CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The present research study consists of information gleaned from two different sources. Firstly, existing research is thoroughly reviewed, with the relevant concepts spelled out. This is then complemented from information provided by the author's Co- researchers. Complex as this approach may appear, the study will look at diversified kind of literature that can best inform the author on the concept that are relevant for her topic.

The chapter will begin by defining 'mission'. Then, the author will explore the concept of 'Autonomy' from both a general and a biblical point of view, and then define it in relation to the IPM. This will be followed by the definition of 'dependency'.

Events that contributed to the awakening of the Mozambicans and ultimately led to the Autonomy to the church will be discussed. The author will also describe how Africans were prepared for Autonomy and the environment in which this process developed.

Finally, the chapter will explore the impact of Autonomy, by focusing on both the positive and negative aspects of this concept, as well as its challenges. The conclusion to this chapter will present a preliminary hypothesis.

2.1.2 The Mission of the Church

The mission of the church started with Jesus sending out His disciples to spread his word. (Matt.10; Luke 10). This mission was confirmed after His resurrection from the dead. The gospels relate episodes of the sending of disciples in mission (Mark 16: 14-18; Matt. 28: 16-20; Luke 24: 47-48; John 21: 15-17).

Mission is defined in many ways according to the desired goal. As this research is theological and the concern of this thesis is with liberation, the author will define mission

according to its liberating role. Secondly, she believes that missionaries that left their countries and their personal security in order to announce the gospel of the Good News in Mozambique and in other continents were also concerned with the liberation of these countries from the darkness that enshrouds them.

Accordingly, Mission is defined as God's means of revealing Himself to humanity. This definition is better explained by Duncan, when he says that:

> Mission is God's work in reconciling the whole of the created order in love, justice and integrity (Ef1:10) to God self in which human beings are called and invited to participate by being sent through the love of Christ (Matt 5:43-45) that all might achieve life in all its fullness (John 10:10) (Duncan 2007:52).

The above definition states clear that God's mission is to go and work with people, rather than working for them.

The spirit of Mission animated two young ministers in Switzerland, Ernest Creux and Paul Berthoud, who in 1869 wrote a letter to the Synod of the Free Evangelical Church of Canton of Vaud in Switzerland asking to be sent somewhere as missionaries (Biber 1987: 19-20; BSM 1886/87: 4-7;Butselaar 1987:23,31; Gill 2008:45; Harries 2007:21; Maluleke 1995:19; Shimati, 1954: 5). These two young ministers had studied practical theology under the guidance of Alexandre Vinet in Lausanne. At this university they had learned the significance of believing in Christ, as well as the meaning of Christian liberty. Creux and Berthoud departed to Lesotho in 1872 under the auspices of the PEMS (Paris Evangelical Missionary Society). In 1875 the two missionaries departed from Lesotho to South Africa. They founded an independent mission in Spelonken, among the Vavenda and the Vatsonga. The Missionaries called this new mission Valdezia, in honor of their country Vaud (Shimati, 1954: 6).

Through their preaching, the Swiss missionaries converted the Vatsonga, who in turn converted their relatives living in Mozambique (Butselaar, 1987: 36). Swiss missionaries went to Mozambique with the intention of spreading the gospel there. The work done by Swiss missionaries in South Africa and in Mozambique is known as 'The Swiss Mission

in South Africa'.

2.1.3 The Swiss Mission in South Africa

It seems that the plight of the IPM begins with the absence of a clear definition of mission. It is not clear whether the Swiss missionaries regarded African ministers as colleagues with whom they could work as equals, or as inferiors. However, there is some evidence that Africans were not considered to be colleagues of equal standing by the Swiss missionaries. One of the examples of this affirmation is Calvin Maphophe. His entire ministry was developed in Mozambique, and he ended up serving his people for more than forty years. Despite being highly qualified (see Maluleke 1995), and having worked as a missionary in Mozambique for decades, Maphophe and those who followed him never reached the social status that could enable them to be seen or considered as having been created equal in God's image by the Swiss missionaries. In the case of Maphophe, he was seen as simple collaborator, as stated by Paul Fatton:

