

72/5

Rome, 11th February 1972

TO All Superiors General
 TO All their Delegates for SEDOS
 TO All Members of the SEDOS Group

1. THE SITUATION: "THE ROLE OF CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS" - an African view presented by a well-known psychologist called upon, in the seminars he organises, to answer the ever-recurring questions on politics. He draws on his close contacts with Marxists and Capitalists and on his knowledge of the social thought of the Church and of the official writings on Ujamaa. It is a fresh answer to the old temptation of opting for what appears to be a short cut to Christian community building: "Christian(?) Politics". (Eng. p96-110 - Fr. p111).
2. LIST OF DOCUMENTS RECEIVED patiently compiled by Sr. Agnetta (p.112).
3. NEWS FROM AND FOR THE GENERALATES - SCMM-M and RSC on the move (p.114).
4. FR. AGUILO'S MASS MEDIA DIRECTORY - Fr. Aguiló's Catholic Media Directory has merited an authoritative commendation (p.115).
5. COMING EVENTS

21-2-72	16.00	Executive Committee	SEDOS
22-2-72	15.30	"Health of Missionaries" Meeting	OSU
23-2-72	16.00	Development Work Group Meeting	SEDOS
29-2-72	16.00	General Assembly	OMI Scholasticate Pineta Sacchetti

Sincerely yours,

P. Leonzio Bano, fscj

THE SITUATION

TANZANIA - "THE ROLE OF CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS"

(We reproduce, in abridged form, and inspiring article by Fr. B. Joinet from SERVICE No. 7-8, 1971 of the PASTORAL AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, P.O. Box 398, Mwanza, Tanzania.)

THE PRESENT SITUATION

If I were asked: "What is the most vital and controversial issue in the Church in Tanzania today?" I would answer without the slightest hesitation: "Politics!", meaning the role and responsibilities of the Christians in the present political situation.

The Acquisition Act and the accelerated emphasis on socialism, have created attitudes of fear, doubt and confusion.

1. FEAR

A house is a home and a symbol of security. Because of this symbolic value, the nationalization of some homes has created a general fear and insecurity even in the countryside. Some people who only own a mud house say, "Maybe they will take my house tomorrow" or "Look at these orange trees, they will take them."

Among Catholics, we can hear rumours of the taking over of Church buildings even though assurance against this has been repeatedly given especially during the interview between President Nyerere and Church Leaders just after the Acquisition Act.

Another source of fear and anxiety is the pressure which is put on people in some places to join ujamaa villages. This pressure, applied by some local officials on their own initiative, is against the official policy of the government. But it does exist. Priests who live with the people share their fear and anxiety.

2. DOUBTS, CONTRADICTIONS, CONFUSIONS.

- Priests and laity react in different ways to the Acquisition Act. Some attack openly as against justice. Others, on the contrary, say that the Act is far too lenient and that no compensation should be given since these buildings were built with money acquired through capitalist exploitation.

- In some dioceses, the bishop and his priests encourage people to start or join ujamaa villages and some priests are ready to go and live in these villages with the approval of their bishop. In other dioceses, the majority of the laity and clergy are opposed to ujamaa villages because they think that the traditional way of cultivation is already a kind of Ujamaa, and that ujamaa villages are inefficient.
- In short, the Church suffers from confusion, divisions and contradictory attitudes about politics. There is little agreement about Ujamaa, and the Acquisition Act. At this time, more than ever before in Tanzania's history, God's people need guidance on the part of the Teaching Church, that is to say, the bishops and the clergy in communion with them.

Bishops and clergy will be greatly helped in their task by the Apostolic Letter of Pope Paul to Cardinal Roy, published recently, since a great part of this letter is devoted to the role of Christians in politics and to a re-evaluation of the different socialist trends.

But according to Pope Paul, the whole Christian Community should be involved in this political reflection: "It is up to the Christian Communities to analyse with objectivity THE SITUATION WHICH IS PROPER TO THEIR COUNTRY, to shed on it the light of the Gospel's unalterable words and to draw principles for reflection, norms of judgement and directives for action from the teaching of the Church."

The aim of this paper is only to give a few theological principles on the role of the Christian Community in politics and to apply to Ujamaa some of the tools and techniques of analysis proposed by Pope Paul to understand a given political situation. Such understanding is very necessary. "How can we bear a theological judgement on a political situation if we do not understand it? And how can we understand it if we do not have the tools to analyse it?"

