as a Christian as Nsurwa. Therefore Samwangwa came to my father concerning his lost bride. My father said, "Go and fight with Mpira for your bride, if you have the strength for it. I myself want you as my son-in-law, since you have worked for me." Therefore Samwangwa went at night to Mpira's village and burned his house (there was no one in it) and afterwards he fled and came to our village.

The next day, the chief (Mpira) spoke with his people and said: "Samwangwa has set my house afire. Now take your guns and lay him low. He shall die." His people did as he said, but Samwangwa was no longer there. A man of Mpira's own village, unbeknownst to the others, had been away from the place. This man was Mwaxivo. As Mwaxivo wanted to enter the village, the others shot him in the leg. He cried out and said, "You people have shot me." The people ran to him then and saw what they had done. They carried him into the village and were so terrified that they could not speak.

They brought my sister (Simbera) by night to my father and she reported to us what had happened. Mwaxivo died of his wounds and Mpira paid a girl as compensation to the relatives. I took hold of my half-sister and gave her to her husband, Samwangwa, and said, "Take her wherever you wish, but
leave this area." So Samwangwa came to Mpori, in the part of the country (near Utengule) which was then dominated by the Sangu. His wife was later willing to stay with him and he still has her.

Chief Mpira-Nsurwa had to give up Simbera but he took in her place my other sister, Simwotera. My father said: "Mpira, why do you take every child? What is my guilt toward you?" Mpira replied: "Nothing at all. I simply love your children." My father permitted him to take Simwotera and Mpira paid bridewealth. Three children were born to them, but now he no longer has my sister as a wife. He has released her because the words of Jesus have taken hold of him. And because of wanting to be baptized, he released three of his wives, among them my sister, and retains only one wife and one old woman.

When he separated from my sister, he brought her to me and said: "Sararanga, I am bringing your sister back at last. I cannot have further relations with her since I wish to be baptized...I wish to be a man of God. And this woman shall marry one of our brethren who has as yet no wife, perhaps Matei, who has also become a man of Christ. I replied, "That is your problem. I say nothing for or against it; but go to the woman's mother and speak with her, because she and her children and I live at enmity with one another. We hate one another. I am my mother's only son. If I accede to your suggestion, then that woman will create every sort of trouble." So Mpira went to his wife's mother and succeed in his arrangement. And my sister became the wife of Matei in Ireja.

The independence of Safwa women must be traced to many sources. Inheritance practices which allowed daughters to receive cultivation rights through their mothers directly and also through their mothers' patrilines encouraged a sense of alternatives. The other-focused core family also acted as the primary property-holding group. Changing labour practices, however, could alter the social balance in important ways. Hence the colonial pattern of young men migrating for a stint on plantations or at the mines, rather than working directly for their prospective parents-in-law would mean that a modern male autobiography would be rather less filled with the disappointments and negotiations of suitors. The modern female autobiography, on the other hand, would reveal much consistency, for women at the turn of the century were often de facto managers of the entire family farm, as were wives of absent plantation and mine workers.
The condition of women ought not to be romanticized. As Saran-ga’s narrative demonstrates, some girls were pawns to be given in compensation. Equally, the freedom to choose a husband was not always sustained. Furthermore, Safwa women reflected in Die Safwa carried a heavy personal burden since between a third and a half of their children were likely to die in infancy. Among the twelve wives of a mid-nineteenth century chief, for example, infant mortality appears to have stood at 41%.7

Elise Kootz-Kretschmer's career in Tanzania was prematurely ended by the First World War. Thereafter she kept up a lively correspondence with Pastor Msatulwa and several other primary figures in the oral data project and devoted herself to preparing Die Safwa. In returning to Europe, she seems to have been dismayed by western cultural arrogance. A foreword to Volume 3 expressed the hope that those obsessed with high culture would learn that despite its material limitations, a society like that of the Safwa had riches of life and thought. Remembering her Safwa friends, the third volume of texts in Kisafwa and other local vernaculars was offered to them not only as material for the literate, but also as a cultural repository. Thus many concerns, for the community and its constituent families, for scholarly goals, and for the enlightenment of culture-bound Europe were combined in Elise Kootz-Kretschmer as they are in Barbro Johansson.


6. Ibid., II, 219-220.

7. Ibid., II, 250.

Note: the translations from Kootz-Kretschmer's works have been made by the writer of this paper.
Bibliography


"Mwalimu"—Teacher—is an honoured word in Tanzania. It is the popular and reverent designation of the President Nyerere, himself. But also, in the many villages and the few towns, the local teacher plays a central role. This is so in the whole of Africa, and for a cause. Free Africa, modern Africa, was built by teachers. Both church and state grew from the nucleus of African teachers, who were eventually to become ministers—of state or of religion!

What about the role of the teacher in Sweden? Modern Sweden was created by popular movements around and after 1900, the Labour Movement, the Free Church movement, and the Temperance movement. In many cases, local or national leadership was in the hands of primary school teachers. Not always, perhaps, was the primary school teacher accepted at the time as belonging to the local elite, the vicar, the doctor, and the forester, with their university degrees. All the more, with laudable ambition, the school master was pressing ahead to take the lead in local and national politics, sometimes as minister in those rather short-lived governments in the changing political climate of the first third of the twentieth century, or on the local board of the Communal Library, or the Savings Bank, or in the Temperance Lodge. Anders Johansson in Limhamn, the father of Barbro Johansson was an example of this: headmaster of his primary school, and city councilor of the city of Malmö.

Increasingly women were to take their rightful place in this social change and upheaval. Women teachers came to dominate the staffs of primary schools. Ivar Harrie, a wellknown critic, hailing from the same province in southern-most Sweden as Barbro Johansson, Skåne, spoke of lärarinnekulturen, the social and cultural role of the cadre of women teachers in Swedish society in the first third of this century.

In a new situation, Barbro Johansson had an opportunity which
to most teachers at the time was only a much longed-for but frustrating mirage: to study at a university. She took a B. A. at Lund University in 1935 and completed several courses in Theology. She was also awarded a primary school teacher's certificate and taught in Malmö schools during the war.

At long last the war came to an end. Together with the post-war generation of young people in Europe, Barbro Johansson was looking beyond those hitherto blocked frontiers to the whole wide world. She first offered to go to India, in service of a Swedish Lutheran mission. One might speculate for a moment what would have happened if Barbro Johansson had devoted herself, instead of to Nyerere's Tanzania, rather to Nehru's and Indira Gandhi's India. Of one thing one can be sure: she would have applied the same compassion, involvement, and scintillating intelligence.

But in the end she oriented herself to the Church of Sweden Mission, and was assigned to what was then regarded, in Sweden, as a virtually unknown and virgin field of activity, Tanzania. The classic established missionary connections with Africa had taken young Swedes to Ethiopia, Congo, and Southern Africa. Tanzania was something new, and in the district of Bukoba, where Barbro Johansson went, this fresh newness seemed to imply very real problems. At least at the end of 1945 this seemed to be the case.

The Lutheran Church in Bukoba was known as an "orphaned" church during the war. Founded by energetic Germans, it had been left without missionaries at the beginning of the war. In the long run this calamity turned out to be a blessing in disguise, calling forth, as it did, the remarkable latent leadership qualities of teachers and pastors in the local congregations. But in the shorter and more immediate perspective things looked somewhat more gloomy. Having been in charge of certain aspects of the work, I had myself left Tanzania and the Kigarama Teacher Training College—the one more important educational institution in the Lutheran Church of Bukoba—at the beginning of 1945. At the end of that year there was a major crisis sparked off by a
minor dispute over school uniforms. Two young missionaries at the place managed to get embroiled with the local leaders of church and school. Among the dramatic steps taken to remedy the situation was the extreme measure of an altogether rare visit by the Director of Education from Dar es Salaam, coming all the way to the uttermost end of the country on the very periphery--Kigarama. And in Bukoba daring laymen in the church showed their initiative and drive by resolutely sending a petition to the United Nations in New York, asking for a new set of overseas personnel. In these seemingly adverse circumstances, were the Swedes going to carry on in Bukoba?

