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## EDITORIAL

Migration and the care of migrants has become for many of our congregations a genuinely missionary challenge. PIETER C. EMMER opens this month's bulletin with a few very interesting reminders on global migration. While the North is trying to respond - more or less generously - to the wave of people moving towards the industrial and wealthier countries, we forget easily that before this present migration to the North, there was one from North to South. Those migrants too were driven by many needs, looking for a more promising future in a new world.

FATHER PETER HENRIOT, SJ., leads us through an experience of democratisation in Africa. The case of Zambia shows us the difficulties African states are facing and how the Church can accompany and illuminate such an experience.

FATHER K.M. MATTHEW, SJ., invites us in his contribution to continue the search for constructive steps towards the solution of ecological problems. Although the 'Rio Summit' was a disappointment for many, it is clear that confrontations lead nowhere; the only answer is to start rectifying the most violent disturbances. It is here where he sees an irreplaceable role for the Church.

FATHER HIPOLITO TSHIMANGA MUANZA, CICM., reflects on the ever present cultural connections between the Americas: a direct result of centuries of slave trade. He invites all Afro-Americans to 'win the future' by rescuing decisively their self-esteem and dignity. Only they themselves can be the agents of their freedom because "true freedom comes from inside".

GUY ARNOLD considers critically the role of the IMF in the development of poor countries. What should be done in order to put these international organisations better at the service of the poor?



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# 'WE ARE HERE, BECAUSE YOU WERE THERE': INTERCONTINENTAL MIGRATION

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Pieter C. Emmer

*(Pieter C. Emmer is Professor of the History of European Expansion in the University of Leiden, Netherlands. He is the author of various books on migration).*

In virtually all countries of Western Europe there are political parties and pressure groups opposing continued immigration from non-Western countries - wherever these may be located. Why did this strong anti-migration sentiment develop? Are the opponents of immigration right in assuming that the resident population of Western Europe has no experience of migration and that its economy and culture will disappear if the onslaught of the non-Western hordes is allowed to continue? These opponents seem to be unaware of the fact that only a hundred years ago Europeans were by far the largest group of migrants in the world. Even as recently as forty years ago millions of Europeans were on the move, because of the consequences of decolonisation.

In fact, migration is a phenomenon as old as humanity itself. History is full of migration movements: the Jews went to Egypt, the Poles went to Germany, the Scots went to Ireland and Greeks went to Asia Minor. In addition to Europe's internal migrations similar migrations occurred in the pre-Columbian New World, as well as in Africa and Asia. In addition to the many **intra**-continental migration streams the expansion of Europe after 1500 caused large **inter**-continental movements of people which in turn intensified the existing migration.

In many ways the intercontinental migration caused by European expansion was unique: it involved peoples of three continents, it went on for more than four centuries and it existed in two separate circuits, a tropical and a non-tropical one. The expansion of Europe created

numerous new opportunities for migration. Newly conquered colonies usually offered an ample supply of arable land for the land-hungry Europeans. The tropical colonies provided opportunities to cultivate new, unknown products such as coffee, tea and cotton. In many European overseas trade settlements there

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***Before 1800 between two and three million moved to the settlement colonies in the New World and on the southern tip of Africa. After 1800 the number of European emigrants exploded and increased to sixty-one million.***

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were opportunities for individual merchants to settle temporarily or permanently.

The majority of the colonial migrants participated in a migration circuit between areas situated in the moderate climatic zones. By so doing these migrants usually were able to prolong their life-expectancy, to have larger families and to encounter less dangerous and lethal diseases, epidemics and undernourishment than they would have met at home.

Parallel to the first migration circuit, a second circuit developed as part of the process of European expansion. The second circuit was much less advantageous than the first one. In this system people moved or were moved from

one tropical part of the globe to another with the sole objective of performing agricultural labour in producing tropical cash crops. The second migration circuit usually shortened the lives of the migrants rather than lengthening them, and it forced the migrants to have fewer children and to face more dangerous pathogens than they would have at home.

The large majority of the colonial migrants from Europe usually participated in the first migration circuit. By moving to other continents European migrants gained many advantages. Not only did the migrant Europeans enjoy far better living and working conditions than at home; they also enabled some parts of Europe to avoid serious overpopulation. However, it should not be forgotten that a small minority of

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*By moving to other continents European migrants gained many advantages. Not only did the migrant Europeans enjoy far better living and working conditions than at home; they also enabled some parts of Europe to avoid serious overpopulation.*

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European emigrants went to the dangerous, tropical parts of the non-Western world.

For the Africans, the situation was totally different. Virtually all intercontinental migrants from this continent migrated by force as slaves and as victims of the process of European expansion. Except for the slave trade, Africans have hardly participated in intercontinental migration. In contradistinction to the Africans and Europeans, the Asians arrived relatively late on the colonial migration scene: they did not participate in intercontinental colonial migration until the nineteenth century. Their migration experience was somewhat mixed, but they were the first ones to make moving within the second or tropical migration circuit a profitable experience.

### **Colonial Migration from Europe**

As far as the migration of the Europeans is concerned, it should be stated right away that they profited most. The vast numbers of European migrants are excellent proof of this. Before 1800 between two and three million

moved to the settlement colonies in the New World and on the southern tip of Africa. After 1800 the number of European emigrants exploded and increased to sixty-one million. In addition to South Africa and North and South America Europeans also moved to North Africa, Kenya, Rhodesia, Australia and New Zealand. As mentioned above, the European emigrants were attracted to the overseas colonies of settlement because social barriers were lower, diseases were less rampant and obtaining land was easier than it had become at home. Europeans had to adjust to their new surroundings overseas. They might have to give up their Old World ties within their family and the community. Many had to learn an additional language. However, most Europeans could keep their culture overseas, in contrast to the Africans and Asians, who moved within the colonial world. Nevertheless, some European migrants changed their mind and preferred to return home: about twenty per cent of the total number.

The majority of the European migrants succeeded in improving their living and working conditions overseas, but a small trickle of colonial migrants from Europe ventured into the dangerous tropical colonies and trade settlements. Until 1660 about 500,000 Europeans went to the Caribbean before it became apparent that the moderate climates of the New World were much more suited to permanent settlement. In addition, probably more than two to three million Europeans went to serve as administrators, sailors and soldiers in the tropical trading emporia in Africa and Asia. Among these groups mortality was very high.

### **The Slave Trade from Africa**

In view of the high death-rate among European migrants in the tropical colonies, shipping firms became interested in buying and selling African slaves in order to replace the rapidly declining numbers of European labourers in the tropical colonies. In total about eleven million Africans were forcibly removed from their continent in order to work the plantations and mines situated in the less attractive parts of the colonial world. The African slaves in the tropical colonies died less frequently than did European immigrants, but their death-rate in tropical America was still higher than their birth-rate. In order to keep numbers up and in order to expand plantation agriculture, most plantation colonies constantly had to import new slaves

from Africa. The only exception was the U.S. South, where African slaves profited from the same benign environment as the European immigrants.

Most of the slaves from Africa were brought to Brazil and to the Caribbean, about eighty per cent of the total volume. The number of imported slaves varied widely. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Europeans never carried more than a few thousand slaves per year across the Atlantic. During the eighteenth century that number rose rapidly and during the second half of that century the volume of trade sometimes exceeded more than 100,000 slaves per year. Most of the slaves were sold to sugar plantations in Brazil and in the Caribbean.

Against the anti-slavery agitation, the planters in the Caribbean, in Brazil and in the U.S. South pointed out how important slavery was for the economy of the colonial mother country. Especially the U.K. was supposed to suffer badly from the abolition of the slave trade, since its foreign trade was to a large extent conducted with the slave-holding colonies and with the U.S. South. In particular the new textile industry was in need of cotton, produced with slave labour.

In spite of all the economic arguments of the pro-slavery lobby, the abolitionists had their way. Denmark and the U.K. were the first countries to abolish the slave trade and a decade later the U.S., France and the Netherlands followed suit. It was much more difficult to compel Portugal and Spain to do the same, but due to a show of naval strength from Great Britain and to large sums of compensation payments to the Iberian slaving firms, the international slave trade had virtually come to an end by the 1850s.

It took more time to abolish slavery itself, since this required large transfers of tax money to the slave owners. In 1833 Great Britain set an example and again Denmark (1848), France (1848), the Netherlands (1863), the U.S. (1865) and Brazil (1888) followed suit.

The various efforts to abolish the slave trade and slavery as well as the long time-span in putting the abolition into effect indicate that these institutions did not die natural deaths. Slavery had been a profitable system of labour supply, and without some kind of force it seemed impossible to bring labour to the tropical plantation areas of the colonial world. Strangely, the

explosive increase of the migration exodus from Europe had virtually no effect on the demand for labour in the tropics. Obviously, only small numbers of European migrants could be attracted to replace the slaves. Thus, in view of the health hazards facing migrants of non-tropical sending regions it should be remembered that during most of the nineteenth century the tropical plantation colonies were desperately trying to fill the vacant places which the slaves had left.

Attempts at attracting voluntary labour from Africa met with little success, and around 1850 the African participation in colonial migration came to a sudden end. Was this an indication of the fact that overseas colonial migration seemed

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to hold little attraction to the Africans? Unfortunately, the African disinclination to migrate overseas has not been studied sufficiently. It could, of course, be argued that Africa always had more to offer to its inhabitants than Europe and that the Africans were not forced by economic reasons to move overseas. However, information is now available that there have been large-scale droughts and periods of scarcity in Africa and that - as was the case in Europe's emigration - the number of slaves offered for sale to the European colonies was influenced by these factors. In view of this new evidence it seems possible to conclude that Africans were reluctant to participate in colonial migration even when they stood to profit from it, because migration remained associated with the violent ramifications of the slave trade. There was little or no free African migration to other continents during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Of course, it should be added that the African migrants would not have had access to the (ex-)colonies in the temperate zones; these remained part of

the first migration circuit, which was accessible only to European migrants.

### Asian Coolies

The case of the Asian participation in colonial migration is very different from that of Africa. Before 1800 Asian labour was too expensive for the colonial employers; the primitive sailing ships made transporting labour between the American plantation colonies and India, China or any other part of Asia hazardous and much more costly than the voyage between the New World and Africa. However, there was a sizeable colonial migration within Asia.

In spite of the large supply and mobility of labour in Asia, it was not until the end of the

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*The price for the most successful colonial migration flows was paid by the original inhabitants of the receiving areas: the Amerindians in the New World, the Aborigines in Australia, the Khoikio in South Africa and the Maori in New Zealand. The majority of these populations were killed by the invading colonial migrants, driven off their land and infected with lethal disease against which they had no resistance.*

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African slave trade that colonial employers started to draw upon Asian labour, mainly in China and British India. Faced with a rapid withdrawal of the ex-slaves from the plantations, planters all over the world were relying on Asia to satisfy their need for labour. As early as the 1830s, planters on Mauritius were importing Indian labourers. Around the 1840s planters in the Caribbean also started to import labourers from both China and India who had to sign a contract to work for five or seven years overseas. Over time, the use of Asian labour became geographically very widespread: Natal in South Africa (Chinese and Indians), Fiji (Indians), Peru (Chinese) and Uganda (Indians) were added to the traditional plantation areas importing Asian labour. In total about 300,000 Chinese and about 1.3 million Indians participated in the tropical migration circuit. In comparison with the immense volume of migrants

from Europe at the time the Asian migratory efforts seem very modest indeed. However, it should be noted that in addition to the inter-continental flows there were large migration movements between the various parts of Asia, which were hardly monitored by the colonial authorities. Many Indians moved large distances in order to find labour in the tea gardens of Assam and Ceylon. Similarly, many Chinese migrated to the overseas Chinese communities in Malacca and South-East Asia without entering any colonial records.