Part One

GENERAL PRINCIPLES ON THE ROLE OF CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS

- A. Political Involvement is an expression of Christian Charity and the Spirit of Service.

The love of our neighbour has always been the main Christian commandment. But this love takes different forms.

- In a first stage, Christians try to help their neighbours who are in need. Mission centres have a long tradition of distribution of alms, clothes and food. This kind of help is vital in times of crisis such as earthquakes, floods, famine or war. For instance, Christians all over the world tried to help the starving people in Biafra. But such help when given outside times of crisis can become a form of paternalism which prevents human and economic development.
- In a second stage, Christians discover that it is not enough to cure the consequences of social evils but that these evils have to be tackled at their very roots. They discover that it is not enough to feed starving people but that it is necessary as well to prevent famine by introducing new methods of cultivation, new seeds, new fertilizers, etc. The efforts of Christians in the field of economic development is an expression of their love for their neighbour. Several dioceses in Tanzania can be proud of their efforts towards the Development of the country.
- In a third stage, Christians discover that development is useless if economic and political structures are not changed. They discover that to help their neighbour, they must change the very structures of society and that this is only possible through political involvement and activity. In a very pragmatic way, I would define political activity as any effort to influence the structures of society. In this way, political involvement becomes a form of Christian charity.

A few examples can clarify this point. On the shores of Lake Tanganyika, a group of fishermen improve their catch by using new nets. But they discover that they do not know what to do with their money. They are afraid to bury it because their neighbours may discover it. So, they use it for drink. One of the possible solutions would be to help them to create their own credit union, that is to say, to change the economic structure.

In Uha, several families get together to start a block farm. But they discover that they cannot sell their beans except to a foreigner who buys them for a very low price and sells them for a price six times higher. They discover that their effort is useless unless they try to change the economic structure of distribution. The solution might be to create co-operatives which would change the capitalist structure of distribution into a collective one.

Another group of farmers is obliged to sell their maize to the government cooperative. But they discover that they sell their maize at 35 shillings a bag and that they will have to buy it for 70 shillings six months later.

Moreover the business manager of the cooperative runs away with the cash and there is no money to pay for their crop. They discover that the only remedy is to work through political channels so as to discover why there is such a difference in price between buying and selling, and so little control over the business manager's activities. Thus they have to "go into politics" so as to fight more efficiently for social justice. Their political involvement becomes a form of service to their community, or as we said, Christian charity.

Moreover works of mercy, development and politics are closely linked up and could interfere with each other. For instance, indiscriminate distribution of food can interfere with the government's policy of self-reliance. Both the Catholic Church and the Government have their development schemes. If there is no coordination between the two, some schemes can be redundant. Moreover if private schemes are more successful than government schemes, this success can be interpreted as a healthy challenge or as a condemnation of government policies. In other words, practically all human activity has a political aspect. We should be aware of this.

The strange fact is that practically all over the world (and not only in Tanzania), Christians are ready to perform works of mercy and to do social or development work, but they are reluctant to get involved in politics as a form of Christian service.

Personally I would rather say that there is no complete Christian charity without some sort of political involvement, since politics directly affects the lives of men at all levels. It does not mean that all Christians have to run to be members of parliament, but personal involvement is always possible at the village or ward level.

B. The role of the Teaching Church (the bishops in communion with the clergy.)

The great temptation both for the Church and Governments is to consider the Church as a power, a sort of state within the state. All over the world, governments are courting the Church: come and join us in our socialist, capitalist, liberation or oppression effort! The temptation is great because, as a matter of fact, the Church has an influence on Christians and consequently does have a certain power.

In the past, local hierarchies often did take sides with conservative parties. In France, the majority of Catholics were for a long time partisans of the monarchy and they opposed democracy for several decades. When Cardinal Lavigerie dared to say openly that it was possible to be both a Catholic and a republican, the majority of French bishops opposed him.

Even today, Portugese bishops in Mozambique have a tendency to use the Church to make Portugese out of Africans, so much so that the White Fathers left Mozambique because they felt that they were being used for political purposes.