Financial stringencies in the Church of Sweden Mission seemed to suggest that the new and unlooked-for responsibility should be discarded. There was keen competition to the Tanzania interests. Great Swedish missionary strategists, looking at their world maps on the wall, were all for another part of the world. China was their place. The wise strategists at the highest levels of ecumenical Christianity were proposing, in 1947, a mass concentration on China, and international Swedes were preparing to take part in this mighty and enticing endeavour--enticing indeed, until, after a matter of months, the old maps were torn down from the walls of those new strategists. So then, one stuck to Tanzania after all, and in 1946 Barbro Johansson arrived by lake steamer over Lake Victoria to the quiet little harbour of Bukoba.

Barbro Johansson's work for women's education in Bukoba began at the Kigarama Teacher Training College, which was for--boys. Serious staff shortages made it impossible to think of translating, as yet, the dream of a girls' school into a reality. Kigarama gave her the first contact with education in Tanzania. The teacher training school had been started in the 1930s by the German Bethel Mission. An outstanding feature had been the agricultural foundation of academic teaching. In land-hungry Bukoba District Kigarama could not be given more than sixteen acres of land--but those acres were well-tilled. Her German predecessors had followed James Kweqyir Aggrey's advice that education should be not only of the head, but also of the hand and
the heart. The school of more than one hundred boys and young men, up to Standard IX, had a remarkable African staff: keen, devoted and highly responsible. While learning much Swahili and some Luhaya—the local language—Barbro Johansson was soon involved as their colleague, teaching child psychology, Geography and Science teaching method, physical training and—Scouting. In the latter activity—very popular at the time among the smart and ambitious Bahaya—she was helped by the headmaster of the neighbouring Government Secondary School, Nevil Shann. African teachers and Swedish missionaries alike said of him: "He is such a person as missionaries should be!" As the Kigarama staff had organized a Camping Rally, Shann in turn said of the African staff, "Just think, if we whites could ever organise a rally as perfectly as they do!"

From Kigarama together with the other members of staff she participated in local refresher courses in various centres of the diocese. In a way this anticipated her later, altogether remarkable week-long courses on social and political issues, held in the Mwanza District in the 1960s, and a nation-wide scale in the 1970s. She fought the handicap of a strange language—although she was soon to overcome that particular difficulty.

But Barbro Johansson was thinking of what could be done for girls' education. This was a country-wide problem at that time. In the 1940s only some few girls in the whole of Tanzania—with a population of eight million—were receiving some form of schooling, and the highest standard for them was the fourth. There was one Government Girls' Boarding school with some 75 girls. In Bukoba the German Mission had started a girls' school at Kashasha in the 1930s, but this had been discontinued during the war. Bukoba seemed to be more in need of this service than most places. The district was widely known and notorious for social and family problems of an acute character. In order to show some of the problems with which people of good will were struggling at this time, it is enough to refer to a strange skirmish in which the Lutheran Church in Bukoba was involved with the supposedly omnipotent African authorities in the area.
The Lutheran Church, on entirely African initiative, had started a youth movement, called "Hayaland's Hope". When it became known that not only boys, but also girls, were accepted as members, this caused an uproar, and from an unexpected quarter. The Bukoba district of less than half a million people was composed of eight traditional "kingdoms", each with a king or "sultan", and the eight kings organized in a council brought their grievance to the attention of the Evangelical Church, in a letter of September 12, 1942:

In these days we see that boys and girls come together in the "Hayaland's Hope". This is something which induces fear in many and in particular the Sultans. We ask you to forbid this association or change it into an exclusively boys' club.

On behalf of the Church, the leading pastor at that time, Rev. Jonathan Karoma, answered the challenge from these mighty men:

Sirs, we thank you for your letter pertaining to the dissolution of the "Hope" work among girls. You quote our indigenous proverb "the woman is a sheep. She keeps to the kitchen and eats there". Formerly they may have been sheep, but now the light has shone for them, so that they are people like us men. Consider these activities: (a) To bear children and to assist at births. A sheep? (b) To rear and educate children. A sheep? (c) To care for the sick. A sheep? (d) To hoe and to cook. A sheep? Yes sirs, if our women remain in the state of sheep, who are then going to do all this work? The "Hope of Hayaland" cannot be disbanded, we cannot hinder women and girls from participating, as the Sultans wish. In Christian schools we bring boys and girls together. We cannot hinder men and women from cooperating. As I see it, the "Hope" cannot be dissolved.

Your faithful servant,

I shall not comment here on all the aspects which could be discussed with regard to this courageous reply. It is however a measure of the inner strength of the little African church--linked as it had been with a German mission, then part of "the enemy". It also shows the expectation with which, at long last,
the Kashasha Girls' School was to be welcomed by the community as a whole.

In 1948 Barbro Johansson could start her school at Kashasha. That same year a new Government plan for girls' education was published, based on eight years' primary education with the last four years at a Middle School, and with a uniform country-wide examination at the end of the course. In reports, articles and letters from these first years one can follow the first stages by which she was led to discover the scope and potentialities of girls' education. At the end of 1947 she had an opportunity of studying the work in the Government Girls' School at Tabora and the Anglican school at Mvumi, near Dodoma. Here she came across ideas and suggestions to be adapted at her own school. Above all she became convinced that however important professional competence was, it was the spirit of the place that really mattered. This concern of hers informed her relationships with the staff and students.

She taught English, Domestic Science, Scripture, Physical Training--there was a great and good tradition of Swedish interest in this latter subject to be adapted to African forms and expressions.

I talked with one of the African teachers active at Kashasha in the first years, now Pastor Ernest Lutashoby. Two things above all impressed them. Their headmistress was one who "very much loved the African people", and she was always concerned with widening the horizons of staff and students.

One day she had paid a visit to a place called Mutukula, the outpost on the frontier with Uganda. (This was twentyfive years before Amin, and Mutukula was then an open door between the countries, not as now an armed fort.) Back again at Kashasha she gave her colleagues a vivid description of her visit. The youngest of them, Mr. Richard Mutembei, exclaimed. "You wazungu are lucky. You get about everywhere. I am myself from Bukoba, yet I have never been to Kyaka with its ferry over the river to Uganda, nor to Mutukula." The members of the staff
at that meeting were not likely to forget the sequence. "Ma Barbro cried." With all her power of sympathy she realized the immense need of helping her friends to wider experiences. She did not cry for long. She soon had a plan. "Tutatembea!" she told the staff--"We shall go on a tour together." They were encouraged to put aside a percentage of their salary towards travelling expenses, and after some months they all went, Tanzanian and Swedish staff together.

Taking the steamer over Lake Victoria to Mwanza, they spent a week in the district looking at educational centres of different kinds. Then by train from Mwanza to Dar es Salaam. They had come up in the world: they went by second class, talking together and taking their meals together. Then nine days in the capital, Dar es Salaam. There was much to discover. But the climax was the trip to Zanzibar--by sea plane! Authorities on the island made difficulties: these up-country youngsters from Tanganyika did not have the required certificates of vaccination. The Kashasha staff were fascinated as they followed Ma Barbro's arguments of persuasion. One day on the island gave an opportunity of seeing the Arabic culture and the old Anglican cathedral. This was 1951, and Africans were not yet welcomed to eat at the hotel. Once again Ma Barbro took care of things. The hotel manager got a much-needed lesson in civics, and the Kashasha staff their rice and curry.

Experiences of this kind brought them all together as a happy family, proud of their remarkable headmistress. There were two more factors which Lutashobya emphasised. Their headmistress did not "hide things". She was open and free and ever communicative. And she tried to promote African culture in every way, in the teaching and everyday life of the school and the community.

Her colleagues felt that a common experience of depth was provided by the regular Wednesday afternoon Bible studies. Here was something great which the Kashasha staff would notice, and which was also significant on a much wider scale than the four walls of their little girls' school. This happy and busy head-
mistress, increasingly involved in the social and political life of the country, in those most creative years of its history, had a nearness to, and awareness of, spiritual realities which was her secret strength.

Together with her colleagues, Tanzanian and European, and with that unruly and charming family of Haya girls, she went forward—in faith, and with the steel of determination.

These were the first years, the first steps. Remarkably soon the good and wholesome example and influence of the Kashasha Girls' School spread throughout the district. Very soon, some of these young women could go for further education to the Government Girls' School at Tabora, where eventually the students were to meet Barbro Johansson again as the headmistress.