In the literature there has been much debate about the nature of the colonial labour migration from Asia. Was it to be compared with the slave trade of the previous period or did it resemble the free migration from Europe? Research into the history of nineteenth-century labour migration from China seems to indicate that this movement can indeed be compared to the slave trade. Chinese men were frequently kidnapped and sold to merchants operating in port cities such as Hong Kong and Macao. The conditions aboard the ships transporting Chinese migrants were perhaps even worse than those on slave ships: insurrections, fires and other disasters were common.

In contrast to the migration of Chinese Labourers, the recruitment, transportation and overseas employment of indentured migrants from British India was regulated down to the last detail. The main difference between the Chinese and Indian migration movements was the prescribed percentage of women. In the case of the labour migration from China there was no such percentage, and consequently virtually all Chinese migrants were male. In the case of India there had to be forty female migrants to every hundred male migrants. This explains why the Chinese migrants were unable to establish their own communities overseas: within one generation they had died out or returned home. The Indian migrants, on the other hand, were able to build up rapidly growing communities in the host colonies such as Trinidad, Guyana, Surinam, South Africa, Mauritius and Fiji. In fact, the Indian overseas communities were able to grow naturally, thus changing the nature of the second, tropical migration circuit. This occurred in spite of the fact that the percentage of women among Indian migrants hardly differed from the percentage of female slaves on the ships from Africa. More research is needed in order to find out why the Indians were the first to overcome one of the most important drawbacks of the tropical migration circuit.

In view of the evidence mentioned about it seems fortunate that public opinion - especially in the U.K. France and the U.S. - demanded that the Chinese government should abolish the migration of contracted labourers to foreign colonies. In India the Nationalists (among them Mahatma Ghandi) put pressure on the colonial British administration to halt the emigration of contract labourers, and they succeeded in 1917.

### Decolonisation and Migration

The need for intercontinental migrant labour in the colonies seemed to have diminished between the two World Wars, and after World War II the colonial world came to an end. In the first instance decolonisation produced yet another intercontinental migration stream: that of the returning European administrators and settlers as well as the migration of some ethnic minorities who had been branded as colonial collaborators. Between 1940 and 1975 about seven million Europeans returned to Europe, mainly from North Africa (to France and Italy); from the Congo, Angola and Mozambique (to Belgium and Portugal); from Kenya, India and Malaya (to the U.K.) and from Indonesia (to the Netherlands). Unfortunately, the number of ethnic minorities and collaborators taking part in the post-decolonisation movements is not known, but it was certainly smaller than that of the repatriating Europeans. In spite of the fact that exact numbers are not available, it seems likely that Europeans again participated more in post-colonial migration than Africans, Asians and West Indians. In many cases, the post-decolonisation migration again turned out to be very advantageous to the Europeans, who were involved. In the beginning it seemed like a tragedy that all those who had planned to make a career overseas suddenly had to return to their respective mother countries, which had been severely damaged during World War II and where food and housing were scarce. In the end, the sudden influx from overseas of well-trained and experienced people turned out to have worked wonders since the post-War economic growth in Western Europe needed extra labour in order to achieve the growth rates of the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, the educated and skilled non-European migrants from the colonies also profited from this economic boom.

### Conclusion

This survey of colonial migration movements can be concluded by summarising its main features for the three participating continents and their respective populations: Europe, Africa and Asia. Before doing so, it is imperative to point out that the price for the most successful colonial migration flows was paid by the original inhabitants of the receiving areas: the Amerindians in the New World, the Aborigines in Australia, the Khoikio in South Africa and the Maori in New Zealand. The majority of these populations were killed by the invading colonial migrants, driven off their land and infected with lethal disease against which they had no resistance.

The second group of losers were the Africans. Their participation in the colonial migration circuit was mainly involuntary. In total, about eleven million Africans were forcibly removed over a period of more than three

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*The European migrants themselves improved their position in the overseas areas of settlement, where they were usually free from hunger, starvation and disease and where they could make more money, live longer, marry earlier and have more children than at home.*

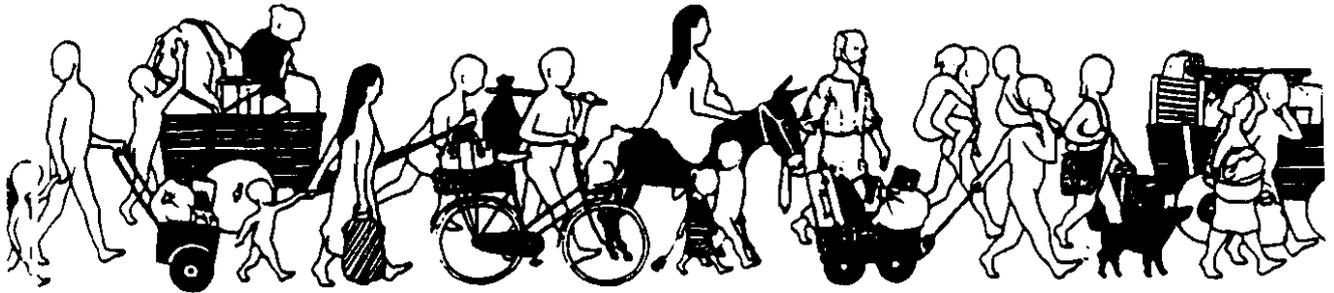
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centuries. In addition, another four to six million Africans might have been killed in the process of enslavement. Whether the Atlantic slave trade had a noticeably negative demographic and economic effect on West Africa is the subject of much recent scholarly debate. The traumatic impact on the slaves, however, cannot be disputed; they could not choose their destination not the type of their employment overseas. The Africans were forced to adjust to a different culture and they could not return home.

These negative elements of the colonial slave trade from Africa indicate that the subsequent migration of Asian indentured labour ('coolies') was quite different. In total about 1.6 million

Indians and Chinese took part in the colonial migration, and - given the high population density in Asia - this number indicates that the economic and social effects on India or China can only have been minimal. However, there are good reasons to assume that at least the majority of the migrant labourers from India were able to improve their working and living conditions overseas. As proof of that, the rapid

impact on the economic and social conditions of the sending areas in Europe. The siphoning off of excess population seemed most significant for those areas where the Industrial Revolution first took off and allowed for rapid economic growth, such as the U.K. and Germany. In addition. The European migrants themselves improved their position in the overseas areas of settlement, where they were usually free from



demographic growth of the overseas Indian communities can be mentioned as well as the fact that the rate of return migration - usually provide at no or small cost after the expiry of the contract - did not exceed the rate of twenty percent, which also was normal in the migration circuit of the Europeans. In addition, it should be stressed that the Indian migrants could choose their own destination, albeit only within the range of colonies of the second, tropical, migration circuit.

Last, but certainly not least, the Europeans should be mentioned. As was to be expected, they were able to benefit extensively

hunger, starvation and disease and where they could make more money, live longer, marry earlier and have more children than at home. The economies of the receiving areas within the first migration system were usually much more diversified than those within the second migration circuit. The continuing migration from Europe (until this very day), its volume and its low rate of return migration as well as the remarkable economic growth rates of the sending countries all point to one conclusion: Europe's main benefit from its colonial expansion was the migration escape hatch, not bullion, tropical products or trade.

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***Why have the Europeans become so afraid of migration? Their colonial experience should have taught them that migration is not only beneficial to the sending regions and to the migrants themselves, but also to the receiving countries. Measured in numbers, the migration from Europe has been five times as large as the migration from Asia and Africa.***

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Why have the Europeans become so afraid of migration? Their colonial experience should have taught them that migration is not only beneficial to the sending regions and to the migrants themselves, but also to the receiving countries. In France, a third of all roads and cars are at present being constructed by migrants. In virtually all countries of Western Europe construction, textile and hotel industries could not have grown without the input of migrant workers. Measured in numbers, the migration from Europe has been five times as large as the migration from Asia and Africa. No wonder migrants from the former colonies answer, when asked what right they have to move to Europe: 'We are here, because you were there'.

from migrating within their own colonial empires. First of all, their numbers were much larger than those of African slaves and Asian migrants: in total about sixty five million. This allows us to assume that emigration had some

Ref. *Concilium*, 1993/4; Pp. 42-51.  
Prins Bernhardstr. 2  
Nijmegen, The Netherlands

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# ZAMBIA - ANALYSIS OF A "SECOND INDEPENDENCE"

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Peter J. Henriot, SJ

*(Peter J. Henriot is Director of the "Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection" Lusaka, Zambia, and a regular collaborator of SEDOS).*

## POLITICAL DEMOCRATISATION

Zambia provides a classic example of the two elements of the "Second Independence" movement which today is sweeping the continent of Africa: political democratisation and economic liberalisation. This paper provides a brief social analysis of the experience of Zambia and of the response of the Zambian Catholic Church.

The MMD Government of President Chiluba ended its first year in office on 31st October, 1992, with mixed reviews: praise for its encouragement of a new freedom of expression and its more open style of governance; questions about its handling of the economy and its dealing with charges of corruption and favouritism.

When Northern Rhodesia attained independence from the British in 1964, Zambia had moved into the First Republic in a multi-party democratic system. The charismatic leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Kenneth Kaunda, became the first President. He quickly consolidated power, and then tightened his rule with the adoption in 1972 of the one-party constitution of the Second Republic. UNIP became supreme, and the common expression referring to political power in Zambia became "the Party and its Government."

Despite espousing a philosophy of "humanism" which emphasised the dignity of all people, Kaunda's rule became increasingly oppressive. The UNIP government managed with tight command all aspects of the economy and of public life in general. The media was strictly in the hands of the party and government and no opposition voices were to be

heard. Control of the populace was maintained by a policy system trained in Eastern Europe. The President encouraged a personality cult which isolated him from ordinary people. While he made significant contributions on the African

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*Zambia's move toward political democratisation demonstrates clearly that of itself multi-party does not equal democracy. The structures of plural politics must be supported by attitudes of tolerance, dialogue, respect of human rights, promotion of the common good, accountability of leaders and responsibility of citizens.*

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scene, particularly as leader of the Front-line States in the liberation struggles of southern Africa, he failed to deal effectively with mounting economic problems and social unrest at home.

### Pressures for Change

A mood of growing support for a political change was fueled by the collapse of one-party models in Eastern Europe, pressures from international donors, and growing dissatisfaction among the populace.

While Kaunda had earlier resisted all talk of returning to a multi-party system (denying any parallels between Zambia and the failed systems of Eastern Europe), he now was forced to offer a referendum on the issue, scheduled for

August, 1991. An opposition group immediately formed, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, that eventually chose Chiluba, a fiery and independent national trade union leader, as its president. Several other smaller parties also started up but never attained any significant following.

Getting the structures in place for a multi-party system proved difficult, largely because UNIP controlled all positions of power and dictated what the media could cover. Moreover, a "state of emergency" (declared in the early days of the First Republic) was in force and was used

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*Can a country be expected to improve its development possibilities if the major emphasis of its economic reform is limited to financial management measures to enable it to service its external debt?*

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to intimidate the opposition and general public. But when it became evident that popular support was rapidly growing for a "yes" vote in the referendum, Kaunda canceled the referendum and announced that a new constitution would be drawn up for the Third Republic and elections scheduled in October, 1991. The MMD refused to participate in the Constitutional Commission, objecting to its structure, composition and task. As Kaunda attempted to push the draft through his one-party Parliament, MMD threatened to boycott the elections.

### **Elections of 31st October, 1991**

It was at this point that the churches stepped in, demanding a meeting between Kaunda and Chiluba to settle the differences around the proposed constitution. This meeting was held in the Anglican Cathedral of Lusaka at the end of July 1991 and the agreed-upon constitutional draft was then ratified by the Parliament. But the inter-party harmony proved short-lived, as the UNIP government put road blocks in the way of public rallies, media access, registration procedures and arrangements for vote counting. The judiciary was called upon to settle several key issues and proved its independence by supporting the cause of free press and electoral reforms.