From these examples, it is very clear that such partisan involvement was wrong in the past. But the temptation is to make the same mistake today with democratic and socialist parties who invite the Church to join forces with them.

After this negative approach, let us see the positive aspect of the role of the Teaching Church. Whatever might have taken place in the past, the role of the Church is at another level. Its mission is to build the Kingdom of God, that is to say, to lead God's People towards its full unity in Christ on the day of the Resurrection.

But the building of God's Kingdom has already started on earth. The Spirit is already uniting men in love through service. Christians are men and consequently citizens of their respective countries. Their love which builds God's Kingdom expresses itself through service of their country. They have to serve their neighbour in all circumstances according to the local environment and situation. The role of the Teaching Church is not to get involved in politics but to guide Christians in their political involvement, so as to help them to fight in all circumstances for charity, justice and peace.

For instance, between 1945 and 1963, Popes and local hierarchies in Africa spoke about the right of African nations to be independent. Then colonial powers accused the Teaching Church of taking sides, just as Pope Paul has been blamed for shaking hands with the Mozambique and Angola freedom fighters. In fact, what were the Pope and bishops doing? They were guiding Catholics who were or are still fighting for their independence, by telling them that they had the right to be independent and that their struggle for independence could be an expression of their charity.

In the same way, the role of the Teaching Church in Tanzania is not to take sides for or against Ujamaa, but to help Christians to judge the present political situation in the light of the Gospel. In the light of that Gospel, Christians must decide either for or against Ujamaa as a whole and for or against each of its applications.

If some priests get directly involved in politics, it should be in a prophetic capacity, so as to show Christians the importance of politics as a form of service. But it is clear that the number of such priests will always be small because prophets are always few.

But the Teaching Church can guide Christians only if she understands the political situation. Pope Paul urges the Christian communities to "analyse with objectivity the situation which is proper to their country, to shed on it the light of the Gospel's unalterable words." (Apostolic letter on 80th Anniversary of "Rerum Novarum," par. 4)

This is possible only if the Christian Communities and especially the Teaching Church possess the technical tools which are necessary to analyse and understand a political situation. It cannot be left to the personal feelings of individuals. It is very clear that a Christian who lost his house through the Acquisition Act will think it unjust and that a farmer who works in a prosperous ujamaa village will find Ujamaa profitable and consequently, just. But we can hardly call such feelings an "objective analysis".

Part II

HOW TO ANALYSE A POLITICAL SITUATION

A. The Three levels of Analysis Proposed by Paul VI.

Many people are hesitant nowadays about Ujamaa because they confuse many things. For instance, they will identify the spirit of Ujamaa with the private life of a Tanu leader, or with an arbitrary decision of an area commissioner who pushes people to join ujamaa villages so as to present a brilliant report when he goes to Dar es Salaam.

Pope Paul clarifies the situation in his letter to Cardinal Roy when he distinguishes three levels of analysis:

"Some Christians are today attracted by socialist currents and their various development...Distinctions must be made to guide concrete choice between the various levels of expression of Socialism: i) a generous aspiration and a seeking for a more just society; ii) historical movements with a political organization and aim; iii) and an ideology which claims to give a complete and self-sufficient picture of man. Nevertheless, these distinctions must not lead one to consider such levels as completely separate and independent." (Ibid., par. 20)

In other words, Pope Paul distinguishes:

- 1) The basic aspirations of the various kinds of Socialism.
- 2) The complete ideology built around these aspirations, giving a complete answer to all great human questions.
- 3) The "praxis," that is, the concrete and practical way in which this ideology and these aspirations are put into practice - as a rule through a political party - which will change according to time and place.

B. Application of the Three Levels of Analysis to Marxism.

1) Basic Aspirations:

Solidarity: let us help one another to free ourselves from oppression and exploitation - one for all, all for one.

Economic Progress: let us help one another and work hard so as to have all we need to lead a happy life.

Fraternity: Through struggling and working together, we will really become brothers.

It must be stressed that these basic aspirations apply to all kinds of Socialism whether they are marxist or anti-marxist.

2) Marxist Ideology, it gives a complete, self-sufficient vision of man from his origin to his end:

Origin: Where does man come from? Matter is at the origin of everything. Man comes out of matter through evolution. There is no God.