I remember having a talk with Barbro Johansson in Uppsala, in 1946, before her first departure for Africa. I was a missionary on furlough from Tanzania, then a comparatively young oldtimer. I was fascinated by her vision for the task and courageous expectations for all that awaited her. I remember telling her my forecast for what lay ahead, in a slangy phrase: "The sky's the limit."

It is good when a person discovers the immense potentialities of a given situation and seizes the opportunity. It was there--once-- to be timidly or lazily avoided and evaded, or to be grasped, as the Africans receive a gift, with both hands.
MY SISTER--A TANZANIAN

Karin Lundström

How does a Swedish sister grow into a Tanzanian sister? Barbro and I have travelled together a great deal. Usually it arouses astonishment in passport controls, at frontiers and amongst people we meet that we two sisters, tall and Scandinavian-looking, are one Swedish, one Tanzanian. We ourselves don't feel this unnatural or strange any longer, it's just one detail in our sistership. How did it become so? How does a person's destiny start and develop?

When I was asked to contribute to this book of friendship and to write on the topic "My sister", describing Barbro's life and development, I first hesitated. A chapter on Barbro, written by a member of her family, should rather be headed "Our sister" and written by all of us, since we belong to a family which has had the privilege of being strengthened by a warm sense of belonging-together, of acceptance and mutual understanding of all our different personalities (we are two brothers and two sisters). Maybe our knowledge of having Barbro "alone, far away" has made us very aware of the value of these close relations. Barbro's letters, sometimes private, often circulating in the family, have kept all of us close together. This is still valid for the third and fourth generation.

In this family of ours we are all happy to have a Tanzanian sister. And so I found out that the best way of giving a genuine picture of the way Barbro became "our sister--a Tanzanian", would be to draw out impressions and descriptions from her own letters to us.

Thus this contribution will consist mainly of Barbro's own thoughts and experiences, of her wishes, her prayers, her fears and hopes, as I have seen them in her letters or felt them when we have met in Sweden or in Tanzania during her thirty years of missionary work in Tanzania.

I believe it is in work and pain, by entering into fellow-
human-beings' happiness or agony, and in a willingness to accept what circumstances demand, generously giving of one's own self, that a person grows into the life pattern, that was allotted to her--or chosen by her.

I will draw from Barbro's letters sections which show how her growing feelings of affinity with the people, the country and the conditions of life in Tanzania, a development which made it natural for my sister to become a Tanzanian in 1962.

I have tried to trace this course of development in Barbro's letters to me and to other family members from the time of her arrival in Tanzania in 1946 until the point when she became a Tanzanian citizen in 1962.

She did not herself choose Africa for her missionary vocation. After her commissioning she was asked to go there because at that time, 1946, the Church of Sweden Mission Board was asked for assistance by the mission field in Tanzania, then still Tanganyika. She accepted this request with at the same time fear and frankness. This was her first acceptance of the great tasks which have been laid on her shoulders.

In her earliest letters she is filled with all the impressions that an unknown continent brings home to the new-comer: the violence of nature, the wild and dangerous animals, the diseases, the fascinating surroundings. But also she is experiencing the missionaries' work as a never-ceasing synthesis of spiritual giving and the necessity of solving terribly urgent practical problems.

Very soon it is important for her to give impressions of the Tanzanians around her, it may be the students at school, the farmers in their villages, or exited crowds during religious revival meetings in the Buhaya church. These experiences sometimes carry the sign of a little cultural shock. But she notices with gratitude and happiness the developing signs of mutual understanding and of fellowship.

Her longing for her family and for Sweden often gives an undertone to her letters, and so does her need of consolation and strength through prayers, with her and for her. "TUTAPITA NA SALA!" (We shall get through by prayer) and the firm
belief that the power of God will be fulfilled also in our weakness are convictions that she has taught me. An integral part of her work—beside teaching thirty hours a week, full responsibility of the administration, examinations etc.—is also having "open house" for practically everybody. The first time I visited Barbro in Tanzania (in 1962, the first visit by a member of her family) she had at the same time a community development course for twelve women, four with their babies, who all stayed in her home, for lack of other accommodation.

In her letters she gives snapshots of political development in Tanzania. Disturbances are reported from Uganda already before its present regime.

In her work she has as time has gone on become quite close to the Tanzanians themselves, but nevertheless it is an overwhelming experience to her, when these Tanzanians in 1958 ask her to run as their candidate for the first free elections in the country.

When Tanzania claims missionary Barbro Johansson for new tasks, the Church of Sweden Mission Board has always accepted the new situation. Professor Bengt Sundkler, who was himself the first Bishop of the Evangelical Haya Church in Bukoba, told me after Barbro's election had been accepted by the Board, "This proves the scope and generosity of the Swedish Mission Board's achievements". Barbro herself has during all years been vividly conscious of and grateful for this generosity.

What has meant most to Barbro in her work for the free and independent Tanzania is her friendship with President Julius Nyerere. The Swedish publicist Bang (Barbro Alving) has characterized President Nyerere as "an extremely exceptional person, a Head of State who combines brilliant statesmanship and political wisdom with human kindness and nobility". Barbro's letters give the same evidence.

When I visited Barbro in Tanzania in April 1962 I could share her life and take part in her experiences. We visited Kasha-sha, the girls' school where she originally began her close contacts with Tanzanians and the TANU party. A man came run-
ning from the shamba with a gift for Barbro, a paw-paw wrapped up in banana leaves. He took both my hands and said, looking at Barbro: "Please, send my thanks to your parents, they have borne a hero. And I want to thank you for having come here to make Barbro happy".

Another friend said: "It's quite evident that you are offsprings of one womb" (the Tanzanian way of describing striking resemblance between sisters and brothers) "only you are white but she is black".

My survey of Barbro's letters ends when she is in the middle of her first experiences of being a new citizen in a new nation. I visited her in Mwanza at the time when she told me she had applied for this citizenship. We wept together. This was a decisive step of crucial importance and we were both moved. Knowing her attachment also to Sweden, to her family, and what this has meant to her, I asked her: "Why do you take this step, Barbro?" She answered: "Someone must dare to prove that she believes in this country".

Recently she talked to SIDA candidates on her new country: "African Society is quite different from European society. The individual flourishes and becomes creative within the security of his collective. In Africa the human factor is essential. People are of greater importance than money".

And now I'll let Barbro "take the floor".

From Barbro's letters 1946-1962.

Kigarama May 11, 1947

If it's possible to get held up by whirling snow-storms in Sweden it is possible to get really held up by showers of rain in Tanzania. I begin to understand what people could witness in the time of Noah, now that I see real torrents pour down from the sky........But people just now have abundance of food because everything grows as in a hot-house. Often I hear them thank God that he has given them plenty to eat.

All here have malaria, all my nine Swedish missionary colleagues, so also their children, even those who are only one year old. Buhaya is a difficult malaria-district.
Kabale January 9, 1948
I nearly succumbed to dispirited hopelessness one night on my journey from Kampala to this hospital (dangerously ill with malaria). But I know the answer to the question "To whom shall we go?" And that's where I got back my joy and confidence.

Kashasha October 10, 1956
People have heard lions roaring in the nights, and when we heard the drums beating we asked: "Are these the drums warning against the lions?" But we got the answer: "No, this drum-beating means it's only leopards".

Kashasha July 7, 1955
Last term an English colleague of mine at the Mwanza girls' school was attacked by a big python in the garden just in front of her own house. It wriggled around her and started squeezing her chest so violently that she eventually couldn't even scream. But her two gardeners had heard her first cry for help and they came and saved her....I myself was swimming in the Victoria Lake last Monday with Sven Näsmark. Suddenly he started shouting: "Take care! Run away!"....I heard a terrifying puffing and blowing behind me...and Sven hauled me towards the shore. He had seen the gaping jaws of a giant hippo just behind me when he screamed. Such things happen in Africa!

Kigarama September 14, 1946
Much help is needed here. There ought to be someone who could be like the gravel on the ground, on which everybody might trample, because all who work here are exposed to humiliations....It's impossible to know beforehand what can upset the sensitive Buhaya heart...
I do know only too well that I myself am in no respect like the gravel on the road, to be unselfishly trod on, but the distress here is tremendous. And now I feel for certain: if the Mission Board allows me, I want to stay here.