Despite fears of violence, the elections were

held peacefully on 31st October. There were numerous reports of electoral irregularities, chiefly related to the mishandling of registration lists and the inadequacy of necessary supplies. But the actual voting and counting proceeded surprisingly smoothly. Based on reports received from the monitors across the country, both the international observers and the Zambian monitors were able by the end of 1st November, to declare the elections to be "free and fair."

Chiluba won over 75% of the popular vote and his MMD party captured more than 80% of the 150 parliamentary seats. UNIP's popularity was registered only in one section of the country, the Eastern Province. In an significant act of statesmanship, Kaunda immediately accepted the election results.

### **Post-Election Difficulties**

MMD had campaigned with the motto "The hour has come!". Swept to power by a desire for change, it immediately revoked the state of emergency and faced the enormous task of rebuilding a devastated economy and uniting a discouraged people. Public expectations have been high but the good will toward the new government has given at least some space for change to develop. However, in the past few months there have been some disturbing signs of the fragile character of the new multi-party democracy.

Having experienced crushing defeat in the elections, UNIP has been a very weak opposition force. Its voice in Parliament has not been effective in proposing viable alternatives to government policies. Although other smaller parties have appeared, they have not managed to capture widespread support. Moreover, there has been very low turnout for several "by-elections" held for parliamentary seats and for the November, 1992 local government elections. Voter apathy can be traced to lack of clear choices, lack of understanding about the role of local councillors, and a growing disappointment with the government's inability to improve the economy.

The case of Zambia's move toward political democratisation demonstrates clearly that of itself multi-party does not equal democracy. The **structures** of plural politics must be supported by **attitudes** of tolerance, dialogue, respect of human rights, promotion of the common good, accountability of leaders and responsibility of citizens. Because the opposi-

tion is weak, there is danger among the new leadership of a "hand-over" of previous one-party attitudes such as arrogance and lack of accountability. This is particularly true since many of the key MMD leaders had previously been officials in the UNIP government. There is the serious charge that corruption exists within the new government, even at the highest levels of cabinet. In addition, the MMD faces the challenge of overcoming a "tribalistic" bias, since a large number of its leaders came from one tribe, the Bemba from the northern part of the country.

To promote what is popularly referred to as "the new political culture," the ZEMCC group has become the Foundation for a Democratic Process (FODEP) to provide civic education and human rights advocacy. FODEP has spoken out strongly on several issues regarding the new government's policies, including the reimposition of the state of emergency.

### Analytical Questions

Four key analytical questions need to be addressed to the Zambian political experience. They obviously apply to the experience of other African nations undergoing the movement of **political democratisation**.

1. **Politically**, is there sufficient sophistication (education) among the populace to engage effectively in multi-party politics, not succumbing to demagoguery, corruption, tribalism and simple confusion? The recent low turnout in local elections in Zambia may indicate a lack of strong commitment at this early point to sustained political engagement.
2. **Economically**, can democracy survive in a severely depressed economic situation such as Zambia is currently enduring? The effects of the structural adjustment programme (discussed in the next section of this paper) are particularly harsh for the poor and civic turmoil is certainly possible. The recent reimposition of the state of emergency is not without economic implications.
3. **Culturally**, is a form of multi-party democracy being adopted by Zambia which is foreign to traditions and perhaps conducive to tribal and regional divisions? The "one Zambia-one nation" slogan of Kaunda and UNIP supported a one-partyism which did, as a matter of fact, hold together a very diverse population. Can multipartyism do the same?

4. **Strategically**, why is the international community (especially Western donors) so involved in "pushing" democracy on Zambia? Pressures were strong prior to the October, 1991 elections and since then money has poured in to support civic education (e.g., to FODEP). What foreign interests might be served by this attention?

## ECONOMIC LIBERALISATION

At the time of its independence from Britain, Zambia was one of the richest nations in Africa, enjoying a prosperity fueled by its copper industry. Today, it is classified among the forty

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*Ethically, how defensible is a policy which bears hardest on those who already suffer most, and which stabilises the economies of rich countries at the expense of the poor countries?*

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"low income countries" (or "least developed") and its future "development" is very much in question. The GNP/capita is lower now than it was at independence. The social infrastructures of the health and education systems and the physical infrastructures of housing, roads, communications, water and sanitation are all in serious decay. Industrial productivity is running between 30 to 50 per cent capacity. The agricultural sector, which suffered a serious blow with the disastrous drought of 1992, is struggling to recover.

### Reasons for Decline

To begin with the historical factors, it is necessary to analyse the impact of the **colonial legacy**.

While it is true that Zambia inherited from the British a seemingly prosperous economy at the time of independence, it was a colonial prosperity that rested on four shaky pillars. **First**, it was a mono-culture economy, based primarily on copper. **Second**, the economy was strongly integrated into the international capitalist market, dependent on export and import prices over which it had little or no say. **Third**, the agricultural sector had been largely neglected, especially in the peasant sector, since the policy of the colonial government was for

Northern Rhodesia to rely upon Southern Rhodesia's commercial farmers. **Fourth**, the African population was unskilled, since educational and employment opportunities had been systematically denied to them. These four shaky pillars meant that Zambia's economy, however prosperous it might have appeared at independence, had very serious faults.

Regarding **internal** factors which have contributed to economic decline, Kaunda early on chose to move to a socialist model of economic governance. This move was ostensibly to bring the benefits of the economy to the all Zambians.

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*Religious communities with expatriate members were asked to contact their own governments about Zambia's huge external debt, echoing the Pastoral Letter's call for forgiveness of debt.*

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But this has not been the case. All major industries and commercial activities were nationalised beginning in 1968. A huge bureaucracy was developed and a grossly inefficient para-statal apparatus grew up. Public economic policies were highly politicised and management positions awarded on the basis of party loyalty rather than economic competence. Inexperienced management made mistakes and corrupt management compounded them.

In the early 1970's, in support of the Rhodesian freedom fighters, Kaunda closed the southern borders of Zambia. This effectively cut rail and road access to ports in the south and made the export of copper and the import of petrol prohibitively expensive. Eventually an alternative rail route was built to Dar es Salaam, but it has not operated efficiently. Trade with South Africa was officially halted, but a considerable amount of clandestine trading went on with public knowledge if not official approval.

But beyond these internal factors which contributed to Zambia's economic decline, **external** factors delivered several decisive blows to the struggling economy. The 1970's saw the beginning of a dramatic balance of trade deficit which would grow rapidly in the next two decades. First, export earnings declined dramatically because of the precipitous

drop in the price of copper (due to lowered world demand brought on by the introduction of copper substitutes and the end of the Vietnam War). As the chief earner of foreign exchange, copper is the driving force in the Zambian economy. Not only did prices decline but so did production, as available high-grade ore began to be exhausted and equipment grew old. Second, the import bill for necessary commodities (e.g., oil) and manufactured goods (e.g., industrial spare parts) began a steady increase. Zambia was one of the nations hit hard by the "oil shocks" of the 1970's. And as the industrialised world experienced mounting recession, Zambia felt the pinch in the world economy.

### Debt and Structural Adjustment

As was the case throughout the developing world, Zambia attempted to meet its growing financial crisis through heavy borrowing from Northern banks. As a result, an external debt of less than US\$7.2 billion by 1991. In many ways, Zambia is a classic case of debt accrual, debt management, and debt consequences. Borrowing in the 1970's in the hope that its economy would rebound with a return of higher copper prices, the government did little to trim its expenditures.

In order to maintain its status as a recipient of loans, Zambia entered into the IMF-mandated "Structural Adjustment Programme" and began complying with the stringent menu of standard "conditionalities": devaluation of the kwacha, removal of subsidies, retrenchment of civil servants, curtailment of social services, orientation to exports, etc. After riots broke at the end of 1986 over the increase in the price of mealie-meal, President Kaunda withdrew from the IMF programme and attempted to steer an independent economic path for Zambia. But all major foreign assistance immediately dried up and by mid-1989 Zambia returned to the IMF and the SAP was resumed. Mealie-meal prices then went up in mid-1990, sparking off riots and an attempted coup.

Faced with the pressure of the coming multi-party elections, Kaunda once more backed away from the hard and unpopular demands of SAP and Zambia again became isolated from the international financial community. But the new MMD government, which had campaigned openly on a platform of economic liberalisation, immediately renewed compliance with the SAP requirements and opened Zambia to the good graces of foreign banks and investors.

## Consequences for The People

What has meant for the people and the economy during the first eighteen months of the Third Republic? The MMD government has repeatedly emphasised that there will be "short-term pain but long-term gain": mounting unemployment; curtailment of social services with imposition of fees in schools and hospitals.

Welfare efforts to cushion the impact of SAP on the most vulnerable have been minimal and badly managed. Some initial social indicators show an up-turn in malnutrition and infant mortality, especially in the urban compounds. Child malnutrition was at a low of 6% in 1980 but has risen to a figure now over 20%. In addition, Zambia is also afflicted with serious health problems, all with links to poverty: malaria, cholera (recent annual epidemics; over 1000 people died in 1992); and AIDS (an estimated 30% of adult population is HIV-positive).

Average salaries of ordinary workers are completely inadequate to provide a nutritious daily diet. It is estimated that 60% of the households in the urban areas and 70% in the rural areas are not able to afford a basket of food goods sustenance.

Moreover, there have not been many promising signs that "long-term gain" is a realistic possibility. The inability to control inflation has hampered government's efforts to stabilise the economy. Considerable energy has gone into dealing with the 1991-1992 drought (the worst in living memory) and the subsequent failure of the maize crop. By and large, Zambia managed famine relief assistance fairly well, but at great cost to both financial and social resources. An even more serious challenge to the "long-term gain" hope is the basic critique of SAP that it is a **fiscal** programme and not a **development** programme. That is, it is primarily aimed at immediate financial balances and not at more lasting improvements in economic well-being. For instance, SAP does not address such key development issues as employment, food sustainability, human capital, environmental, protection, regional integration, etc.

It is true that a considerable amount of foreign assistance is currently flowing into Zambia from international donors and that substantial debt relief is being given. Some major renewal projects - notably road repair and school rehabilitation have begun. But all this is dependent

on Zambia's "staying the course" with SAP. How long it can - or should - do this in the face of the mounting suffering of the people is a major unresolved question.

## Analytical Questions

For these reasons, the economic picture of Zambia is currently quite grim and probably will become grimmer in the months ahead. It is important, therefore, to raise some key analytical questions regarding Zambia's economy. These are points also to be addressed in other African nations undergoing economic liberalisation.

1. **Economically**, can a country be expected to improve its development possibilities if the major emphasis of its economic reform is limited to financial management measures to enable it to service its external debt? Zambia's economic policy is being dictated by its need to follow the strict formula of its SAP. But this has not had a positive impact on integral development.

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*The principles of the social teaching have considerable relevance to the challenges coming from multi-party democracy and liberal economics. But the social teaching is not well known, even by the bishops and other clergy and especially by the laity.*

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2. **Socially**, why are programmes to cushion the impact of SAP on the vulnerable so much of an "after-thought" and so poorly managed? Social indicators (e.g., education, health) show a serious decline in Zambia's "human capital" but measures to reverse this situation have been more talked about than acted upon.
3. **Politically**, how stable can a new democracy be in the face of the increasing hardship of the majority of its citizens? And how "sovereign" is a nation whose major policies are dictated by outside forces? The recent reimposition of the state of emergency in Zambia is indication of rising political unrest in the face of economic suffering. Indeed, a greater experience of democracy could lead to a popular rejection of SAP.