> This is the last active year of our collaborator Calvin Maphophe. His family and personal life were approved (Fatton 1936: 3)

The view of Maphophe as the teacher, the minister, the colleague, and the missionary, who reconciled Mozambicans with their fellows and with God for more than forty years, is not visible in the above quotation. He only appears as one who collaborated for the success of others. Which set of criteria did the Swiss missionaries use to exclude Maphophe from the list of those who gave their lives for the wellbeing of the Mozambicans? Why is he excluded from the list of those who gave the first steps toward Autonomy of the IPM? Does the exclusion mean that the Lord's Spirit was not upon him? These are not easy questions to answer, but a contextual interpretation of the events and environment in those years can produce a meaningful shift in the understanding of the work developed by Maphophe within the IPM.

The arrival of the Swiss people to Mozambique shows that "the God of Israel, the God of the *Swiss*, is also and equally the God of *Mozambicans*" [italic mine] (Bosch, 1993:

89). Therefore, the transformation of the people of Mozambique happened through the power of the Holy Spirit active in the missionary work done by Swiss missionaries, including Mhalamhala and Maphophe.

Accordingly, Christian religion is the catalyst of change or liberation of all those oppressed through the power of the Holy Spirit. This is achieved when the relationships of all those involved in mission are journeying together in a healthy way.

2.1.4 Autonomy

The Oxford Dictionary defines autonomy as being the freedom of a country, region, or organization to govern itself independently; it also defines it as being the ability to act and make decisions without being controlled by anyone else; and finally, as the way of giving individuals greater freedom in their personal lives (2005).

Self-governing is therefore defined as independence with its proper laws or norms. Law is a system of rules that everyone in a country or society must obey (Ibid: 835).

In Mozambique, for example, President Samora Machel used to say '**o povo organizado sempre vencerá'**, which can be translated as meaning that organized people will always win. This example teaches that independence requires organized and obedient people who know what they want and what they have to do in order to build a prosperous country. The same is applied to the church, which in addition to the above, has to practice justice so that God's people feel their care.

In the Tsonga language, autonomy is called **'Lumuku'**. *Lumuku* means to wean or to stop breastfeeding. When a baby is weaned, he is encouraged to stop being dependent of receiving his mother's milk and start to eat solid food. This step may be designated as being the first stage of the child's independence. From this moment, the child needs to use its intelligence and its own hands to feed himself. However, if breastfeeding is ended abruptly, it may lead to disorder, with the child being unable to feed himself, and feeling confused and miserable. The mother is thus responsible for slowly cutting down

breastfeeding, and gradually replacing the breast milk with other meals like pap or soup that the child learns to eat. The mother also begins to keep herself away from the child and replace her presence by introducing her baby to other children who learn to take care for the child. The mother does the above while showing her love and continuing to care for her child. A child who grows in such conditions, develops in a healthy manner.

Biblically, autonomy is considered to be a divine gift. In Genesis 1:26, God took the decision to delegate His power to humanity and to allow humans to govern. In this passage of Scriptures, God was giving Autonomy to men and women to rule the world. This autonomy, however, does not allow them to act outside the will of God. They are allowed to act and to make decisions in obedience to God's commands.

Similarly, Jesus gave autonomy to his disciples, which allowed them to go to the world's nations and convert their own disciples (Matthew 28: 16-20). The disciples had the autonomy to be creative in their mission, but at all times they were bound to remain faithful to God. Therefore they have to obey God's law, which is love. Autonomy, as it is conceptualised in the Bible, differs from the definition of the Dictionary mentioned above, because it does not allow for total independence.

When asked to share his understanding of the Autonomy of a church, Todd responded by saying:

> The Church in Mozambique, yesterday and today, like always and everywhere, brings together God's people for worship, obedience and witness, under the Law of Christ and in the power of the Spirit. Therefore, the Church is never auto-, a law to herself, but theo-christo-pneumo-nomous ! As such, it operates under the judgment of God (confession of our sins to Him and to one another) and in the strength of His forgiveness (Todd 02/12/ 2010).