Kigarama May 11, 1947
When I attended the missionary course at Uppsala I remember
us discussing animatedly the permanent question: should the Mission devote itself to cultural and social work or should it concentrate on evangelisation? I believe that these two: culture and evangelisation needn't generally be presented as extreme opposites. They are not at all incompatible...Here in Kigarama I think I receive daily confirmation that culture and creative ideas are very good servants of the central task of our work here.

Kigarama August 15, 1947

In Usambara I recently accompanied Sister Ruth Peterson in her nursing work and admired this small intense woman, who with the same willingness treated broken arms, pre-mature new-born babies and vermicular diseases. Her seven smiling nurse-pupils, the qualified dresser and two trained nurses all showed the same eagerness and interest in helping the never-ceasing stream of sick people.

Kigarama August 15, 1947

We called on patients in several villages and one day we visited a very old man, who was evidently dying of heart disease, suffering great pain. It was pathetic to see how a beautiful young woman, radiant with health, held the moaning, infirm old man in her arms, when the fits tormented him, gently soothing him and smoothing down his pains while her face radiated with tenderness.

This is quite a different attitude towards a dying person from what happened earlier in Kenya, near Nairobi, where they used not to permit a mortally ill person to die inside the house. They throw the sick man out of the house before he was quite dead--leaving to the hyenas to do the rest.

Kigarama August 15, 1947

The old priest from the Mlalo village...told us about the "bad old days". He was sitting, kind and peaceful, but his eyes kindled with a fire when he described the epoch of slavery and the horror-stricken people...
Kigarama August 15, 1947

In Lusoto I visited the so-called German cemetery, the "Seal of Vanity" upon a bygone German greatness. About 15 of the tombs showed officers' names, many were memorials to small children, whom the parents hadn't been able to protect against tropical danerousness.

In other places I have seen cemeteries common to all Europeans, and it comforts me to see the names of English and German officers and civil servants side by side in a place where peace is so evidently prevailing.

Kashasha March 22, 1948

To start a girls' school in Buhaya has got its points. We struggle and we strive "one day, one moment at a time"...Five Germans used to manage this institution until it was closed up five years ago,.....and Elisabeth [Bernande]& and I, who are now trying to clear things up, we can't possibly be five! (...Since school opening five weeks ago Gustaf [Bernande] is being treated in a hospital in Rhodesia for several serious diseases. He has really experienced what suffering means...)

We two, "just womenfolk", are responsible for all the house-building and land-clearing activities with 25 workers at hand (brick-laying, felling of trees, masonry etc.). What's bothering us extremely are the millions of bats that have invaded this overgrown station and which we have to exterminate. Today Elisabeth counted the bats that were killed above her bed-room: they were 361!

Kigarama May 11, 1947

I felt lonely and tired and intended to go to bed like two of my sick colleagues. But then I thought: First I want to attend the boys' evening Service. And there Dominian, who had chosen a text in the first letter of St. John, spoke so gently and strongly and full of implicit faith....that I left quite strengthened and grateful for this deep mutual connexion. I didn't feel lonely at all any longer, when this African brother of mine had shared the rich content of his faith with me.
I felt happy to start after my summer vacation. But just now we feel—I nearly wrote "worried," but I know we are always safe in the hands of God. Anyhow, today we have had a riot at our Church. 800 men, hostile to live Christianity, came to the Service today with spears and weapons to chase away those attending the revival meeting. Mob-instincts awoke, and we have had an upsetting day....If I could only tell you how powerless one feels when their roaring reaches threatening intensity....with clenched fists and swinging swords. God help us all, them and us.

Our students are certainly like young girls all over the world: fantastic to work with, splendid and trying to one's patience, lovely and impertinent alternatingly, willing and crude. Genuine children of the proud Buhaya a soil which is not easy to cultivate.

I know that father is much closer to me now than before. He followed me daily in all details of my life and work with such caring love that I always felt inspiration and new strength from this. (After our father's death.)

I thank you for praying for me. Your prayers do reach their aim. I know for certain that I would have collapsed long before now if you hadn't been faithfully persistent in your prayers. Thank you! Never think that your prayer is too weak or too feeble. It has already carried heavy burdens. And much is still at stake, so please, don't become weary!

When I returned by air in the night of the 7th September I looked out to see the first glimpse of Africa's earth. But my eyes met a firmament so radiant and bright that it was like a greeting, intense and clear, from our Lord: "Look, Africa's
Sky! It's filled with sparkling stars of promise..."
All the upper-secondary girls met me in Bukoba. Kashasha was abundant with blossoms, there were doorways of palm-leaves and lots of flowers in brilliant colours. And we felt happy indeed...the gay, lovely scores of girls, and then the teachers, the Black ones, who are always loyal to us.

Karagwe February 5, 1952
The Government wants to change the Girls' School into the Teachers' Training Centre for Lake Province....a great, rich task, at the thought of which a poor, sinful human trembles. But I have endless proofs that God lets his power reveal itself also in our weakness. And so we continue intrepidly in His strength.

Kashasha August 8, 1952
I am grateful for our family circle of brothers and sisters. Paul [our brother] writes every Sunday and his letters are greetings from Rönneholmsvägen in Malmö---that means Mother and Father and all of you. And he really is capable of writing with all the great inheritance of love and fellowship...those letters making me feel that "the earth is not without form, and void", and that "darkness is not upon the face of the deep".
But as a matter of fact I have gone through rather dark depths. There have been hard blows both to me personally and towards our work here. But I won't forget thanksgiving. It's only oneself being shortsighted when one doesn't see that God gives us unbelievably much more to be thankful for than to worry about.

Kashasha March 3, 1954
The Ljungman family [Irmgard and Gunnar Ljungman] have arrived. They stay with me for six nights, wandering every day from house to house, talking to people. People are happy when they come, and this is joyful. Many of them are open to spiritual talks. But times are hardening, and no European believes that we
will be allowed to continue much longer without disturbances.
So it is of crucial importance to use the time wisely.

Kashasha May 5, 1954

We missionaries had two days of quietness on Palm Sunday at Kigarama. We needed them as source of strength before what happened afterwards....
All our 100 girls had got their new school uniforms on Easter day, and they looked just as lovely as an anemone-hill at home with their new white blouses and green skirts. But the "flower-hill" soon drooped its petals, when strange menacing letters were slipped furtively into the class-rooms. Every new day a new anonymous letter, addressed to me, threatening that the writer would kill certain students, whom she hated, by a sort of poison which she had prepared. I could have made all sorts of interesting studies both of religious psychology and psychoanalyses. Only my heart was too heavy for anything but agony.

Kashasha July 25, 1954

People were astonished that we Lutherans went to help a dying man who was Roman Catholic. But our African medical attendant who assisted us answered them: "Missionaries don't choose---they have been chosen themselves to help everybody".

Kashasha June 22, 1955

TUTAPITA NA SALA---we will get through by prayer.

Kashasha October 18, 1956

I love to be at Kashasha: we have a fine joint work here, the girls are sweet and kind and of course sometimes very naughty. I wouldn't have them otherwise! All this means they are very human!

----The Africans here are just now very anxious and wondering...
They have heard that they should choose suitable young men to be sent to Egypt if there should be a war against Nasser because of the Suez question. I don't know where these rumours come from---only that people feel alarmed.
Kahsasha December 31, 1956

To-day I will go to Bukoba for Communion and New Year's Dinner. Yesterday I had 70 guests, African parish leaders. They were invited to tea and all of them got Christmas presents: soap, sugar, packages of rice, and something individually chosen e.g. a booklet, a hairbrush, a fountain pen etc. On Christmas Eve I had a similar program for 50 other guests from the villages, all connected with the Kashasha work. On Christmas Day 19 Europeans were here for a whole day programme and yesterday evening five Swedish road-engineers from the Congo came to visit us, a nice visit but a bit unexpected ....Such is life in Africa!