4. **Ethically**, how defensible is a policy which bears hardest on those who already suffer most, and which stabilises the economies of rich countries at the expense of the poor countries? The burden of economic reform in Zambia is not being shared equitably throughout the population.

## THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The Catholic Church in Zambia celebrated in 1991 its centenary. It is true that in recent years, the Church has become a prominent force in speaking out on the political and economic situation in Zambia. The Church is growing rapidly in membership, but in Zambia - as in other parts of Africa - each Sunday more and more Catholics do not have an opportunity to participate in the celebration of the Eucharist.

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*Church Witness: As occurs repeatedly whenever the Church takes up an active public role in promoting justice in society, it will be challenged regarding its own practice of justice.*

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Although the seminaries are full, the number of Catholics per ordained minister grows at an ever increasing rate. This raises serious questions about the future of a "Catholic" faith that is being nurtured outside the experience of the Eucharist. One favourable result of this situation, however, is that the laity is a strong and active force within the Church.

### Church and State Relationships

From the time of independence until the late 1980's, the Church and state were seen more or less as friendly allies, each tending to its own sphere. Occasionally, the outspoken leader of the Lusaka diocese, Archbishop Malingo, did publicly criticise the party and government. But President Kaunda continued to refer to the churches as the "mirror of the nation", and encouraged the good relationship of partners. When John Paul II visited Zambia in 1989, the government was both very supportive and highly visible in the various events.

But as the economic situation deteriorated in the country, and the political situation heated up, some critical voices within the Church

began to be heard. Two independent church-related publications, *Icengelo* (a Bemba-language monthly magazine) and the **National Mirror** (an ecumenical bi-weekly newspaper) printed articles and editorials critical of the President and the ruling party, and spoke out in defense of the economic and political rights of the people. As the multi-party debate began, they were the only media open to forces opposed to the government.

### Bishops Speak Out

As the political and economic situation in the country deteriorated, pressures from below came upon the bishops to speak out in a prophetic call for greater justice. But by and large, the bishops remained silent. Then came the traumatic June 1990 riots and coup attempt. The Church responded on 23rd July, with a strong pastoral letter, **Economics, Politics and justice**, addressing the state of national chaos. It presented an analysis which pointed to the root cause of unrest as being the lack of "political accountability" on the part of the leaders of the country.

On 9th July, 1991, the Centenary Pastoral Letter was released, **You Shall Be My Witnesses**. Among other issues, it called for understanding, dialogue and reconciliation in the midst of an increasingly bitter political campaign. It presented an outline of the principles of the church's social teaching which should be applied to any government or party, principles which included human rights, option for the poor, common good, economic justice, and political participation. Furthermore, the letter called for close monitoring of the SAP, to show special concern for the harsh effects on the poor.

As tensions mounted prior to the 31st October elections, a joint ecumenical letter was sent to all Christian Churches at the end of September, stressing the moral duty to take part actively and honestly in the elections. Special prayer services were held near to the elections, and homily guidelines for the four Sundays of October distributed to all the Catholic parishes. These guidelines, in strictly non-partisan terms, emphasised both biblical and church teachings regarding civic responsibilities and social justice.

### Education for Democracy

Certainly the Church was a significant force influencing the "free and fair" character of the

elections and the peaceful transition. With the dawn of the Third Republic, it was now faced with a task of contributing to the "new political culture" of multi-party democracy. Education is key to this.

Because the major task facing the new government has been the effort to rebuild the shattered Zambian economy, the Church has also contributed substantially to the public debate over economic policy.

### Lessons for the Church

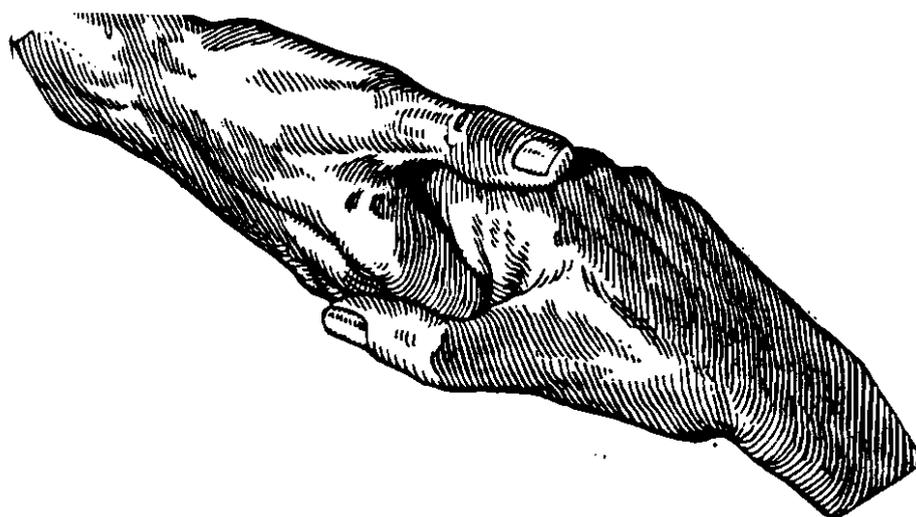
In analysing the Church's role in Zambia in the events of political democratisation and economic liberalisation, several key lessons need to be critically examined.

1. **Prophetic Voice:** Church leaders such as Catholic bishops can play an important role in challenging the government in the face of injustices. It can do this in a non-partisan fashion, but with clear and concrete directions outlined. However, the leaders are frequently slow to move and need to be prodded to speak out by pressure brought by the laity. In Zambia, a possibly too "comfortable" relationship with the state existed prior to the end of the 1980's, which meant that an official critical voice was not heard earlier.
2. **Social Teaching:** The social teaching of the Church can and should be a major influence in shaping the role of the Church in dealing with political and economic changes. The principles of the social teaching have considerable relevance to the challenges coming from multi-party democracy

and liberal economics. But the social teaching is not well known, even by the bishops and other clergy and especially by the laity.

3. **Ecumenical Action:** Whenever possible, the Church should cooperate ecumenically in its programmes to meet the political and economic challenges. This both broadens the audience and strengthens the impact.
4. **Political-Economic Links:** The transition being experienced in Zambia today - and in other African countries - is a complex movement. In moving into the Third Republic, Zambia is undergoing more than entry into multi-partyism. It also is attempting to progress economically according to a rigid market economy model which relies upon a "trickle down" effect to improve the lot of the poor majority. This requires of the Church greater sophistication in challenging the government to social justice in economic terms.
5. **Church Witness:** As occurs repeatedly whenever the Church takes up an active public role in promoting justice in society, it will be challenged regarding its own practice of justice. The Church faces questions regarding the salaries it pays its own workers when it promotes fair salaries in the public and private sectors of the economy. Credibility and effectiveness in playing a role in the changing Zambian situation will depend on the outcome of that struggle.

Ref. *Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection*  
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10101 Lusaka, ZAMBIA  
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# IN SEARCH OF A THEOLOGY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

## THE MESSAGE OF THE EARTH SUMMIT II

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K. M. Matthew, SJ

*(The author is Director of "The Anglade Institute of Natural History", Shembaganur, Kodaikanal, India. He attended the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro (3-14 June, 1992) as one of a international religious-environmental observer team commissioned by the Jesuit Headquarters in Rome).*

In deciding on problems of pressing urgency for its members it is said that the Catholic Church habitually waits for the last bus and generally misses it because of excess baggage. Vatican II was a fine opportunity to shed the excess baggage accumulated since the (un)holy

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***To ignore the young is to reserve a permanent slot for oneself in the museum shelves. To those who were diffident to face the young, the late Fr. Arrupe had a wise counsel: "Do not listen to the young; listen to what they are trying to say".***

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Roman empire: the political set-up, triumphalism veiled and not so veiled, ostrich-like doctrinal positions, atavistic rituals, the heritage of the inquisition that arrogates to itself the monopoly of truth and extinguishes enquiry, much more, dissent. One remembers the array of creative thinkers and prophets of the Church who have been variously dispatched, a practice that despite change of labels, still continues. Morris West's novel *Lazarus* vividly portrays the situation.

A pervading pessimism is creeping in, leading to disillusionment. **Irrelevance** is the word:

only Christ, not the Church, can save the world! The harm done to ecumenism is immense; the old tumours are proving malignant despite repeated surgeries: schisms, reformation, the loss of the papal states, and Vatican II. Recent echoes within the Church are even more ominous: 200,000 Catholics in Germany are said to have walked out of the Church in one year; many are walking over to the pentecostals. To ignore the young is to reserve a permanent slot for oneself in the museum shelves. To those who were diffident to face the young, the late Fr. Arrupe had a wise counsel: "Do not listen to the young; listen to what they are trying to say".

The following reflections were occasioned by the Earth Summit. Two divergent forces were at work: the official UNCED at RioCentro, and the unofficial NGOs at the Global Forum. The nearly 50km physical distance between the two locations was the symbol of the wider ideological chasm between the outlooks and objectives of the two. There is a close parallel in the Church as well: UNCED represents the Vatican, and the NGOs the communities of believers (the laity living exemplary lives and doing their best to be the leaven in society; pastors heroically serving their charges, assisted by the religious who, besides, venture into frontier areas; practicing theologians reflecting on contemporary problems in search of Christian solutions) and they are poles apart. Just as hope for the well-being of the planet is shifting from

UNCED to the NGOs, so there is a parallel shift in the Church.

Christ offered life (Jn 10:10), and his successors will stand or fall on that criterion. There was a moving anecdote at Duque de Caxias, an impoverished neighbourhood of Rio, on June 6, 1992 (Pentecost eve), where representatives of 176 global Christian Churches from 54 countries conducted an all-night vigil: "If Jesus Christ were attending the Global Forum (Earth Summit), he would be with us in the midst of the people, not in places protected by tanks and guns". At the time, the Vatican delegation was canvassing for dropping the population question from the official UNCED agenda.

### 1. Human Stewardship of the Earth

If we condense the age of the earth (46,000,000,000 years) into the life span of a person 46 years old, the following is the role of man on the planet: modern man appeared four hours ago; agriculture was discovered during the last hour; the industrial revolution began a minute ago. But during this one minute, he has over-exploited the planet's resources, many of which are non-renewable, poisoned the life support base (the biosphere consisting of air, land and water), and remains now the most serious threat for the future of the planet.

Two other of the more successful evolutionary lines besides the human (insects and flowering plants) are fast dwindling: a third of the insects have already disappeared, some without even being named; of the flowering plants, 10% will have disappeared by 2000 A.D. On the other hand, the human population is exploding: it was one billion from the beginnings till 1830 A.D.; two billions till 1930; three billions till 1960; four billions till 1975; five billions till 1986; six billions till 1997. The forecasts for the next century are frightening. This alone is enough for disaster, but there is more (see below *The Unjust World Order*).

We must get back to our original position as members of the planet's ecosystem, relinquishing our self-appointed role as its manipulators. Within the ecosystem itself, we should ensure sustainable living, not only among humans irrespective of the present grossly unequal distribution of resources between the North and the South, but of all life forms. This is the return to the origins, mentioned in the sacred books, of which the "creation-centred spirituality" is a recent formulation.

### 2. Today's Unjust World Order

Since the beginning of colonialism in 1492, the colonisers have plundered the resource-rich countries of the tropics (South America, Africa, Asia), exploiting the indigenous people through slave trade and the consequent massive uprooting of populations and their decimation. Even worse, they have rendered them incapable of growth. A massive shift of capital resulted. And we have today the peoples of the planet divided

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*Today we have the crushing national debts, in the servicing of which massive amounts of the South's precious and scarce resources get transferred to the North at throw-away prices dictated by the latter.*

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into two terribly unequal blocs: the North where 15% of people of the world consumes 85% of the resources, and the South where the remaining 15% of the resources are so unequally distributed that inhuman conditions of absolute poverty, malnutrition, the perpetual struggle to keep alive, and even starvation death, are the lot of the majority.