Todd emphasizes the connectedness of a church to the one who is the head of the church, Jesus Christ. A church is always linked to God through His sacred law and His Son, Jesus, by the Holy Spirit.

The IPM autonomy does not make her completely autonomous or independent because she belongs to the body of Christ, the head of the Church (Eph 1: 22ff). Therefore, the IPM is linked to Christ through individual and collective obedience. The argument of this

research is twofold. Firstly, the Autonomy of the IPM has to be in line with God's command. Secondly, the IPM has the right to operate independently from the Swiss church, but this independence does not give her the right to make members feel oppressed and disconnected from God.

Available literature shows that the spirit of Autonomy of the IPM started with the appointment of Mhalamhala as evangelist to the dispersed communities in Delagoa Bay in 1882 (cf. 1.2).

Moreira is one of those who support the idea that the spirit of Autonomy was present since the IMP's beginning:

> The financing of the mission close to Magudzu was carried by church members who after having heard the report given by Mhalamhala after his return from Mozambique gave all kind of gifts including money and food. The contribution of the Swiss petty cash was only ¼ of the total amount (Moreira 1936:18).

According to the above quotation, the spirit of Autonomy was present in the church from its beginning, and encouraged the Vatsonga that lived in Spelonken to contribute to the new mission. Since the beginning, the Vatsonga considered their envoys to be missionaries and the contributions were aimed at encouraging them in the new mission, as well as alleviating their necessities.

Mhalamhala did his work with the local chief, Magudzu. The involvement of the chief allowed him to speak freely with the people, and helped him succeed in simultaneously converting both individuals and communities (including the chief himself) (Butselaar 1987: 49-51).

Mhalamhala did his work by depending upon prayer. The Christian community to which Mhalamhala pastured was known as '**os da oração**', which can be translated as meaning those dedicated to the prayer. This moniker means that the first community was linked to the body of Christ through obedience. Members were cared for by Mhalamhala and his fellows. However, gradually, the IPM lost this vision.

By the time of her foundation, the IPM adopted a sociological and practical motto that

helped her to spread the gospel amongst the Vatsonga. This motto predicted " A self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating Church". Well understood, agreed by members and respected, the motto was aimed at training committed members to the cause of the gospel, as well as to a responsible leadership and Autonomy. According to Emma Cave:

> Autonomy is a second–order capacity to reflect critically upon one's first order preferences and desires, and the ability either to identify with these or to change them in the light of higher-order preferences and values. By exercising such a capacity we define our nature, give meaning and coherence to our lives, and take responsibility for the kind of persons we are (Cave 2004: 26).

Cave's definition fits well for secular organizations. For a local church, however, the definition of Autonomy goes beyond its rights of self-government or management, or its ability to reflect upon its preferences. Autonomy of a local church has to testify to God's love and grace to humanity through its preaching, its action in society, and its capacity for self-criticism; has to reach an adult age of its belief by demonstrating good deeds, not only in growing numbers of believers but also through the deep knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The church is really autonomous if it is conscious that it is part of and a member of Jesus's body that recognizes Jesus as the head of the church (Ephesians 1: 20-23). In short, an Autonomous church is considered to be a caring church.

The dependence of a local church on God has nothing that humiliates. Instead, the way in which it continues to care, inspire, and guide its believers makes it more visible. The responsibility to lead remains in the hands of the leaders of this church who are called to obey and follow the steps of their Master, Jesus.

During the early years of the establishment of the Swiss Mission (SM), a large number of men and women were open to the Holy Spirit of God. They had discovered that God wanted salvation, not only for Western people, but also for Africans and people from all nations. The African believers were confident about their value. They were able to discuss the future of the church and were opposed to some missionaries' views. They had understood that "their presence and leadership in the church was not a favor but a divine right" (Butselaar 1987: 302).

Africans envisaged autonomy of the church since the beginning of the evangelist work in Mozambique. They felt confident about their calling and responsibility before God. For them, white missionaries were colleagues with the same rights before God. For these Africans, the autonomy of the church was not an issue to be discussed, but instead was to be a right.