Kahsasha January 20, 1957

Gudrun [Larsen] is severely ill...she will be in hospital for a long time...it's strenuous to have a dear friend so ill--and it's hard to be understaffed. I work every night until one or two o'clock. And the days swirl away with thousands of duties. May I get strength to endure. The week of February 1-8 the General Director of Education for Tanzania will arrive for an inspection. Then I shall also have to be the "land-lady" and to do the catering.

Kahsasha April 10, 1957

This afternoon I have read a book, recommended to me by Richard Mutembei, who read it before me. He has marked sections of interest and I felt moved and happy to see how he had done this with intelligence, consideration and feeling.

Kahsasha April 30, 1957

I'm writing on our fathers's 80th birthday....I'm longing for Mother and Father more and more every year....I'm struggling against defeatism...some problems seem insoluble and I feel very, very tired. But I want to feel gratitude--nothing defeats defeatism like thanksgiving! Then you can see the flowers! Mother used to write to me: "My linden-leaves, do they play? My nightingale, does she sing?"
This station is like the Cathedral of Lund: It will never be finished! There is always need for rebuilding and keeping in repair, so I have teams working on roofing, wood-shed-building, lime-washing dormitory walls etc. But just now one of the African teachers came to ask about the 40 girls (out of 400 applicants) who after having passed the exam have been admitted to Secondary School the next term. And he said: "But you, our great Lords and Ladies, ought to build more schools so that more of our children could be accepted."

I answered him: "Why do you call us Great Lords and Ladies just now? Aren't those days gone? Nobody calls us Great in every-day's discussions on self-government. But doesn't that mean, that you, when you demand freedom from every interference made by us whites in Tanganyika, also must have freedom to raise the money and build your schools independent of us expatriates? I myself wish to stay here as your servant to give everything I know and can and believe. But don't call us Great! Coordinate all your efforts in school-building and we will serve and assist you".

He smiled, saying, "Thank you for what you have said. But we must do all this in the right way. You must help us with the building!" Yes, may God lead us so that we can do everything in the right way.

Can you believe this: I was asked by the Local Committee, preparing for the self-government of Tanganyika, if I would accept being their candidate for the first free democratic elections to Legislative Council in Dar es Salaam. My heart is grateful that these people have understood why and for whose sake I came here although my skin happens to be white. My soul and my heart are black!

Election is over: I am elected and I am to take the oath in Dar es Salaam on the 17th of March. I feel very anxious. "Here I stand and I can do nothing else, so help me God, Amen!"
Kashasha March 6, 1959

On Thursday the 12th I will go by air to Dar es Salaam to prepare Legislative Council questions. The Governor is to open the Council at 9 a.m. on the 17th, and so it is before him that Barbro Cecilia Johansson will take the oath of faith and fealty to Queen Elizabeth II before the session.... many governmental dignitaries (English) visit me, and I'm certain they want to feel my political pulse! ....Anyhow, I think I've got one of them to be my chivalrous rescuer in many troublesome situations. He must be a very kind man, the Regional Commissioner, Mr Dowsett, and he feels that I need some sympathetic protection, and that is what he really gives me.

Mwanza June 15, 1959

I have been in Dar to meet Julius Nyerere and other brilliant persons who form the future of Tanganyika...To me it is more than happiness to work in Julius Nyerere's rank and file. He is the greatest and most admirable personality I have ever met, and I rejoice at belonging to his "general staff" when his extraordinary gifted spirit creates history. I cannot find words to describe it, I have never experienced anything like this. I'm just ready to burst with gratitude to be allowed to cooperate. It's an amount of work. And always "working-together-ship". And God leads.

Kashasha October 10, 1959

I felt so happy about a small detail in my birthday celebration last week. "Small detail"? No, it was great! The girls presented me with a picture book, where they had painted scenes from my life. They started with my christening. They had found out that it took place in a city, called Malmö, and the first page was neatly headed MALMÖ in printed letters. And just as neatly knelt my white parents and godfathers around the altar, just as the girls have seen people do at the christenings in the church of Kashasha. They had written "Baby Barbro" on the little child. And the child had brown skin and curly black hair and black eyes--and this fills my heart with an emotion that I cannot put into words.
The day before yesterday was a jubilee day in Tanganyika. The Governor gave a speech in Legislative Council and he proclaimed full responsibility. The most important step so far towards Independence. And all this in peace. You should have seen the Press Representatives from England and all the world. (Randolph Churchill and 40 reporters are milling around!)...I have been chosen to investigate the University-Site-question together with Julius Nyerere and three other members of Legislative Council, a tremendously essential task. (I just wonder how those responsible for decisions on the sites of the Universities of Uppsala and Lund once felt?) To-day I will go by air to India. Alva Myrdal, Tage Erlander, Dagmar Edqvist and I (yes, me!) are going to Dr Helena Eriksson in Tirupattur for Christmas celebration. And then I will meet Dag Hammarskjöld 9-11 January here in Dar es Salaam. AJABU "Miracle".

In spite of all this always your little anxious sister
Barbro

Mwanza January 23, 1962

Yesterday Julius Nyerere resigned as Prime Minister---as president of TANU he will concentrate on reorganizing his party from being a fighting body against colonialism into the nation-building Party of Tanganyika.

On the 8th February I start again in Dar--probably a very remarkable Parliamentary Session---with Julius Nyerere as backbencher, but for the rest with the same government as before.... Thou Lord of Harvest, do Thou give me that sort of burden which keeps my back straight...I feel that now less than ever before can I desert this country.

Ndolage January 7, 1962

I hope I have passed the worst danger for this time, but I don't know if my Bilharzia is cured--the Doctor had to break off the cure because I couldn't stand it. But I believe that "hearts are brave again, and arms are strong", as you Magnus "our brother" have told me.
Mwanza February 27, 1962

The travel through our country with the "eight Nordic Vikings" (= Nordic Commission with Valter Ahman and Lars Boman) was fantastic! ....This country is fine and marvellous. I am happy to work here just now.

Kagenze March 14, 1962

I sit captured by rain-blocked roads. I have got nothing but tea and corn-flour to make myself comfortable! I sleep on the floor in a mud-hut---and 140 women attend eagerly my course in "better-home-making-". I wish some engineer would come here for better road-making.

Dar es Salaam September 25, 1962

This has been a wonderful day, working day, celebration day. This evening I shall dine with a dear friend, Joan Wicken, organizing Secretary of Kivukoni College and personal secretary of Julius Nyerere. Her conversation is always highly fascinating.

At 9 o'clock a.m. we had the ceremonial opening of Parliament with prayers that we should conduct everything as in Thy Presence, in such fair and just a manner, as to promote the justice of all those Thou has committed into our hands."

At 10\textsuperscript{15} Michael Kamaliza (Minister of Health), Julius Nyerere, Doctor Jensen (USA) and I had a private conference on Moshi's Dag Hammarskjöld Medical College.

At 4\textsuperscript{30} p.m. the Government Information Service sent a photographer to photograph Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister Rashid Kawawa and me for the Swedish Press before the official visit to Scandinavia at the beginning of November. I just wonder how this 50-anniversary-photo will turn out.

Later this day I had an official talk about the constitution of People's Education Association with Tanganyika Educational Trust Fund's Executive Secretary.

Paul, in your birthday-letter you wished me exactly what I have got: concern, and peace at heart.

Mwanza October 28, 1962

When I was a school-girl I loved most of all "Arne's Song" by
Björnson: "I'm longing far, far away!" Now in my new city, Mwanza, where I meet no Swedish colleagues and friends any longer, I feel "far away" on the deep, deep waters. In unmeasurable fantastic connections. The contents of every-day life vary between experiences in the mud-huts of the villages amongst the illiterate, and meetings in governor's palaces, Ministers' councils and sophisticated deliberations with foreign delegates. But in all this I feel there is a basic connection. And my perpetual prayer is: May I be sensitive! Listening and accomplishing!

....When I came to Nyangugue village to the women's course, they first took it for granted that I should sit at our camp-table during the meals, whilst they sat on the ground around the banana leaves, filled with their spiced rice, scrutinizing me out of the corners of their eyes. Evidently I did stand their testing, and soon I was promoted to sit with them on the ground, included in their community.