Decolonisation during this century did not bring the hoped-for heaven. At the political level, the local chieftains who took over were sometimes worse despots than the colonisers. At the economic level, 'aid' for development became a clever economic trap that ensured continued dependence on the North, and today we have the crushing national debts, in the servicing of which massive amounts of the South's precious and scarce resources get transferred to the North at throw-away prices dictated by the latter. Further, there is the impending technological slavery of the twenty-first century with much of the genetic resources of the South already transferred to the North which now claims intellectual property rights even for recent plunders.

On the other side, the industrialised countries of the North, well equipped with know-how, abundant resources and the capacity to control the world economy and trade, are not ready for any significant sacrifices to restore the world order. The 0.7% of GNP proposed in 1964 to be given as development aid to the South has

been fully implemented only by two or three of the smaller countries. Details are fresh of the Rio bickerings, the worst of which was Bush's rejoinder that the American way of life was not for bargaining.

### 3. Colonialism and Evangelisation

This is recent history: the following two anecdotes are a random sampling of the reaction of indigenous peoples. (i) On the occasion of the visit of Pope John Paul II to Peru in 1989, three indigenous organisations delivered the following note to him: "We, Indians of the Andes and of America, have decided to take advantage of the visit of Pope John Paul II to give him back his Bible, because for five centuries it has

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*Please take your Bible and give it to our oppressors: they are in greater moral need of its precepts than we are".*

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given us neither love nor peace nor justice. Please take your Bible and give it to our oppressors: they are in greater moral need of its precepts than we are". (ii) Even in India, where the Church enjoys the esteem and tolerance of the majority community, the visit of the Pope to the Hindi belt received a notably hostile press. What was resented was the aggression, cultural or religious, reminiscent of colonialism. A nationality-wise breakdown of the saints and blessed proclaimed during the colonial period could be very embarrassing!

Since modern world history is colonial history, little is included therein on the life and quality of the indigenous peoples ('aboriginals'). The classic letter of Chief Seattle (1854) of the Duwamish tribe to the President of the USA is a quiet and standing repudiation of the westerner's arrogant, heartless approach to nature, in contrast with the native's respect for nature and communion with it.

The Church has much explaining to do: not only as regards the **past** for which no one now alive is responsible, and for which repentance is easy enough, but especially for the **present** when the North and Christianity are equated. Today's environmental disaster is, as it were, a logical Christian product.

The real answer to our problem lies in returning to the sources (the Sermon on the Mount) in the light of which today's aberrations are seen as unchristian, even if perpetrated by the hands of 'Christians'. The Church should make a clean break with the past, express genuine repentance in so far as she has been responsible, disown all unchristian behaviour of the **present**, and offer to work for a new programme of reconciliation and restoration for the **future**.

### 4. A Theology of the Environment

If anything, the Earth summit has shown that confrontation leads nowhere, that there will be no winners in an environmental war, that the only answer is to rectify the violent disturbances of recent centuries and to restore nature's harmony. A change of heart alone can achieve this. Here comes the irreplaceable role of the Church, or religion in general. The following discussion is in the context of the Catholic Church; however, the role of all other churches, and of all other religions - organised or otherwise - is included. By 'otherwise', I am referring to the many idealistic young people, mostly from the North, who have rejected the Church structures and all organised religion of empty rituals, but who would dedicate themselves to worthwhile causes with exemplary dedication and self-sacrifice. To me, many of these young people are the modern missionaries who have found their new religion in environment and to speak with whom is a tonic. The green movements are indeed signs of the times.

The harvest work indeed is great (Mt 9:37): a planet to heal, to restore all things in Christ (Eph 1:10), to cooperate in the progress of the earthly reality ('co-creation'). The building materials are all there in the debris of planetary mismanagement: lands and seas devastated, biosphere poisoned, and a shattered humanity awaiting leadership to create a new heaven and a new earth.

**Leadership** is the crying need, and the Church has the necessary wherewithal: the mandate to make all things new (Rev 21:5), an international organisation with a vast infrastructure, a unique team of personnel whose centuries of dedication has produced the expression "missionary zeal", a growingly conscious and committed laity, the new Pentecost of the massive swing in favour of the poor as the crucial struggle of the times, and the influence of the Church's won voice in spite of

the repeated failure of the leadership. A discerning leadership, bringing existing undertakings under the environmental umbrella, cooperating with international environmental organisations and thus working for planetary healing can indeed prepare the way for the infusion of the Spirit on the face of the earth.

The elements of this 'new' theology are in fact there awaiting to be assembled. Thomas Berry, after Teilhard de Chardin, has presented a convincing and balanced case for a return to a creation-centred spirituality. McDonagh has demonstrated its main elements in the Bible and in the tradition of the Church (I am not impressed by theologians trying to find 'environment' in any and every book of the Bible!).

At the level of action, the most substantial contribution has come from South America, many initiatives of which will remain benchmarks for the whole Church. Another excellent case of leadership is the pastoral letter of the Filipino Bishops in 1988 entitled "**What is Happening to our Beautiful Land?** because it meets people in their homes and farms where their life is lived, and thus intimately links life and worship. The traditional sacraments can be celebrated in this context. One cannot help reflecting on what the initiative of the Indian Church has been on these lines.

What has largely remained an NGO movement in the Church should now be wholly assumed by the official Church in proclaiming a new Gospel for today's world. This might be easier than may appear at first because there is a universally felt need for change. The proclamation will differ for the North and the South.

The North: there is greater readiness to listen, and it is easier to attempt a change of heart. At the level of action, the young groups are in a state of constant readiness for action as the multitude of green movements testify. The Church should recognise the signs of the times in these quests, and start channelising its existing services towards the environmental movement.

The South: **Leadership** is the crying need. On the religious plane, it should be outward-looking, in an attitude of dialogue with other religions. This will make for a more native, inculturated Church, in which prayer and worship will be truly cosmic in the best native traditions. This involvement will rid the Church of many accumulated ghetto attitudes. On the socio-economic plane, the new initiatives will give a further impetus to our involvement in the lives of people. There will be greater awareness of the rights of the indigenous peoples.

### Conclusion

It may appear a strange plea that a global conversion is proposed as basic to solving the environmental crisis. But there is no other way. The planet has only one destiny. Rumbblings of this new world order are already there. Administrators are tired, the poor are dying, the environment is poisoned, the youth are restless...the ship is sinking. The field is ready for harvesting.

The Church, in this process will become: (i) truly Catholic, not western, not Roman, not exclusive, but at home with all religions and in habitual dialogue and sharing with them, moving towards cosmic prayer and worship; (ii) not just an NGO Church, but largely a lay Church, with its pulse on the life situations of peoples; (iii) a totally relevant Church will emerge like a butterfly from the cocoon that held it captive; (iv) finally a Church belatedly realising the vision of Vatican II.

Is the Church ready to enter the third millennium when the centre of gravity will shift to the South, not only for the Church but for the entire human race? Here is the scope of the new evangelisation.

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# AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS: THE CULTURAL CONNECTION

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Hipólito Tshimanga Muanza, CICM

*(Hipólito Tshimanga Muanza, is from Zaire, serving in the Dominican Republic. He is the author of several publications of pastoral character. The present text was read at the North American Assembly for Black Clergy, held in New Orleans, July, 1992).*

## I. BLACKS THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN

The "Columbus event" has completely changed our history. We, black people of this century, are not simply the offspring of our ancestors. We are also the product of time, especially the last 500 years. Today's African and African-American cultures show how our people have tried to cope with life since the time of Columbus.

In fact, the modern history of black people begins with the presence of Europeans, in both Atlantic and Indian Oceans, in the 15th century.

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***"It is right to capture black people from Africa because, when brought to Portugal, they would be baptised and freed from the most abominable slavery (the only one that the New Testament condemns). The slavery the Devils and sins impose on those who serve them".***

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The motivation of this presence is known. It was commercial. Europeans were attempting to find the wealth of the East. However, very soon, the Portuguese realised that they could take advantage of the Islands of the Azores, Sao Tomé, Cabo Verde and Madeira, in the Atlantic. They then settled in those islands and developed the sugar cane industry. The success

of this enterprise required an abundance of cheap labour that those islands could not provide. The Portuguese travelled to Africa and enslaved Africans to make them work in their plantations.

Columbus was no exception to this general rule. Sponsored by Isabel, the most Catholic Queen of Spain, and her husband, King Ferdinand, he was on his way to find a route to the East. Lost in the Atlantic, he accidentally came to this continent, mistaking it for India.

Columbus, his crew and successors believed they had conquered America at God's command. They enslaved Amerindians and ruthlessly forced them to work in mines and plantations. Unfamiliar to this way of life, millions of those people died, killed by alien diseases and bad treatment. Cheap new labour had to be found. Europeans began to import enslaved Africans to substitute for Amerindians.

At that time, the Portuguese had already settled in some 40 forts along the West African coast. By this very time, Arabs were already settled on the East coast. Both, the Portuguese and the Arabs made it easy for Africans to be captured, and sold, and shipped to America.

The most renown zones in the slave trade were: the part of the west African coast that goes from St. Louis, in Senegal to Angola, and also the part of East-Central Africa which covers Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, northern Zambia, and eastern Zaire (Ex-Congo Belgium).

Walter Rodney wrote:

"From the fifteenth century onwards, pseudo-integration appeared in the form of the interlocking of African economies over long distances from the coast, so as to allow the passage of human captives and ivory from a given point inland to a given port on the Atlantic or Indian Ocean. For example, captives were moved from Congo (actual Zaïre) through what is now Zambia and Malawi to Mozambique, where Portuguese, Arab or French buyers took them over".

### What of The Church

The Church has played a significant role on the invasion of Africa and the Americas. For example in 1452, Pope Nicholas V wrote to the King of Portugal:

"By the actual document, through our apostolic authority, we grant you the free and full permission to invade, capture and submit the saracens and pagans and any other incredulous or enemy of Christ, wherever it may be, also in the same manner Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Princedoms and other properties (...) and to reduce these people into perpetual slavery".

(*Breve Dum Diversitas*, June 16, 1452)

The Church not only was an accomplice in this disgraceful trade, it also favoured and blessed it. The very same Pope, Nicolas V issued another "*Breve*" that said:

"It is right to capture black people from Africa because, when brought to Portugal, they would be baptised and freed from the most abominable slavery (the only one that the New Testament condemns). The slavery the Devils and sins impose on those who serve them. Enslaved on earth by means of trade, they would be freed for eternity. Black people are very fortunate. God is showing his mercy for Ham and Canaan and all their descents for ever and ever. Enslaved, Blacks are given the opportunity to enter into Paradise".

(*Breve Romanus Pontifex*, January 1454)

Many other documents followed. For example, the papal bull *Inter coetera*, issued by Calixte II in March 15th, 1456; the *Aeterni Regis* issued by Leon X in November 3rd, 1514, etc.

On May 3rd, 1493, Alexander V, a Spanish Pope of the Borgia family, issued the Bull *Inter Caetera*. This document conceded to the Spanish crown complete sovereignty on all the lands and islands so recently invaded. The Pope wrote: "*Donamus, concedimus, et assignamus*". Alexander was very much aware of the authority that the medieval culture and laws recognized him. In 1494, the same Pope issued the degree that divided the zones of influence between Portugal and Spain. That document prohibited other countries or people from trading into West Indies. As counterpart of this granted right, Portugal and Spain were supposed to induce the inhabitants of the newly invaded lands to adore Our Redeemer and to profess the Catholic faith.

During the years that followed those treaties, many other European countries also entered the slave trade. The Netherlands established the

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*Today's young blacks are seeing their hope growing dim. A great number of them drop school because of the adverse condition that their family face. Most of them are unemployed and do not have the necessary skills to compete in the job market. Such a situation destroys their sense of optimism.*

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famous Dutch West Indian Company. England opened the Royal African Company, a joint stock company that King Charles II chartered in 1672. France and Denmark also played a predominant role in slave trade.