The author agrees that a local church has the right to live her faith. Autonomy allows for it to grow and to define the vision and mission that she will follow to spread the Gospel. It also allows her to design structures from which she will articulate from the top to the base and vice-versa, to define strategies for training, capacitating, and educating her members, in order to assure strong leadership and to be able to provide the basic needs (spiritual, material, and economic) to its members. The spirit of Autonomy may thus have animated Mozambicans and awakened them.

2.1.5 The awakening of the African Church

The awakening of the African Church happened very soon in its history. As mentioned in the previous chapter, members contributed towards the birth of an African Mission in Mozambique.

As the Mozambicans started to foresee the independence of their country, it is natural for them to also desire the independence of their church. Even shadowed by silence, memories about the confrontations that occurred between the Swiss missionaries and Yosefa Mhalamhala were still alive in the memory of many Africans.

The Swiss Mission was not a unique operation in Southern Africa. This prompted the evangelists who were attached to the Swiss Mission to start comparing what was going on in with their mission to other missions. They discovered that other missions were ordaining evangelists as Reverends. As a result of these observations and comparisons, evangelists belonging to the Swiss Mission also asked to be ordained. This is confirmed by a report written by Rosset, which mentioned that:

There were more than three years that our neighbor, the Berlin mission, had also consecrated it's more dedicated and faithful evangelists. When members of our churches saw this, they came back and asked to be ordained (Rosset 1909:1/ Box 30.1)

The presence of different missions operating in the same region was considered to be an advantage, but was also seen as a challenge. As Africans shared what happened in each of them, much like the disciples of Jesus and John the Baptist before them (Luke 11: 1), they started to realize the presence of differences.

Gradually, members of the African Church, led by the Swiss Mission, learned that differentiations were commonplace among missions operating in the country. They also began to understand that the prevalent political situation was somehow present in the church in the form of injustices. This is confirmed by an undated and unsigned report that mentioned some historic events concerning the IPM. It says:

Unfortunately, occurrences that manifest the African revolution are very fast. Their speed threatens the maturity of the church and makes it to be dangerously shaken in its development (DM /6 121C)

Although not mentioned, it is known that the injustices and racism that constituted the bases of colonialism were also identified in the church. Members may have demonstrated their dissatisfaction when they realized that the church was full of them.

The demand of evangelists to be ordained forced the Swiss Mission to create an Indigene Pastorate. The author will delve more deeply into this issue later in this chapter.

In their private encounters, ministers in particular, used to discuss injustices in the church. They were able to understand that the role of the church was not only to proclaim salvation, but also provide a liberating message as, mentioned by Chamango that: "the message of salvation which Christians proclaim must be based in liberation from all kinds of evil: injustice, hunger, nakedness" (Chamango 1996: 156)

This was a commonly held feeling within the African Church in Mozambique. As Chamango (1996) says, ministers started to be aware of injustices happening in their midst. These injustices were not only linked to their poor stipends, but were extended to

their ecclesiastic work, such as the celebrations of marriage, baptism, and the Holy Communion. Questions such as "Who pay ministers salaries in Switzerland? Do they have a right to holidays? Where does the money for the Mission come from? If all churches have their own Mission, does this means that we have our own Mission?"

The above questions, along with a host of other pertinent questions, were posed to the General Secretary of the Swiss Mission during his visit to Africa in 1948. Africans profited from the presence of someone who did not know them to ask questions that reveal their anguish. According to André Clerc, they asked him the following questions:

> Rev Reymond, what do you think about the ecclesiastic discipline? How is it practiced in Switzerland? Here, we would like to change some of its aspects… Is there polygamy in Switzerland? Are Swiss husbands faithful to their spouses? What is the church doing about this issue? (Clerc, BMS 1948/49: 347)

It is not reported how the missionary responded. A lesson, however, was learnt. "Africans were not happy with the poor and controlled situation on which they lived. They were neither clear about the way the church was governed, nor about the provenience of the funds for the Mission (Ibid: 347).