Among the many kinds of gifts that life has awarded me, I consider this kind of fellowship as one of the greatest. May I always remember this when I feel tired and lonely and sad.
BARBRO--THE KASHASHA EDUCATIONALIST

Birgit Johansson

We had managed to pass Kyaka before the ferry was shut for the day. After one hour's drive we arrived at Kashasha--my first stop in Buhaya when I came there in 1950--and met Barbro.

Hardly had the car stopped than it was surrounded by girls: clapping their hands, singing, laughing, welcoming: the Kashasha way of saying "Karibu". And there was Barbro in the background and in the centre of the happening, and I felt the warmth, the heartiness, the devotedness, the generosity, so particular, so relevant to Barbro and Kashasha.

"Belongings are meant to be spent". I am sure Barbro did not pronounce these words the first time I met her, nevertheless I write them down now, because they illustrate Barbro's mode of life and work, and attitudes. She has never economized on herself or her belongings. When she expressed her view on possessions, she talked about material objects, but I go further and say that the word "belongings" includes her moral and spiritual qualities as well.

After a night's sleep at Kashasha I was taken to Kigarama Teacher Training school where I was to teach after completing Swahili studies.

Barbro had experienced the very same procedure when she arrived in the Territory, though with one big exception. She had studied Swahili without knowing if she would ever use it. At that time, 1946, the Church of Sweden Mission had not yet decided whether or not to take charge of the former Bethel Mission work in Buhaya. Barbro could any day be told to go somewhere else to work. The eager Barbro, however, does not seem to have had any doubts with regard to her future use of Swahili to judge from the lesson notes I inherited. When she for instance wanted to use the word "eager"--how significant of herself--she had written down all possible synonyms within brackets: "-enye bidii, moyo, shauku, juhudi, tamaa, pupa,
harara..." This eagerness to learn Swahili in order to be able to understand the slightest shades of meaning in the language, and to express herself distinctly, is inseparably connected with the way of life Barbro leads. She is still the eager student. Her interest in Swahili and her linguistic ability led her to welcome arriving European mission workers to study the language at Kashasha. This meant of course a lot of extra work. Besides the teaching of Swahili and the introducing of Haya customs, culture and history, it involved more domestic duties. Students have human needs too, get hungry, need a bed to sleep on... and the household facilities were somewhat primitive.

When I next time visited Kashasha, Barbro and Gudrun, a Danish teacher, had moved into the former dispensary building on the school compound, and named it "Amani na imani" (peace and faith). Barbro had by that time contracted trachoma and was undergoing a very painful treatment. Fortunately a Swedish retired nurse had volunteered to help in the dispensary nearby and could now give assistance. Certainly there were circumstances requiring faith and peace.

Barbro opened Kashasha on 14 February, 1948, a date called the school's birthday. In 1951 eight girls sat for the Territorial Standard VIII Examination. Ernest Lutashobya, Elisabet Bernander, Helena Zahoro, Augustin Lutashoborwa, Lucia Lutahakana, Richard Mutembei, Holger Benetsson, Astrid Jonasson, Gudrun Larsen are names of teachers during this epoch. (Hope I haven't omitted any names. I wish I had access to the school log-book.) Really, a hard and important work was carried out by this staff at that time when girls' education was not generally accepted. Since a certain government grant was paid to the school management, government inspections were frequent and not always pleasant, even if appreciative written reports were received later. Who does not remember Miss Pelham-Johnson? Her inspection visits that lasted for days were events! Later the girls had to do a practical examination, domestic science assignments, as well as the above-mentioned written one. By that time a domestic science block had been built that faci-
The Standard VIII girls were trained in doing assignments: to plan the work in writing and to carry it out in practice. In those days the staff had shining shoes, well-ironed table mats, polished brass vases ... and someone had a shrunk sweater! The mission has always been short of money. Slowly the material standard of the school was improved—the thatched roofs replaced by corrugated iron, rough stone floors by cement dit­tos, oildrums by huge cooking vessels made of stainless steel, the bed of two wooden planks on a frame by iron bedsteads... It was a "siku kuu" when the teaching of domestic science was transferred from everywhere and the dining-hall, to the new block. Now the building was there. But I keep a sight before my eyes: the long row of girls, Barbro walking at the head, winding down "the rocks" to fetch the cut stones for the building, and returning carrying the stones on their heads, Barbro's stone not being the smallest she could find.

Suddenly a well-known Swedish tune could be heard. Physical education on the time-table. Barbro, herself a keen gymnast, initiated rhythmic exercises. Her ability and skill was noticed by education department officers and a refresher course for teachers in Lake Province was arranged at Kashasha. A charming picture it was to see the girls in their yellow dresses move rhythmically. Their display on parents' days was always much esteemed. "It's a wonderful day to-day" did infect the audience!

The dining-hall was the assembly hall. After morning prayers it turned into a "big-class" classroom for part of the first period on some days. Subject: hand-writing, improvement of hand-writing. Who could catch the attention of 150 girls, and keep it, during a hand-writing session, but Barbro?

Needlework was a favourite subject, and a number of times the school won a needlework competition arranged between the girls' schools in the province. The Husquarna sewing-machines were in use. Knitting was also taught, woollen sweaters being
highly desirable during the rainy season. Care of uniforms had to be done in spare time. Mending of uniforms was not popular with the Kashasha girls, who were no more interested than any girls would be, but advice and help was given by untiring Barbro during office hours. Handicraft of all different kinds, such as the plaiting of mats and baskets was encouraged and had time allotted on the timetable, and the copying of original, old patterns and shapes stimulated. The girls were induced to write down stories they had been told, customs they had heard about and sometimes perhaps practised, and to illustrate them. I keep some collections given to me as birthday presents, very dear they are.

I have only touched upon some of the activities at Kashasha. However, I cannot stop without telling about the "Baraka" (blessing): the first car. During many years Ta Yosefu, the caretaker, went to Bukoba by the local bus or, more often on foot, to the post office and to do minor shopping. He went to Kigarama, too, 16 miles, to ask the staff there to pass Kashasha on their way to Bukoba next time! To have the disposal of a car gave security and was of great help generally. During holidays it happened that the staff went to Kampala to do shopping for the school. No one was a fast driver, the rough roads of Buhaya did not tempt to rapid travelling. When the signboard "speed limit 30 miles" came in view in Uganda, the driver had to increase speed in order not to be a law-breaker, it was jokingly reported.

Baraka took the staff out into the villages for women's courses. A church was usually the meeting-place and the classroom. The pastor had invited women in the parish to take part. Nutrition, health and baby care, needlework, in short domestic science, was taught.

To open a girls' school and keep it running was a venture at that time. How was it possible? The staff was very co-operative. Staff-meetings were held every week, every second week as meetings with recorded minutes regarding timetables, routines, care of equipment... and every second week as Bible-
-studies where experiences of the word of God was shared. Of course there were problems and difficulties: shortage of water, "dudus" in the beans, occasional lack of discipline... Mwali mu Ernest once said, when the road was very bad, yes it seemed almost impossible to pass by car, "tutapita na sala" (we'll come through by praying) We did so. And so has Barbro. "Amepita na sala". (She has come through).
Lights lit in the night, the lights of many small oil-lamps placed on the heads of young people. A long line of girls, Bibles and Hymnbooks on their heads, and on top of that the little oil-lamp with its modest and friendly glow. Some hundred girl-students queueing up in the soft darkness, quietly chatting. Swift feet running: a late-comer, uniform not properly buttoned, and the observant dormitory head taking action. Headmistress Barbro Johansson walking along the line, exchanging remarks. Cheerful laughter. Someone beginning a hymn, and all joining in and all walking towards Kashasha Church and evening prayer. A long line, the contour marked by the small, shining oil-lamps.

Afterwards preparations for the night, lightheartedly if there happens to be plenty of water. A smell of cooking from the teachers' quarters. A smell of coffee from Marasia's kitchen. And soon all different voices fading away, and the air echoing "Obyamege" (goodnight).