Today, some authors are trying to absolve the Spanish Kingdom of the sin of the slave trade. This is obviously an impossible task because both Portuguese and Spanish Kingdoms used to collect taxes from the slave traders. This was done through *La Casa da Guinea* in Portugal and *La Casa de Contratación* in Spain.

As we can see from the above, the main elements that have contributed in creating today's African and African-American cultures are: the invasion of both African and American continents by Europeans; the enslavement of black people, and also the complicity of our Church.

However, the arrival of Columbus in America is the basic drive of all this process because it is from the settlement of the Spanish in America that the slave trade actually became a system.

## II. IDEOLOGICAL FACTOR

According to history, Africans were not enslaved and brought to America because they were blacks. Europeans simply caught people who happened to be at hand at the time of the exploration of the Oceans and the invasion of Africa and the Americas. The importation of the blacks to America was determined by rules of trade.

In the Americas, working conditions were extremely hard for the enslaved Africans. Consequently, those people ended up resisting their oppressors. But as Enrique Dussel observes:

"To domineering people, the freedom of the oppressed ones always appears as chaos, as an act of immorality or atheism. They see on it vulgarity, revenge or destruction. An oppressor hardly accepts a different society".

If blacks were looked down upon, they could be exploited. "Negro", observes Walbert Bühlmann, meant "heathen, savage, barbarian, uncivilised". Until recently, said Bühlmann, whole tribes bore names that meant nothing more than "nigger": Galla in Ethiopia, Kaffir in

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***We are prone to see ourselves as perpetual victims. Though whites have looked down on us, it is wrong for us still to define ourselves according to what they have done or are still doing to us. It is true that this historic memory is our back drop. However, do not let it serve as our obsession.***

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South Africa, Kirdi in Cameroun. In other parts, for instance in Latin America, they were called Kongo, Bozal, etc. In his commentary on Genesis, Luther identified blacks as descendants of Ham. Naturally, Blacks had to follow Ham's curse. They were, by birth, vicious, therefore they had to be held in a position of subservience to the white man.

As decades have passed, people have intro-projected these racist theories. Even today, they are still very alive in many minds. On one hand, for many whites, blacks are simply inferior. For them the word "black" conjures up a set of negative thoughts that reveal themselves in specific attitudes against blacks. They have developed what I would call a "Queen Bee Syndrome", "where I am, there is no place for black". On the other hand, some blacks have grown extremely sensitive to all action that seems to rob them of their dignity. Often, although not always, they see racism even where there is non.

The feeling of inferiority has been programmed into black people psyche over generations. Unfortunately, many whites believe in that. They assume that blacks are naturally lazy, less intelligent than themselves. They see them as more prone to violence. They also believe that blacks simply prefer welfare to hard work.

We all know that this image is false. And yet it is the power of biases and archetypes that they continue to function in the depths of our conscious long after they have been outstripped by facts. All of us must be aware of that. Besides, I would say, today more than ever before there is a real danger for young blacks to conform to these biases, because in the 60s, their parents had an enormous hope invested in believing in achievement in a different world. Today's young blacks are seeing their hope growing dim. A great number of them drop school because of the adverse condition that their family face. Most of them are unemployed and do not have the necessary skills to compete in the job market. Such a situation destroys their sense of optimism. They see their anger growing against a world that does not responds to their legitimate basic needs.

### Making it in a Victorian Shaped World

I have so far focused on the historical facts that have shaped today's African and African-American cultures. However, it would not be correct to shirk our proper responsibility. Today many of us are succeeding in what we once considered a white dominated world. Some of us are bishops, others priests and religious leaders. Many blacks are prominent scientists, and quite a good number hold high profile governmental positions in their countries. Everyone in this conference room has accomplished some goal in his (her) life. However, I am concerned with the majority of

our brothers and sisters who are still living on the margin, those who face an intimidating and hopeless world. What are we doing to help them?

Some of us are just congratulating themselves with the fact of being accepted in a white milieu. Others have been simply co-opted by the very system of strong class differences under which they have suffered. Without realising it, they have bought into and perpetuate the Victorian social stratification system.

There are Africans and African-Americans who still have a sense of racial solidarity. However, they often, although not always, define themselves either by desperately referring to the past or by referring to the domination they suffer now under white people. We are prone to see ourselves as perpetual victims. Though whites have looked down on us, it is wrong for us still to define ourselves according to what they have done or are still doing to us. It is true that this historic memory is our back drop. However, do not let it serve as our obsession. It may become the soul of our weakness. May this 500th anniversary be for us a wake-up call.

### III. RENEWING OUR CULTURE

As we have moved through the history of these last 500 years, we have gained some insights regarding the history of people of African descent. Now we know the elements that have shaped their recent cultures. Therefore, we are able to explain why Africans and African-Americans live and act the way they do. With such a historical understanding of this reality, we may now move forward in clarifying what evangelisation might mean in black communities. We may now ask the question of how evangelisation should be accomplished. We must ask ourselves, how does the Gospel that we profess to serve shed its light on today's African and African-American situations?

My answer is this. Our primary task is to proclaim and convince our African and African-American brothers and sisters that we are no longer those blacks of the fifteenth century. We are not just what the historical forces have done to us under white domination. Therefore, we can be something new. We can once again be the blacks that have never been.

Our evangelisation must consist in helping people of African descent to move beyond the racist ideologies that have shaped our present culture. We must urge them to face our new history with courage and determination, to be entrepreneurs. We should renew our cultures. To do so, I propose three operating principles.

#### Our Operating Principles

Our **first operating principle** should be that of the rescue of our self-esteem and our dignity. We are the only ones who are able to free ourselves because true freedom goes from inside-out. José Antonio García once wrote: "In psychology as in spirituality, the beginning is inside us. It is impossible to appreciate and love

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*Our first operating principle should be that of the rescue of our self-esteem and our dignity. We are the only ones who are able to free ourselves because true freedom goes from inside-out.*

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someone else if you do not have self-esteem and love for yourself. Self-disregard creates isolation and abhorrence towards others".

To accomplish this objective, we need to rewrite our history, a true history of black people, the history of our origins, our enslavement, our colonisation and our resistance. As Walbert Bühlmann states:

"Only when the past has been studied and worked out, can the present and the future be given a fully informed structuration. When history is written with objectivity and historical discipline, it becomes an instrument that restores people's memory and enables them to be united within themselves and with the rest of the world".

Such a history could for instance tell the adventure of African and African-American heroines and heroes, like Queen Nzinga, who founded the state of Matamba in central Africa, to resist the slave traders. It can tell the history of the maroons of the Americas, like Sebastian Lemba, the first known enslaved African who organised the resistance off the enslaved in *La Hispaniola* (today known as Dominican Republic). It can also tell the history of Haitian per-

sonalities, like Padrejean (1676), Michel (1790), Polydor (1734), Pompée (1747), Makendal (1758), La Tripe (1768), Jacques (1777), and above all Toussaint Louverture and Dessalines who overcame Napoleon's troops and founded the first black republic, in Haiti, in 1804. African history should tell the story of Yanga, the African-Mexican who started the maroon rebellion in Veracruz in 1579. In Panama, Bayano led the resistance from 1553 to 1558. In Venezuela, Miguel fought slavery and founded a black kingdom. He even built a Church. Other maroon leaders in Venezuela were Juan Andrés Gónzales (1770). In Columbia, the most renown maroon was Domingo Bioho. Domingo was enslaved in Guinea Bissau. He arrived in Colombia in 1599. Domingo ran away, organised other maroons and founded

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***I give you this challenge: take our history, but live in the present. Stand up and be proud of being black. We can celebrate because God has created us black.***

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the *Palenque* of San Basilio to resist the Spaniards (Palenques were like sanctuaries for runaway enslaved Africans). The story of the rebellions and the organisations of the maroon communities in Peru and Bolivia, from XVIth century to the abolition of slavery, constitutes one of the most interesting chapters of the history of Latin America. Other maroon leaders that can be remembered are Cudjoe (Jamaica), Alonso de Illesca (Equador), and Zumbi in Brazil. Such a history can also tell the story of the Stono rebellion that took place in South Carolina in 1737.

Our **second operating** principle must be that of "affirmative action" for black people.

In his recent visit to Gorée Island, Senegal (February 22, 1992), John Paul II recognised that the sin of slave trading must be confessed. Recalling to mind the words of Pius II, John Paul II described slavery as "an enormous crime" "the *magnum scellus*". He said:

"These men, women, and children were the victims of a disgraceful trade in which people who were baptised, but who did not live their faith, took part. How can we forget the enormous suffering inflicted, the violation of the most basic

human rights, on those people deported from African continent? How can we forget the human lives destroyed by slavery? In all truth and humility this sin of man against man, this sin of man against God must be confessed".

In Christian terms to confess is to repair. How does our Church repair for its complicity in the enslavement of Africans and belittlement of their culture?

I am not an outsider, I am speaking about a Church that I love and serve. This is why I feel I have the right to say that blacks are held on the margin and suffer because of their particular history, a history in which our Church has some responsibility. I suggest that this anniversary of the evangelisation of the Americas be taken by our Church as an opportunity to show black descendants that it does care for them.

I think that black communities must be the objects of special pastoral attention of our bishops and all our Church. I do not ask the Church to give everything to blacks by charity, but to invest in black communities. Education and training are essential for our children. They quit school because of the adverse conditions that their parents face. If we do not care for their education how can we expect them to achieve their full human development?

If our Church, through its hierarchy, does not take **aggressive actions** for the education of our children and the training of our adults, it is, whether willingly or unwillingly, betraying Africans and African-Americans, because it enables the "status quo" to be maintained.

Speaking specifically about Africa, John Paul II had also said:

"In this era of crucial changes, today's Africa suffers severely from draining of its living forces which has been going on for some time. In certain regions its human resources have been weakened for a long time. The aid which Africa has a pressing need of is also its just due".

Our final operating principle regards the **inculturation** of the Gospel in the cultures of black people.

First of all, we must be aware of the fact that by the year 2000, people of Africa descent will number more than 200 million in our Roman Catholic Church (from PARCCC prospectus). Because of that, I suggest that black leaders

should be given more responsibilities in the government of our parishes, dioceses and even in the general administration of our Catholic Church.

Secondly, I would favour inculturation of the Gospel in our cultures. With all our diversity, we African descendants have some common cultural values, such as faith in a Supreme Being, Creator and Father of all that is. Africans generally have an holistic world-view that embraces everything in the world in a functional relationship, a unified sense of reality that links the world that is seen and that is not seen. They believe in community or more precisely in the extended family. As Peter Schineller observes:

"One is identified by one's family which is the extended family, often including aunts and uncles, cousins-in-laws, nieces, and nephews. Extended also over time, the family is continually linked with those who have gone before. Here one notes the respect and reverence shown to ancestors, particularly to parents, grandparents, great-grandparents who have died. These ancestors remain present in memory and imagination; they watch over and serve as examples to the present generation. There is deep communion between the living and the dead. A key image of sin is separation, isolation from family, and breaking the familial solidarity".