End: Where is humanity going? Towards a classless society in which all are equal...a happy, fraternal society in which all the needs of men are fulfilled. This society exists on earth only for there is no heaven. For maoists, any revolution gives birth to another ruling class which in its turn oppresses the masses and must be eliminated through continuous revolution.

3) Praxis of Marxism:

- Men must be aware of the direction of evolution towards a classless society and must work in that direction to hasten its coming.
- There is no permanent good or evil. What goes towards the liberation of the exploited and the birth of a classless society is good. All that goes against it is bad. Since circumstances change, what was good yesterday may be bad today, and may be good again tomorrow.
- There can be only one party: the communist one which works in the direction of human evolution towards a classless society.
- Violence is good when it hastens the birth of a classless society.
- Men are not free to choose for or against evolution. If they oppose it, they have to be neutralized or eliminated (totalitarian state).

The distinction between the three levels of Marxism helps us to understand the meaning of the condemnation of Atheistic Marxism by Pope Pius XII. What he condemned was not the basic aspirations of solidarity, economic progress and fraternity which are common to all socialist currents.

Neither did he condemn the whole ideology: Christians have nothing against hard work and the proper use of modern techniques. In the same way, a one party rule is not necessarily opposed to human dignity and freedom if there is freedom of expression within the party.

Pope Pius condemned some aspects of the ideology: its negation of God and of life after death and its belief that economic progress will solve all human problems. He condemned, as well some aspects of its praxis: totalitarianism, emphasis on violence and relative morality.

The distinction made by Pope Paul helps us to have a balanced approach to Marxism: it should not be either accepted or rejected wholesale. We must distinguish its various aspects. Some of them are good and others are bad if we judge them in the light of the Gospel. But at the same time, we should beware of "the link that radically binds them together." (Ibid., par. 34)

This balanced attitude should help us to be less afraid of Marxism in Tanzania. It is clear that there are Marxists in Tanu and among government officials. But this is not a reason why we should reject Ujamaa or even refuse to collaborate on some specific points with Tanzanian Marxists. A certain degree of collaboration at the practical level is possible and in some cases, desirable, provided we are aware of its dangers and of the limits of such a collaboration.

This should motivate us to try to have a good basic knowledge of the various kinds of Marxism and Socialism. We are often afraid of what we do not know. We see wolves where there are none and we do not see the wolf clad in lamb's fleece! A deep understanding of Marxism would help us to see its positive and negative aspects. Could an introduction to Marxism be given in major seminaries? This understanding of Marxism would help us as well to see the great difference between Ujamaa and Marxism.

C. Application of the Three Levels of Analysis to the Ujamaa of President Nyerere.

It is clear that Ujamaa or Tanzanian Socialism has not been inspired originally by Marxism. It has been growing little by little from the personal thinking and experience of President Julius Nyerere.

1) What are the Basic Aspirations of Ujamaa? They can be expressed by the words:

Ujamaa: all share everything with all at the national level just as people used to do at the clan level according to traditional African culture.

Usawa: all are basically equal. We must see to it that nobody uses his personal gifts to exploit others.

Maendeleo: we must work together to raise the standard of living of the whole population, starting with the poorest, that is to say, the farmers.

Kitanzania (utamaduni): we must preserve our cultural heritage and be proud of our culture.

Uhuru: we must be free to rule ourselves without depending on outsiders. All beliefs and religions are accepted.

Mwanadamu (the person): The person comes first. We should not develop only the individual as in Liberalism or primarily society as in Marxism, but both the person and society for the ultimate progress of the person.

2) Ideology of Ujamaa:

Origin of Man: There is no official answer. But the majority of Tanzanian socialists believe that man has been created by God.

Aim of Ujamaa:

Ujamaa: a classless society where all are at the service of all and closely united.

Maendeleo: all will develop and share the riches of the country.

Taifa: there will be no tribalistic rivalry left. Tanzania will be one united nation, enriched by the various regional cultures.

Umoja: (African unity). We must try to create bonds of friendship between all African countries. This will require efforts to liberate those who are still prisoners of colonialist powers.

If we try now to study the ideology of Ujamaa in the light of the Gospel and of the social teaching of the Church, we see that practically all the points of Ujamaa are according to the spirit of the Gospel and can be accepted by Christians.