In the house between the headmistress's bungalow and the school kitchen, the low house under very high trees, where leopards have occasionally been observed busy in their nightly hunting for food, there is presently another light to be seen. Barb-ro begins her office work, or rather, continues the work which had been interrupted by day-time happenings. There might be some undisturbed hours now. There might instead be a knock at the door, followed by a worried and pleading voice: "Tafadhali Mama Mkubwa, my wife is seriously ill; she can't give birth to her child. Could you drive her to hospital? She is so ill." And the headmistress puts away her files and drafted reports and letters to be answered and half-marked papers, and the missionary takes the car out, too tired to get scared by the mamba close by, quickly meandering off. Ta Yosefu opens the gate, wishing the best for the thirty-six-mile safari. Distant drumbeating can be heard. Night birds and sparkling fire-
-beetles; sporadic lightning. And the Southern cross.

Dawn at Kashasha Girls' School. A faint rustle in the green-silver grey leaves of the slender eucalyptus. Pupils sweeping and cleaning, silent and busy pupils wrapped up in vitenge, cloth squares, the colours of which are not yet discernable. Other pupils on their way down the valley to fetch water, returning with madebbe (big tins) and washbasins, carrying their loads gracefully on their heads. Every single drop is valuable and nothing may be spilled.

A new day is rapidly approaching. There is a crescendo of voices and sounds. The doves seem to discuss the day's programme. Outside the school gate, the early bus to Bukoba is getting ready and is soon off in a cloud of red-soiled dust, and all the time there is singing and there is chatting and there are many sounds, some absorbed by a grove of solemn maize plants and proud banana plants. In the Assembly Hall, Kashasha pupils and staff end their morning prayers. "Mungu atubariki..." (May the Lord bless us) Then everybody heads off for classrooms and lessons. It is 8 o'clock, and already bright sunshine embraces the many spread-out buildings. It is going to be very hot under roofs of corrugated iron.

Outside the school office there is a small group of men, some of whom are likely to have travelled from villages far away. What errand is behind their visiting Kashasha? They wait patiently, or maybe with the meditative mind inherited from generations. Hiding their probable surprise they watch with amusement the lawn outside the block of classrooms. A collection of huge butterflies? No, but some forty girls doing their physical training with Barbro in the lead. Rhythmical movements are accompanied by rhythmical tunes and songs. The watching Africans know many tunes and songs but do not recognize all of these. However, they can tell that the group radiates gaiety. What does it matter than that even the words are strange to them? Are they aware of the meeting of two cultures in a happy moment of merging into one? "Vi gå över daggstänkta berg, fallera," indicating the final series of exercise, and
then the yellow butterflies change into the ordinary uniform. The group of people outside the office is enlarged, and a slight stir marks the coming of the awaited headmistress. "Wairotaige," Wabonaki? "Tinkabinakantu." The ceremony of customary greetings takes its time. Then the talking can start. There is alternative speaking and listening. The headmistress wishes she could prolong several of the interviews. There is so much to learn from these people. Their contribution to her understanding of the people's way of thinking as well as of their circumstances is of immense value. One of the visitors had come from the other side of Lake Victoria. In a calm but eager manner he had briefed her about the situation in that region, especially about the lack of education facilities. He had explained why he and his wife so much wanted their daughter to get further education. His ideas corresponded exactly with her own: People in so-called backward areas ought to be encouraged and given opportunities of education. That was inevitable if problems were going to be solved. But had she committed herself too far when promising him to do her utmost to make his daughter a student of Kashasha? It was certainly going to be hard work at the coming meeting of the Entrance Board. Had not a man of authority told her not long ago that it was a waste of money to support backward districts? Still, there were other authoritative people with a different outlook. She might have her way, must keep her promise.

Her thought runs into another track, and she winces. It was unpleasant having to be so firm concerning school fees, as she had had to be with a father of one of the present pupils. In fact, the money was a token sum, not much for covering the cost of a student. Nevertheless, it was a heavy sum to many people. Probably education would be coveted and appreciated even if it did not imply and demand pecuniary sacrifice. How irritating, though, that expenses for boys could nearly always be managed, somehow, including selling one of the cows or going into debt. It was frightfully vital to supply education also to the female side. She smiles when recollecting how one of the girls had said the other day, forwarding the opinion of a discussion group: "After all, are not we entit-
led to a place in the shadow, too?" Education was essential, more of it, and education for all. That was why she had once started this school, and that was why she continued; education was one way of making known the Gospel, in which loving equality was part of the message.

The school bell rings, and the headmistress is startled. Too much of her time had been spent on reviewing the last hour and connected themes. This won't do. She cannot afford the custom of her pupils, who at times simply sit down. When questioned about their doings, they smile and say: "Nothing. We just sit on the grass, doing nothing." No, of course she could not do that. Or could she? Perhaps they were right and she was wrong? Dear, my European glasses. Only some few notes to write down. It had become a habit; the notes would come in handy sometimes. By the way, somebody had asked for material for an article, or was it for a book? She could as well hand over what she had collected from some time ago, well, since somebody else had been in need of material. What was the inspection going to be like? A report was to follow, having an important official bearing on the school's reputation. Headmistress Barbro has met this inspector before and got a favourable impression, and she hopes for cooperation.

Now, lunch, and Mafrasia may have performed a miracle. Many guests at table. Guests were a blessing, and Barbro wants to keep on the tradition of hospitality with which she has been brought up. That was a tradition perfectly in line with the African way of living.

The arrival of post is always an event, and Ta Yosefu has brought the mailbag from Bukoba. He looks at Barbro, and his sweat-shining face is above all a grand smile: "You know, Mama, I prefer running to walking. I really do."

Right now it was office hour again, this time a number of pupils always calling on her, a precious time for getting to know about each other's problems. The dear dear girls. Of course, they could be naughty sometimes, but innocent naughti-
ness is far from purposeful wrong-doings. And then there are some more visitors. With one of them the main topics is that of governing and of participating in governing and of sharing responsibility, at all levels. It is not the first time this confidence is conferred on her, nor is it the first time she marvels at sound ideas and clever reasoning and display of deep insight in complicated problems. Words like unity and leadership and independence are mentioned. As often, she is torn between enthusiasm and precaution. She listens with increasing interest to her visitor's narration of a political meeting he had recently attended. Well, she had heard about political activities among the Africans, and she had heard the name Mwalimu Nyerere. She would like to know more about all this. Does this interest intrude on her main tasks? Her thoughts linger for a while at the bell-tower outside Kashasha Church, the bell-tower in memory of her parents. In her home the combination of devoted school-work and engagement in politics had been taken for granted. Yet, for her part, perhaps she had better restrict herself to this school, to pupils and staff, to joy and strain, and to participate in congregation work and to run courses in this and other parishes in holiday time, to give herself whole-heartedly to these duties. Life is a challenge. Kashasha is a challenge.

Impending problems call for her attention, and she has to take steps. The school is understaffed now and again. At present one of the teachers is down with malaria, this much-fought scourge. Another is on short leave in his home village for the burial of a relative. Still another is preparing for her furlough and will not be back until next year. The teacher on scholarship in Europe is due to return soon but is to be posted somewhere else, so it is said. A pupil has left a note on headmistress's table. It is written by a Muslim girl, who asks for a personal talk. Barbro knows from previous experience that this creates a delicate situation. Prayers, services and Religious Instruction are not compulsory, but generally also the Muslim pupils attend everything. She looks again at the little note and the Bible quotations.
At the far end of the large school compound, assignment groups are busy with cookery and laundry and sewing. Someone is pounding groundnuts. Someone is making a brush out of a sisal leaf. Rhoda illustrates a nutrition poster. Kokoshubila and Maria discuss baby-care. Two girls clean the Model House. Someone is having trouble with the iron, swinging it to and fro to make the charcoal glow. Indeed, the timetable is filled, and there is very little time for anybody to sit on the grass, doing nothing. Is that why Hanifa sighs and is heard to exclaim: "Kweli, ni ngumu kuishi!" (it is really hard to live)? No, her loaf of bread was spoilt when the oven fell down. The noise from many Primus stoves deafens other sounds and increases the heat. On her way to the Current Affairs lesson, something she always looks forward to, just as the girls seem to do, Barbro stops for a minute, rejoicing. The school choir is singing, conducted by the gifted African teacher. How they sing! She knows he spends much of his time tracing genuine Haya songs, a rewarding task but he ought to be given more time for that.