Rhythmic dances and songs characterise the children of Africa, wherever they might be. "A celebration without song and dance, without a deliberate, unrushed atmosphere, is no celebration at all". Africans believe in life and

solidarity, etc. How can our Catholic church evangelise them if it ignores these characteristics that constitute their emotional well-being? A well planned pastoral action must arise from a concrete situation. It must be related to those who live in that situation. As Peter Schineller says:

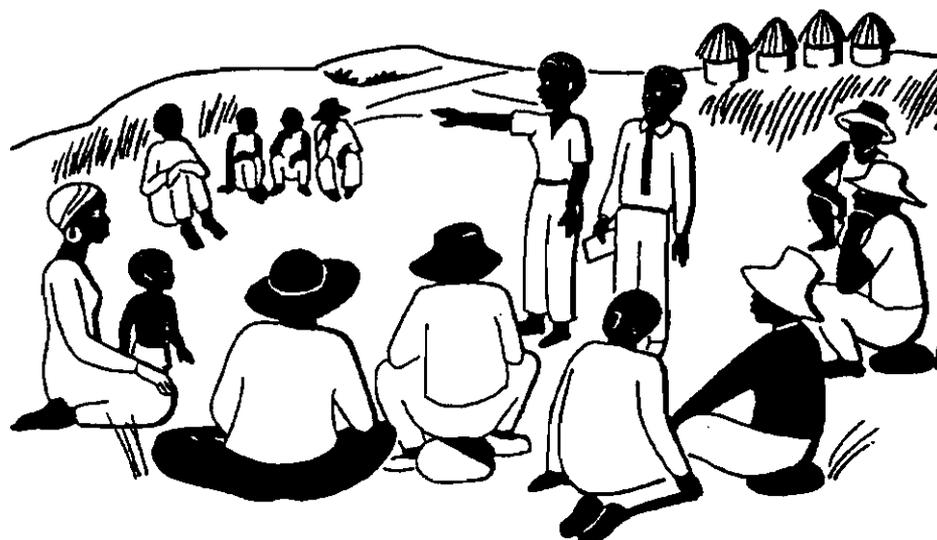
"The situation must be examined in its temporal and spatial dimensions, for no situation is completely isolated or without history. Unless the situation is adequately understood, the pastoral action and direction will be inadequate. The result will be what Tillich said is the difficulty with most sermons, that they give answers to questions no one is asking".

Therefore, we ask our bishops to favour and encourage the inculturation of the Gospel within our communities.

To conclude this topic, I give you this challenge: take our history, but live in the present. Stand up and be proud of being black. We can celebrate because God has created us black, so stand tall and grab the hands of people of other colours throughout the world and be full partners in a true inter-racial culture.

We have come a long way, we still have a long way to go. May the Lord, the Almighty God, help us to hold on until we make our change come.

Ref. *kerygma* 26 (1992), pp. 197-208  
223 Main  
Ottawa, Ont.  
Canada K1S 1C4



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# WHY IMF AND WORLD BANK NEED REFORMING

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Guy Arnold

The IMF and the World Bank could be motors for change in the developing world if they shook off the selfish controls of the major rich nations. But the writer sees no sign of that happening.

In its 1992 Human Development Report, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) asks the crucial question: 'In a period of rapid economic globalisation, who will protect the interest of the poor'? And the short answer to that is, no one.

The devastating riots in Los Angeles illustrate the problem admirably. Thirty years after the Watts riots, also in Los Angeles which arguably has become the most ghettoed big city in the world with every kind of ethnic minority represented, it is clear that the poor have been marginalised. Moreover, they will remain marginalised unless and until a conflagration, like these riots, draws temporary attention to their plight.

On past showing the attention that will now be paid to the marginalised poor in the U.S. will be just that - temporary. Now, if the richest, most powerful nation on earth is content to marginalise and then ignore its own poor, there is little chance that it will behave differently towards the world's poor of Africa and Asia and Latin America and, to date, there is no evidence that it has any intention of doing so. The same may be said of the other rich advanced nations.

Thus the danger has arisen - made all the more acute by the end of the Cold War and the game of balance in the South which the two sides played - that we are now entering an era when all the poor will be marginalised unless they are seen to be of use to the rich North. Their only hope, therefore, must lie with inter-

national institutions if these have both the capacity and the will to act on behalf of the poor despite the pressures of the rich.

Essentially, this means the United Nations and its agencies, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and, in financial terms, it means the latter two agencies.

Such institutions ought to be the champions of the poor, not the instruments of the rich. First, it is necessary to ask just what these institutions have achieved to date on behalf of the poor. And second, what they might achieve in the future.

The global nature of international money markets now transcends the nation-state and its power to solve economic problems, and the capacity of the major economies (the Group of Seven G-7) to manipulate world market pays little attention to the requirements of the developing countries. For more than a decade (throughout the 1980s) the world has been treated to repeated analyses and forecasts of the deteriorating state of the world's least developed countries which the current Human Development Report sets out in stark detail.

We have the knowledge; but what will actually spark off a response large enough to solve some of the problems? The rich pay lip-service to the concept of a single world but are conspicuous only by their indifference when it comes to meaningful action.

The two bodies which ought to be both the guardians and the promoters of the poor countries of the South are the World Bank and the IMF. But not only have they failed to act successfully on behalf of the world's weakest and poorest, they have instead become the instruments of global economic

control by the rich. This situation needs to be reversed.

During the brief, heady days of OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) power (1973-1980) there was much talk of creating a New International Economic Order (NIEO) but this was effectively killed by the rich nations (G-7) for, from their point of view, the creation of a NIEO was a contradiction in terms and it could only come into being at the expense of the existing order which they controlled for their advantage. It was political nonsense for the Third World (as it then was) to imagine the rich West would acquiesce in a NIEO that spelt the end of its control.

The question now is whether anything has changed. Can a revamped IMF or World Bank seriously alter world economic patterns of control?

The IMF no longer performs the functions for which it was created - to maintain monetary stability with the burden of adjustments shared between surplus and deficit countries. This is because it cannot control or exert authority over the rich industrial nations. These have the controlling votes and see the IMF as their instrument and not their mentor as it imposes their style of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) upon the poor countries which seek its assistance.

Moreover, rich nations facing economic problems can bypass the IMF to use other mechanisms, thus downgrading it as a global institution and turning it instead into one that deals primarily with the South and its problems.

The natural corollary to this (which massive assistance to the countries of the former USSR will not alter) is to give to it the function of economic policeman for the West, providing aid to poor indebted countries only after they have implemented reforms whose end result is to deprive them of even the limited room they previously had in which to manoeuvre. And though the IMF provided major extra funds during the years 1980-1986 in response to the debt crisis, the net result of that is a current contra-flow of funds from the South back to the IMF of 6.3 billion a year (\$700 million of these from the poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa). IMF conditionalities are monetarist and deflationary; they force governments to reduce imports by curtailing demand and so they stifle economic growth.

The World Bank was created to borrow from the rich to lend to the poor in order to finance sound development projects. In real terms it has done little wealth recycling and in 1990/91, for example, it withdrew \$500 million from the poor countries. Moreover, the Bank has not offered developing countries protection from the harsh terms of the international money markets as it should have done. The World Bank lends in sympathy with world money market rates and though the International Development Association (IDA) provides interest-free loans, it only offers these to countries with a per capita income below \$700 million.

What kind of reforms would make any difference and would they be permitted anyway?

A major reform for the IMF (an original Keynes idea) would be to impose a penalty on surplus countries equivalent to 1% of surplus a month as means of forcing them to adjust and buy more from deficit countries with the added benefit of increasing world trade volumes. The proposal at once raises startling issues.

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Japan is the world's largest surplus country. Could the IMF persuade and if necessary force Japan to accept such a measure? If it could, there would be a chance to redress the global balance.

It should also be the task of the IMF to help the poor countries build up their foreign exchange reserves. The rich can always borrow, the poor are not seen as credit-worthy.

Then there is the suggestion in the UNDP report that the IMF should act as the world's central bank in order to provide liquidity - all round - in hard times. And most far-reaching would be moves towards the creation of a single global currency.

Any or all these moves could begin a transformation of the world economic rules which at present work so disastrously against the needs of the poorest.

Other suggestions are advanced for the reform of the World Bank. It could, for example, set up an investment trust to sell bonds to surplus nations and then lend the money to the developing countries; while the newly industrialised countries (NICs) could borrow at commercial rates the low income countries would be given interest subsidies.

A ground rule ought to be that no country with a per-capita income below \$700 should have to borrow at commercial rates. This is not the case at present and, for example, throughout the 1980s India with a per capita income of only \$340 was forced to borrow at full commercial rates so that its debts rose from \$5 billion in 1980 to \$70 billion in 1991 with further commensurate strains upon the economy from servicing such a huge sum.

In fact, these or any other reforms must depend upon the votes of members. The voting system gives the largest number of votes to the biggest financial contributors. This means the US followed by the major developed economies which, in essence, means the G-7 control the system.

The U.S., moreover, is reluctant, on the one hand, to increase its contributions to make more money for lending available; and it is equally reluctant to allow others (e.g. Japan) to increase their contributions since this would diminish U.S. voting power and enhance theirs.

The focus of both the World Bank and the IMF (although some signs of change are apparent) has always been on means of development - that is, growth of Gross National Product (GNP), rather than programmes to tackle poverty. What is essential is to make poor people the motor of growth and development (as well as their ends) and this can only be achieved if, first, their absolute poverty is eradicated.

Thus, both the IMF and the World Bank should be more sensitive to recipient patterns of social spending and less ready to prescribe SAPs that have been devised in Western (rich nation)-terms. Both the IMF and the World Bank could become motors for real change in the developing world but only if they shake off the overtly selfish control of the major economic nations.

That goes to the heart of this and many other problems concerning relations between North and South and the answer lies with the political decisions of the power brokers in the North, which really means the G-7, for only they can give the IMF and the World Bank the real freedom to act on behalf of the poor.

At present, unfortunately, there is little sign that the rich nations have any such intention in mind.

Ref. *Impact*  
Vol. 28, No. 1, January 1993  
P.O. Box 2950, Manila  
Philippines

## LOOKING FORWARD TO THE AFRICAN SYNOD

*Bishop Helmut Reckter, SJ., of Chinhoyi, President of the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference said in his keynote address to the Conference Plenary Session on 14 April: "The Special Assembly will be a first occasion for all the churches of Africa to gather in communion with the Holy Father and to discern what the spirit is saying for our time and for our people in Africa. In the first place, we expect that this synod will be characterised by pastoral concern... We are disappointed that the Special Assembly is not to be held on our own soil, in circumstances in which we feel at home, amongst our own people. We hope that the Bishops of Africa will not be intimidated, as perhaps they have been in the past, by the grandeur and the splendour of an architecture constructed in the style of a vanished empire which once dominated parts of this continent. Rather, let us make those marble halls ring with the music, the songs, the drums and the dances of Africa, and let the voice of the African Church resound around the dome of St. Peter's, so that the whole world will hear that the Church of Africa is alive with the spirit of the risen Lord".*

(Crossroads, Zimbabwe, May 1993)



## mission moments

### AIDS 'POSITIVE AND LIVING'

(ZAMBIA)

We belong to a support group in Lusaka called The PALS (Positive and Living Squad).

At first we met to discuss our hopes and fears, and strengthen each other emotionally. But we realised that this was not enough. Members wanted to do something about their human rights, and about AIDS. We set up an education programme - training HIV-positive members to run AIDS workshops, particularly in workplaces. PALS also liaises closely with AIDS support organisations, helping with their outreach programmes, and meeting their clients.

Some members are also involved in income-generating activities - usually the ones who decide not to be trained as educators. But we find that many members find it difficult to set up their own businesses, even with loans and training. They are used to being paid employees, and find it hard to work without a boss!

The biggest difficulty for a self-help group like The PALS is this. Of the seven people who were very active in 1992, three have died and two are very ill. As a result it is hard to keep on working - morale drops and anxiety levels increase.

Despite these issues, The PALS is demonstrating every day what the

power of positive living can achieve. You cannot talk about AIDS prevention and care, and empowering people with HIV/AIDS without promoting self-help groups. Yes, we have problems, but these are not all because of our HIV status. Most of them are just due to human nature. So, to everyone trying to set up or support the work of self-help groups, we wish you luck and strength - and 'more grease to your elbow'!