I would even go further and say that the basic points of Ujamaa must be held by Christians even if they happen to live in a capitalist country (even if Tanzania would turn capitalist) because the aspirations of Ujamaa express the Spirit of the Gospel.

- The constant teaching of the Church is that the right to private property is not the right to use our profit the way we like. Private property is a stewardship. We may make profit but we may not keep it for ourselves. We have to use it for the welfare of the community. We may of course, keep part of it for our own subsistence. This is the spirit of the Gospel with its emphasis on service and poverty.

It is evident that if I use my profit for the service of the community, I shall never be able to get rich. If someone is rich, it shows two things: i) he is clever and hard working; ii) he does not share his profit with others for the good of the community. His wealth simply shows that he does not live according to the Gospel. Maybe we have been so influenced by a capitalistic interpretation of the Gospel that we have difficulty in seeing this basic Gospel truth: a Christian must share his goods and use them for the service of others.

- The basic teaching of St. Paul (I Cor. 12 : 4-30 and Eph. 4 : 14-17) is that our personal gifts are given to us by God for the service of the community and not for our personal profit. This is precisely the spirit of Ujamaa. This is as well the point of St. Paul's teaching which Christians have the greatest difficulty in accepting. The majority are convinced that their personal gifts of intelligence, creativity, etc., are primarily for themselves.
- The emphasis on national unity and African unity and against tribalism and hyper-nationalism is also in line with the spirit of Christ, who came to destroy the walls between the nations and establish a universal community which transcends borders and cultural differences. (Eph. 2: 11-21).

We in Tanzania have the tremendous luck to be in a country where the official ideology is in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel. My personal experience is that it is much easier to be a Christian in Tanzania than in some other African countries or in Europe, where personal profit is the mainspring of economic life and where those who are clever and intelligent use their gifts to make money for their own family rather than for the service of the whole community.

We may wonder whether the opposition to Ujamaa which we find in some Christians does not come from this spirit of acquisitiveness which St. John calls the spirit of the world. We may also wonder whether the opposition to Ujamaa which we find in some tribes does not come from the desire to keep their wealth for themselves instead of sharing it with poorer tribes. Such a spirit or desire is quite natural, we agree. This is just the point. It is natural but it is not Christian. If we were a bit cynical, we would be tempted to say that the main trouble with Ujamaa is that it is meant for Saints, but Christians can hardly complain about that!

We have analysed Ujamaa as it can be studied from the writings and speeches of Mwalimu J. Nyerere. But recent events, speeches and articles of officials lead us to ask ourselves an extremely important question: Is this Ujamaa still the policy ruling the country? It is not always evident. The situation seems to be fluctuating extremely and it varies from one part of the country to the other. It seems difficult to foresee what Tanzanian socialism will be tomorrow. Therefore, a constant analysis of the political situation is necessary for the Teaching Church.

3) Praxis of Ujamaa:

We have seen that the basic aspirations and the ideology of the Ujamaa of Mwalimu Nyerere are in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel. But what about its praxis, that is, the way it is put into practice?

This is where difficulties start! There are many things in the praxis of Ujamaa with which a Christian cannot agree because he is Christian. Our sharp, critical, clerical mind helps us to spot the abuses of the praxis of Ujamaa. Moreover we are close to the people and we hear their grievances and share their sufferings.

We are aware of bad management. One read in the Standard of last June that the accountancy situation was near chaos, that STC could not account for 100 million shillings. We know as well that in many cooperatives, the financial situation is critical because some business managers are not honest. We know that some government officials use their position for personal profit. We know that some ujamaa villages have been hastily established in places where they have little chance to succeed. We know that subtle pressure is being put on people on some occasions so that officials may make good reports and climb higher in government administration.

If we take the definition of a capitalist given by President Nyerere, as "a man who uses his wealth to oppress his neighbour", we could call capitalists all those who use their education, intelligence, political power or official position to oppress their neighbour. So we recognize that Capitalism is present in the praxis of Ujamaa.

This is against the spirit of the Gospel and the spirit of Ujamaa. As Christians, we cannot tolerate it. A first temptation is to remain neutral and do nothing about these injustices. A second temptation is to reject Ujamaa wholesale because of some mistakes and injustices in its practical application. But as Christians we cannot reject the spirit of Ujamaa which is basically that of the Gospel. This leads us to examine what our attitude should be as religious leaders.