Kashasha, the small pain and the jubilant singing. Kashasha, the many-coloured life. All days with routine duties, and each day with characteristics of its own. The framing features are the same throughout the year, and all years. Morning prayer and Evening prayer; in fellowship quieting before the source of strength. Hours run away, and the sun is less than a semicircle on the horizon, now a red flame only. The end of the day is drawing near. Soon many small oil-lamps are lit. Pupils collect their Bibles and Hymnbooks, put them on their black curly hair, where also a pencil has its place, and on top of that the little lamp. Barbro is there, and the staff, and the singing. And they walk towards Kashasha Church to listen to the Word of God and the message about life-giving Light, the Light originally behind that of the small oil-lamps, behind at this very moment and in the future, when light-carriers walk out into a big world.
REMEMBERING MAMA BARBRO AND KASHASHA GIRLS' SCHOOL

Christine Mulokozi

In 1948 the Kashasha Girls' School was opened in my home province. From that time I have known Mama Barbro Johansson.

The school started in old buildings which during the time of the Bethel Mission had already been used as a girls' school, and which had later been used temporarily as a boys' school.

Mama Barbro opened the girls' school at first with only two classes, standards four and five. At that time girls' education was not much valued and it was hard to fill the classes with girls of the right age. This meant that some of the students were already quite old while others were very young.

Mama Barbro led the school as headmistress under the mission administration. I came in as a Standard Four pupil and we greatly enjoyed her leadership at that time. We also experienced the strictness of our headmistress. She wanted her girls to be well-disciplined. As a visible sign of this we found a barbwire fence encircling the school grounds with only one entrance to the north and one to the south leading to the church where we went every night for evening prayers and for worship on Sundays. That made it easier to keep us from talking to passing strangers, especially if they happened to be boys! And also incoming and outgoing letters were censored.

In the beginning it all seemed very hard to take. If someone was found passing letters or packets secretly she was liable to be dismissed from the school. There were about ten such major rules which were strictly adhered to under the supervision of our headmistress. But what in the beginning seemed like a very hard thing was later taken as a part of ordinary school behaviour which we were used to.

I remember Mama Barbro teaching us Physical Education with equipment which had been brought from Sweden. Because of the way in
which she trained us we began to win inter-school competitions, and were invited to go to Bukoba to perform when the Governor visited the Province. This meant that the Kashasha Girls' School gained a fine reputation and I was happy to be one of those well-known students.

Another activity which Mama Barbro started was the teaching of Domestic Science. This included such aspects of homecraft as cooking and child care. Instead of using dolls for practice we were privileged to take care of orphan children. This helped us when later we had our own children in our own homes. We took care of them remembering the teaching we had received and put into practice.

Mama Barbro's way of teaching was always to put theory into practice. Kashasha School also gained a reputation for the skill of sewing. We competed with other neighbouring schools and at least three times won the shield given to the best school in these competitions. Once we made the British flag, the Union Jack. Perhaps because it was given a special honour at these times it also helped us to gain a good reputation.

Mama Barbro continued to be the headmistress of Kashasha until the time that Tanzania got her own rulers and leaders. In 1960 she handed over the school to African leadership and herself went to teach in another mission school, Kahororo, a boys' secondary school.

From 1962 to 1964 Mama Barbro was Member of Parliament for Mwanza, in the legislature of newly-independent Tanzania. She also taught political education in adult education classes and in schools. She was then selected by the President as headmistress of the Government girls' secondary school in Tabora, which at that time needed new and strong leadership after some internal troubles it had been experiencing.

In the years 1970 to 1973 Mama Barbro served in her country of origin, Sweden, but her appointment did not have anything to do with her being a Swede. Mama Barbro is a European by colour
only—in all other respects she is a true Tanzanian living simply as an ordinary Tanzanian. This is the reason why the government has made such a varied use of her talents as if she had been any other Tanzanian.

When Mama Barbro returned to Tanzania in 1973 she was placed in the Ministry of Education, in the Adult Education section, where she developed new methods of political education, using such new approaches all over the country to leaders at all levels. Since she had lived in the country so long and knew the people and the conditions so well, it was no difficulty for her to stay in the villages and share the life of the ordinary villagers. Her fluent knowledge of Swahili and her ability as well to use a vernacular like Haya made it easy for her to get her ideas across wherever she went. She tried especially to guide secondary school students and teachers in methods of adult education, and to hold seminars on political education, gathering leaders and students from the surrounding area in each place to which she went, covering most of the Regions.

I had a discussion with Mama Barbro when she left official government work at the end of May, 1975. I was very much impressed when she told me she wanted to go back to her village in Kangabusharo and help in the development of the village shoulder to shoulder with other villagers, while continuing the same kind of work she had done before in the service of God, as a missionary. It was sad to hear that this work was interrupted when she was injured in an accident. We can now only hope and pray that she will still be able to continue the good work she has been privileged to carry out for such a long time in such a wonderful way.

This short account has been written by one of her pupils.
IN THE TABORA GIRLS' SECONDARY SCHOOL

Hindu B. Lilla

I first met Barbro Johansson in 1965 at a seminar she was organising and conducting in Mwanza. Since then, although our relationship has grown into personal friendship, it has not been possible for me to think of her in terms dissociated from her sense of public spirit and interest. She is truely one of the few people I know who are doggedly working for the public interest. In the same year, 1965, I was transferred to Tabora Girls' Secondary School where she was the Headmistress. I had this opportunity to work at close quarters with her and this experience has been a great inspiration to me ever since.

It is not possible to chronicle all the things B. Johansson has done, as her contribution, towards the development of our country. I shall, however, cite a few of those I have been able to either witness or take part in them myself. Through her personal effort and counsel, she involved our school in the National Adult Education drive with all of us, teachers and pupil alike participating. Our schools' participation, among others in Tabora, was thorough and so successful that we won UNESCO'S "Muhammad Reva Pahlavi Prize" for the year 1967. The School's Headgirl went to Paris to receive the Prize with a cheque for shs. 36,000/, some of which we donated to the Government Hospital for the construction of a new maternity ward. The value of this to the children's morale and public spirit was tremendous.

I remember the time she had invited us to dinner at her place. Some time during the course of our conversation my husband, then Headmaster of another Secondary School in Tabora---Kazima Secondary School---happened to lament that he had difficulties occupying the pupils at games time as his school had very few play ground facilities. She immediately offered to donate what help she could. With that help, and the school's own contribution, the school managed to const-
ruct a hockey pitch a sports running track, two basketball pitches and a football pitch all this while she herself asked to remain anonymous!

There are other incidents that I recall:
That, at school, she insisted on frugality and careful utilization of school facilities,
That she would insist on personal integrity and high morals among pupils,
That she went full force in 1967, at the inception of Education for self-reliance, into starting projects to implement the programme in the school,

That she managed to involve the school in community activities--adult classes in and around the school, schoolgirl participation in village activities during term and off-term seasons, school-girl and teacher participation in seminars for various U.W.T. activities, etc. can only help to illustrate the scope of her public spirit.

To very many of us running a school, or doing any job for that matter, is a duty to be performed; but Barbro Johansson goes farther than that. From her I learnt that personal involvement and feeling is much more rewarding and satisfying in fulfilling one's duty: a sick child, a reluctant one, a lazy child, all problems facing her pupils; transport, food, clothing etc. were problems to be tackled with a deep element of personal concern. The results were invariably satisfying. It is an experience I cherish.

It is hard to resist the urge to testify to the selflessness of Mama Barbro and to her untiring efforts towards the welfare of our nation. Through her personal efforts, I know of two projects started on assistance from Sweden and other Scandinavian countries--the U.W.T. Hostel in Dar es Salaam and the "Margit Levinson's Fund" for Child Day Care Centres. I know these are only but a very few examples of material and financial assistance we have been able to get through her efforts.
I must end this short testimony, if I may call it so, with a personal vote of appreciation. Since I have known her, for some thirteen years, Mama Barbro has always been a great friend of mine and I have always treasured this friendship. When she heard I was elected National Member of Parliament, this is what she wrote in the telegram she sent me from Bukoba.

HON. HINDU B. LILLA, MP., P.O. BOX 9121, DAR ES SALAAM.

"Hearty congratulations. I know you are capable. BARBRO". I wept for joy.
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