Ref. Winstone Zulu  
*The PALS*,  
P.O. Box 37559,  
Lusaka, Zambia

### ARCHBISHOP ACCUSES MOBUTU OF CREATING CHAOS

(ZÄIRE)

As president of the High Council of the Republic, the body which should be overseeing Zaire's return to democracy, Archbishop Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya has accused President Mobutu Sese Seko and his allies of engineering the country's collapse for their own gain. "The state is no longer governable", said the 53-year-old Archbishop of Kinsangani (formerly known as Stanleyville), "and the institutions of the Republic are paralysed".

Archbishop Monsengwo claimed that Mobutu was using delay and disruption to cling to power. He was impeding the transition from his one-

party state to constitutional multi-party rule by deliberately causing a crisis. "The people are living in total insecurity", the archbishop went on, which was made worse by the Mobutu regime's refusal to pay them. Many public employees "wait in despair" for their salaries. Zairian diplomats abroad have not been paid for 15 months. Unpaid soldiers roam the country and are driven to "pillaging or exacting bribes". Even when the troops are paid, they are the only public servants so favoured, which serves to "set them in opposition to a famished people", said Monsengwo, "and our economy is a shambles". Pro-Mobutu officials have encouraged "state terrorism and the organisation of a black market that serves only the interests of a financial oligarchy".

Ref. *Information Missionszentrale*  
Der Franziskaner E. V.  
No. 8 August 1993  
Bonn/Bad Godersberg,

### PLEA FOR PROTECTION OF TWO BRAZILIAN BISHOPS

(BRAZIL)

Because Dom Aldo Mongiano, bishop of Roraima, defends the interests of the indigenous nations in his diocese he is receiving death threats. During a local radio broadcasting a professional killer offered to deposit the bishop's head in a public square if he were paid for it. "I can hand over the bishop's head in a gold digger's

bowl"! he said.

The accusations and threats against Dom Aldo were transmitted for the first time on January 26 by the broadcasting stations Difusora and Equatoriana, shortly after some Wapixana Indians from Canaunim, aided by Federal police forces, chased two farmers from their territory. Already two years ago the Federal Court of Justice had ordered eleven invaders to leave the Wapixana region. However, two of these men returned six months later. The Indians tried to negotiate directly with the farmers to make them leave their territory, but in vain. So they decided to take by assault the land occupied by the farmers. The radio broadcasters marked the bishop of Roraima directly responsible for the expulsion of the farmers, alleging that Dom Aldo, as well as the religious in his diocese, had instigated the Indians against gold diggers and farmers.

Four British development agencies, CAFOD, Christian Aid, CIIR and OXFAM, have asked the Brazilian government to guarantee the safety of Dom Aldo and of Dom Moacyr Grecchi of Rio Branco in Acre. Dom Moacyr has supported the local rubber-tappers whose leader, Chico Mendes, was murdered in December 1988. Human rights groups in Acre have expressed fears for his safety after the escape from prison on February 15 of the two men convicted of Chico Mendes' murder.

The agencies cite reports from Acre that the police guard at the prison had been withdrawn for carnival, and that local land-owners were known to be planning the escape of the convicted killers. In their letter to President Itamar Franco the agencies express concern that the escape reflects a general situation in which those who violate the rights of rural workers and indigenous peoples enjoy impunity. They call on the President "to take immediate and decisive action" to investigate the escape and to guarantee the safety of Chico Mendes' family and local community leaders.

Recently Dom Aldo said that the threats against his life were provoked by the Church's commitment to defend the Indians. The federal government has now provided police protection for him, and the state government has banned the radio programme which had broadcast the threats.

Ref. *Information Missionszentrale*  
Der Franziskaner E.V.  
No. 8 August 1993  
Bonn/Bad Godersberg,

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### CEMETERY GORGED WITH DEAD (SARAJEVO)

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Lion's Cemetery is gorged with dead. Thousands of graves spill down the Sarajevo hillside, snow-covered earthen mounds packed so tightly that mourners are unable to step between them. This is the harvest of war, a dreadful crop sown over centuries of ethnic conflict and reaped during a brutal 12-month siege.

Muslims lie under weathered wooden tables impressed with stars and half-moons. Simple crosses mark the Serb and Croat dead. Latin Letters spell the names of Muslims and Catholic Croats. Cyrillic characters identify Orthodox Serbs. Communists and atheists have red stars on their markers; Jews, the star of David. The rows of graves delineate history and religion more nearly than life in this city ever did.

Once reserved for World War II partisans and senior government officials, the cemetery has been filled to overflowing by Bosnia's civil war, which began in April 1992. The shell-blasted statue of a somber, brooding lion presides over the fallen, its masonry headquarters blown away to expose metal reinforcing rods and red brick. Two lone pines flank the statue,

their lower branches looped away. The dead had lain here in tree-shaded languor for decades, but now the slope is stark. Stranded without electricity, heating oil or gas for most of the winter, Sarajevo's residents have cut down all the trees for firewood.

Near the bottom of the cemetery an elaborate marble headstone commemorates Peter Govedarica, partisan battalion commander, killed in 1945. A few feet away lies the simple grave of Vedrana Glavas, a 3-year-old girl shot dead by a sniper in August as she was being evacuated from Sarajevo on a bus loaded with other children. The day Vedrana was buried, the cemetery came under mortar fire, and her grandmother was critically wounded.

Farther up the hill, the grave of Denis Bosankic lies next to a muddy footpath. When this 15-year-old was carried to the cemetery in an open plywood coffin last summer, a huge wad of cotton covered his lower face like a Santa Clause beard. The boy's jaw had been blown away by a shell fragment, and the cotton disguised his wound. Denis's mother collapsed as the earth thudded on his coffin and dull echoes of shells exploded in the hills above Sarajevo. "Why? Why? Why?" she screamed, beating her chest. Soldiers, rough men from the trenches with raw hands and stubble on their chins, wept beside her.

Standing by the lion, facing west, one sees the lip of a concrete stadium and the Olympic torch that flamed so brightly in 1984 when the Winter Games were held in Sarajevo. Next to the stadium is a hulk of twisted concrete and steel, the indoor arena where Olympic skaters once competed. The roof is collapsing after countless mortar barrages. Off to the left lies a football field studded with diagonal rows of graves - the surplus from Lion's Cemetery.

The last stop for many Sarajevans before they reach Lion's cemetery is Kosevo hospital, whose trauma clinic and morgue are just down the street. The Kosevo clinic, one of four major trauma centers in Sarajevo, has treated

nearly 11000 war-wounded since the siege began. More than 500 people arrived at the hospital dead, killed by bullets or shells. Seventy percent of all its war casualties have been civilians. On a busy day, Kosevo's driveway is a scene of such horror that even hardened war photographers turn away. Honking horns announce the arrival of the wounded. People with gaping chest wounds and missing limbs are dragged from cars and trucks, placed on blood-encrusted stretchers and wheeled inside. When shelling is heavy, a dozen casualties may arrive in quick succession. Teams of doctors and nurses, sometimes numbering 10 or 15, fight to stabilise a single patient. "This was a good trauma clinic before the war, but nothing prepared us for these wounds", says Kosevo's Dr. Faris Favrankapetanovic.

Across from the trauma clinic is a two-story morgue. A blue log records 4,662 bodies over the past 12 months, 90 percent of them war dead. "It has been a terrible time, of course", admits morgue director Alija Hodzic, who in the past year has seen his son, nephew, niece and several cousins carried into the morgue. "We expected a war, but who could have imagined this?"

Ref. *The Examiner*  
*The Catholic News Review*  
Vol. 144, No.16  
April 17, 1993  
Bombay

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## FIRST CATHOLIC MISSION STARTS FROM ZERO

(MONGOLIA)

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What do Catholic Missioners do in a country with no Church building and no Catholic in the local population? Three missioners of the Con-

gregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Scheut Fathers) asked themselves that when they first arrived in Ulaan-Bataar (Ulan-Bator), Mongolia, July 10, 1992. But they have kept busy, according to one of the priests, who spoke to UCA News, February 26, during a trip through Hong Kong.

Scheut Father Gilbert Sales, a Filipino, said the first months were tough. "In the beginning, I found it difficult to be there, with no Church and no faithful at all", Father Sales says, "especially coming from the Philippines where churches are always full and people so enthusiastic about their faith. It was quite a shock. We have to accept the reality that we have to start from zero. But the foreign community has been very friendly to us", he adds.

The Mongolian communist government shifted to democracy in May 1991, after 70 years of control by the Soviet Army, during which there was continuous religious persecution, including the killing of thousands of Buddhist monks.

Mongolia established diplomatic relations with the Vatican on April 4, 1992. The local Ministry of Education asked for missioners to help reorganise the education system. Scheut Fathers Sales, Wenceslao Padilla, also from the Philippines, and Robert Boessens, from Belgium, were the first Catholic missioners allowed to settle in Ulaan-Bataar, Mongolia's capital.

Some 2.5 million people live in the 1.55-million-square-kilometer country. About ten people from the United Nations and embassy staffs attend Sunday Mass with the missioners. Protestant missioners arrived two years ago, and now about 200 Christians live in Ulaan Bataar.

The three priests are spending their first year studying the Mongolian language. "This is one of the most important things", Father Sales told UCA News. "But it's difficult. Gram-

mar and pronunciation are complicated". They have set their sights on three humanitarian projects. The first one is to take over a local orphanage in a joint venture with the government.

"So many babies are thrown into the streets", Father Sales said. And the orphanage is about to close because of a lack of funding. It has 100 babies. Not only is the morality very low", he said, "but life is very difficult now in Mongolia. Parents cannot afford to feed their children sometimes". He added, "Food is scarce now. Babies are not always given milk, but sometimes the water from boiled rich instead. Prices rose a lot in the last few months. Last July, a liter of milk would cost eight tugriks. Now, it costs 60 to 70", Father Sales explains.

The second project would deal with youth. "We have no concrete plans yet. Unemployment is high, and many young people hang out on the streets or drink".

The third project is a language school. "Foreign languages are non-existent", he explains. "We have no teachers yet but we want to start with ourselves. We can teach Chinese, English, Flemish, French, German and Spanish".

"Religion is not allowed to be taught in schools, so we want to get in touch with people through social activities", he says. The missioners are trying to find a place to start their work. Every Wednesday they go out to prospect and see what they could do. "We don't do direct evangelisation", says Father Sales. "We first want to establish relationships with local people. Then we will announce the Good News of salvation. We already have some good friends".

Ref. *The Examiner*,  
*The Catholic News Review*  
Vol. 144, No. 13  
March 27, 1993  
Bombay

## COMING EVENTS

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**October 28**

**ACCEPTING THE OUTSIDER:  
THE REFUGEE PROBLEM - IN THE WORLD AND IN EUROPE**

**Speakers: Mark Raper, SJ; Jef van Gerwen, SJ**

**Place: Brothers of the Christian Schools; via Aurelia 476**

**Time: 9:00 - 17:00 p.m.**

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**WORKING GROUPS**

**November 4      AFRICA - Follow-up**

**November 11     HAITI**

**Place: SEDOS Secretariate; via dei Verbiti, 1**

**Time: 16:00 p.m.**

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**December 7**

**SEDOS ANNUAL ASSEMBLY  
THE CHALLENGE OF AN INCULTURATED FORMATION OF OUR AFRICAN VOCATIONS**

**Also**

**GENERAL MEETING AND FUTURE PLANNING**

**Place: Brothers of the Christian Schools; via Aurelia 476**

**A full-day session 9:00 - 17:00**

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**1994**

**May 17 - 21**

**ASIA: CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH  
SEDOS RESEARCH SEMINAR**

**Place: Villa Cavalletti**

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