Part III

THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN POLITICS

A. Confidence and Commitment to Ujamaa

Since the spirit of Ujamaa and its ideology are in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel, we should not hesitate to proclaim that Ujamaa, and maendeleo are a way of living according to the Gospel. This has already been done by TEC at the occasion of the Arusha Declaration. The fact that we personally believe that Ujamaa can be a way of serving our neighbour helps us to judge it from the inside. Our very confidence in the ideal of Ujamaa gives more weight to our judgement on the praxis of Ujamaa. Remarks by neutral outsiders are not considered and are even resented.

B. Helping People to Discover the Christian Value of the Ujamaa Ideal and to Judge the Praxis of Ujamaa.

- In a Positive Way: The role of the clergy as religious leaders is to help Christians to discover the Christian value of Ujamaa and to judge its praxis. For instance, many people are against ujamaa villages because they will have to share their profits with other and work with others; or because they are afraid of witchcraft; or because they think that their neighbours are lazy. They should be helped to discover whether such attitudes are really Christian.

Others would like to join ujamaa villages because they think that they will work less; that they will receive a lot of free government help; or because they hope that the ujamaa village shop will have the monopoly of trade in the area and consequently, that they will realize big profits. These Christians also should be helped to judge their attitudes in the light of the Gospel.

Above all, the Teaching Church should help Christians discover that the gifts which God has given them are meant for the service of the whole community. She should fight against individualism according to the teaching of Pope Paul in his recent letter: "Nor can we adhere to the liberal ideology which believes it exalts individual freedom by withdrawing it from every limitation, by stimulating it through exclusive seeking of interest and power," (Ibid. p. 26)

Otherwise Tanzania will be saddled with class distinctions as has already happened in other African countries. Hence, Christian communities should try to discover continually in the light of the Gospel the meaning of money, development of self, taking a job, etc...

- In a Negative Way: fighting the mistakes and injustices committed in the name of Ujamaa. Many mistakes and injustices are committed in the implementation of Ujamaa. This is natural, but Christians do not have to condone them. Christians cannot remain neutral when confronted with suffering and injustices. Because their lives should be inspired by the law of love, they have to speak up and react against injustices.

The sad fact is that most people are afraid when confronted with officialdom. But Christians have been liberated by Christ who has given them freedom of speech. Moreover, Christians form a community. They are not isolated individuals. Consequently, the Christian community is in a much better position to speak out than other people. Fighting against injustices is not the concern of individuals only but of the whole local Christian community gathered around its Parish Council. In some cases, priests should not be afraid to speak out and to be the voice of the people if there is nobody else to speak out. Only if we fight against injustices will we be faithful to the Gospel. We Christians do believe that we have been liberated by Christ -- liberated not only from sin but from fear as well.

C. Helping People to Understand the Political Situation and to Act from the Inside of Ujamaa through the Right Channels.

- a. We cannot help people to judge a political situation if we do not understand it ourselves. For instance, we cannot understand the meaning of ujamaa villages if we do not know how they became the official policy of the government; how it is impossible for a scattered population to improve its farming techniques; how villagization failed; or how ujamaa villages are successful in some areas and fail in others, etc.

We cannot know whether the order of a local official is legal or illegal if we do not know the law. We cannot know whether a particular decision is against the government's general policy, if we do not know this policy. We cannot protest against an injustice, if we do not know where to go to protest. Consequently, we should make an all-out effort to study and understand official speeches, declarations, rules and laws so as to understand and judge the local praxis of Ujamaa in the light of these declarations and in the light of the Gospel.

- b. We should make an all-out effort as well to understand the machinery of government and of Tanu. People are afraid of what they do not know. If they do not know the limits of the powers of officials, they may ask for things that officials cannot grant, or follow orders which a given official has no right to give. Dialogue and group consultation are two of the basis of Tanu according to the "Mwongozo wa Tanu", published in 1971, it should not be forgotten.
- c. It is not possible to collaborate with government efforts in a positive way if we do not know officials in a personal way. Many misunderstandings would be avoided if the clergy and faithful had better relations with officials. Many things could be straightened out through personal contact. Some people are afraid of the government or of Tanu because they are for them mysterious things. Personal contact could dispel this fear.

This leads us to question of the political formation or absence of political formation of the clergy. I am afraid most of us have to do our homework now.

D. Encouraging Christians to Work Through Tanu as a Form of Service of our Neighbour.

Any action outside regular channels loses much of its efficacy. It is difficult to fight for justice and against injustices outside a political party because these parties are policy makers and thus policies can be influenced only through the parties.

We have seen that political involvement can be a form of Christian charity. Here in Tanzania where there is only one party, political involvement means working with and through Tanu and official movements such as the U.W.T. (Union of Tanzanian Women).

E. Helping Christians Involved in Politics to Remain Faithful to the Spirit of the Gospel.

It is extremely difficult to be Christian when one is involved in politics. My experience in my home country shows me that many Christians enter the political field as a means of serving their neighbour but after a few months or years, they forget service and are attracted by the status and honour that go with political power. Service diminishes while ambition grows.

The role of the clergy is to help Christians involved in politics to examine and judge their lives as politicians in the light of the Gospel.

CONCLUSION

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AS A FORM OF PARTICIPATION IN THE PASCAL MYSTERY

Let's face it, if we try to be faithful to the Gospel and to fight for justice, love and peace, we shall get into difficulties. We shall be accused and attacked from the right and from the left because we will denounce all injustices from whatever side they may come and we will fight for justice with whoever fights for justice. We shall be accused of taking sides with Ujamaa when we speak in favour of its positive points. We shall be accused of attacking Ujamaa and the government when we denounce the injustices committed in the name of Ujamaa. We shall be accused of being Marxists by some people and of being Capitalists by others.

We should not be surprised, for if we fight for justice and peace, we shall disturb many people who will not like it. They will fight back. This is just what happened to Christ when he came to proclaim his gospel of justice, love and peace. He shook the Scribes and Pharisees out of their complacency and as a result, they put Him to death. We should not expect to receive better treatment. This will be our way of sharing in the sufferings and the resurrection of Christ.

In a more positive way, Ujamaa with its ideal of sharing and service challenges us daily and obliges us to examine constantly our life in the light of the Gospel. In a way, it obliges us to be Christians.

Bernard Joinet

SOMMAIRE DE L'ARTICLE DU PERE BERNARD JOINET

"ENGAGEMENT POLITIQUE COMME UNE FORME DE PARTICIPATION DANS LE MYSTERE PASCAL".

Si nous essayons d'être fidèles à l'Évangile et de combattre pour la Justice, l'Amour et la Paix, nous rencontrerons toujours des difficultés. Nous serons accusés, attaqués de la droite et de la gauche parce que nous dénoncerons toutes sortes d'injustices. Nous combattons avec quiconque combat pour la justice. Nous serons accusés d'être du côté de "Ujamaa" quand nous parlons en faveur de ses points positifs. Nous serons accusés d'attaquer Ujamaa et le Gouvernement si nous dénonçons les injustices commises au nom de Ujamaa. Nous serons accusés par certaines personnes d'être Marxistes, par d'autres, d'être Capitalistes.

Nous ne devons pas être surpris, si en combattant pour la Justice et la Paix, nous dérangeons plusieurs personnes qui ne l'aimeraient pas. Ils combattront contre nous. C'est bien cela qui est arrivé au Christ quand il est venu proclamer son Évangile de Justice, d'Amour et de Paix. Il secouait les Scribes et les Pharisiens de leur suffisance et comme résultat, ils l'ont condamné à mort. Nous ne devons pas nous attendre à recevoir un meilleur traitement. Ceci sera notre façon de partager dans les souffrances et la Résurrection du Christ.

D'une façon plus positive, Ujamaa avec son idéal de partage et d'encouragement quotidien, nous oblige à examiner constamment notre vie à la lumière de l'Évangile. Dans un certain sens, il nous oblige à être Chrétiens.

(A. Fernandez)

LISTS OF DOCUMENTS RECEIVED DURING JANUARY

compiled by Sr. Agnetta, S.Sp.S.

I. INTERNAL

Code No.	Institute	Title of Document
1.105	SM	Practical Instructions on Elections.
1.106	SA	La Psychologie et les communautés religieuses.
1.107	SCMM-M	Popular Report of the Cultural Orientation Pilot Project in Malawi.
1.108	Ibid.	Ervaring van de Benedictijnen in Toulililine, Marokko - D.v.d.Meulen.
1.109	SJ	Mission and Development: The Role of the Jesuit in the World of Today, by Francis Ivern, S.J.

II. EXTERNAL

Code No.	Organization	Title of Document
4.403	IDO-c	Programme proposal for a pool of documentation centres (CODOC).
4.404	Ibid.	List of Ambiguous Terms to be clarified or annotated and Main Headings of systematical list.
4.405	Ibid.	Alphabetical List of Keywords.
4.406	WCCU	An Introduction to the World Council of Credit Unions (brochure).
4.407	Com. Episcopale de Catechese pour l'Ovest Africain Francophone	Session Interterritoriale de Bamako: Catechistes et Catechese des adultes.
4.408	World Bank	Increased Lending planned to improve lagging LDC Telecommunication Systems.
4.409	Research Institute of the Lutheran Church, Helsinki	The Crisis of the European Churches. By Martti Lindqvist.

Code No.	Organization	Title of Document
4.410	Research Institute of the Lutheran Church, Helsinki	The Problem of Parish Reform by Martti Lindqvist.
4.411	Multimedia International	The Church is Communications by Avery Dulles.
4.412	UN	Comité Exécutif du Programme du Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les Réfugiés. October 4-13, 1971.
4.413	Ibid.	Comité de l'Habitation de la Construction et de la Planification. October 18-29, 1971.
4.414	Indian Social Institute.	The Indian Family in the Change and Challenge of the Seventies, by Anthony A. D'Souza.
4.415	Coutinho, Boavida	Co-operation the Key to Progress.
4.416	Communication Center, U.S.A.	Directory Catholic Charismatic Prayer Groups, August 1, 1971.
4.417	INTERPHIL	First Interphil Seminar on Fund-Raising.
4.418	Secretariat Indonesian Bishops Conference.	Dokumentasi Penerangan.
4.419	?	Conclusions: Le Congrès Catéchétique International.

NEWS FROM AND FOR THE GENERALATES

1. SCMM-M - Sr. Jane Gates, Superior General SCMM-M, travel Schedule:

26 February - 9 March - Cuernavaca, Mexico, attending Conference sponsored by CIDOC on

Alternative Sources of Health

12 March - 22 March - Venezuela

22 March - 30 March - Bolivia, Brazil

2. R.S.C.J. - 11 February: Srs. Boland and Saade leave Rome for Australia, calling at Beyrouth.

13 February: the whole RSCJ General Council will gather at Sydney to visit the Australian-New Zealand Province.

20 March : arrival at Manila, Philippines.

22 March : Taipei.

27 March : Tokio.

4 April : Corea.

9 April : return to Japan.

25 April : return to Rome.

In June visit to Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Peru, Chile, Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil, returning to Rome in October.

PONTIFICIA COMMISSIONE
PER LE COMUNICAZIONI SOCIALI

Dal Vaticano, 25 ottobre 1971

N. 18570

Reverendo Padre,

desidero riferirmi alla pregiata lettera del 10 settembre u.s., con la quale il servizio di documentazioni e studi delle Congregazioni religiose missionarie, SEDOS, mi richiedeva di presentare al Santo Padre il volume "Catholic Media Directory", da Lei pubblicato sotto gli auspici dello stesso SEDOS.

Compio il gradito incarico di significare alla Paternità Vostra Reverenda che il Santo Padre ha accolto ben volentieri il dono che Ella ha avuto cura di inviare anche a nome dei cortesi editori e le esprime la Sua gratitudine e il Suo compiacimento. Tale compilazione, infatti, per l'abbondanza dei dati relativi agli Enti e alle Istituzioni Cattoliche che operano nel settore degli strumenti audiovisivi, potrà riuscire assai utile, favorendone la reciproca conoscenza e, più ancora, la profiqua collaborazione delle varie iniziative.

La prego di voler estendere i miei migliori saluti a tutti i responsabili del SEDOS, mentre Le rinnovo ben volentieri i sensi del mio profondo ossequio.

E. Heston s.c.
Presidente

Reverendo Padre
P. Ramon AGUILO, S. J.
c/o SEDOS
Via dei Verbiti, 1
00154 R O M A