It seemed to the author that in asking the above questions, Africans were experiencing their freedom. Even not aware, they were dealing with issues of high sensitivity. The ecclesial discipline, as it was being practiced, prevented many members from enjoying God's covenant. One of the purposes of Jesus's message in the gospel of Luke was "to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke 4: 19). From the questions posed, it is clear that Africans were rejecting a message that oppressed them as coming from the Lord.

According to Chamango, African ministers also wanted to know why their ordination differed from that of the Swiss missionaries. So, they posed questions like:

> *Moneri*, meaning missionary, are you the only one with the power of presiding to the Holy Communion? Why do you have a car and not me? (Chamango 1998: 4)

The constant preoccupation of the church workers mentioned by Chamango could be a

sign that Africans were not happy. They felt as though they were being discriminated against by those who proclaimed equality in Jesus Christ. In situations such as this described above, people begin to ask who they are, what are they doing and for what. Maybe the reasoning led to them considering possibilities regarding the Autonomy of their church.

Chamango also mentioned that the act of questioning authorities about their rights provoked divergences and confrontations that threatened the peace within the Swiss Mission (Ibid). Georges Andrié confirms the above by saying that:

> Inside the Swiss Mission, steps to the autonomy of the IPM provoked divergences of points of view motivated by prevalent conflicts along the Swiss missionaries' generations (Andrié in Cruz e Silva 2001: 130)

Chamango and Andrié declarations show that both the Church workers and Swiss missionaries lived through difficult moments. For example, the Revs Otoniel, Mazenzule and Valter affirmed that animosities among Swiss missionaries were evident. They were unable to hide their disagreements with each other.

Time had arrived for the IPM "to feel free, think, breathe, and live authentically" (Andriamanjato 1997: 35) as an autonomous Church.

The IPM workers, who for years had appeared to be submissive to the missionaries' orders, were beginning to show impatience to understand their roles as ministers, and at the same time be working towards building up their self-esteem. Important changes needed to be made. This attitude may have contributed to the decision of handing Autonomy to the IPM.

By way of explaining the motives of divergences among the different generations of Swiss missionaries, Eugene Raymond says:

> The Swiss Church was worried because it was not sure about the maturity and capacity of the IPM (Raymond BMS 1948/49: 271).

It is surprising to see that the Swiss church had recognized since the beginning that Africans were not wholly prepared to take the lead. The paradox is that, they did not do

much to challenge this weakness.

In order to understand the reasons for the above preoccupation, the author consulted declarations that had been written by Africans themselves. For Calvin Maphophe, there were many causes for concern, because "the African' church had at his disposal all the necessary structures for its life. It had its proper governing body; it had its own ministers; its own evangelists; its own lay people who are true testimonies of Jesus Christ. Moreover, the fundamental task of the Swiss Mission was the formation of the national staff of the church, such as ministers, evangelists, youth leaders, lay people and others. It was also important to engage the community in these preparations and to give to it a solid Christian education" (Maphophe BMS 1948/49: 278/ 280)

Co-researches, however, mentioned that the preparation of the African leadership for Autonomy was weak. Why then, did Swiss missionaries choose to hand Autonomy to people who had not been sufficiently prepared for it?

Co-researchers' affirmation was based through experience and also through the way members responded to the three questions addressed to them during the eve of the 1948 Autonomy (Lumuku), (cf. 4.2).

As the Swiss missionaries lived closer to people, they may have understood that their role was not to violate the rights of the African Church. Accordingly, they were open to listen to the real aspirations of the Africans and to empower them to become the spiritual leaders of their own people. Accordingly, they intensified the training of African ministers, evangelists, and youth leaders; this process led to the appointment of an African leadership as an integral part of the process towards Autonomy of the church, as noted by Cruz e Silva (2001: 128).

2.1.6 The Preparation of the African Leadership for Autonomy

Available information shows that the Swiss Mission prepared Africans for Autonomy, as mentioned by Paul Fatton:

The 1948 Synod in Chicumbane aimed at considering the spiritual and material positions of the African Church by studying three chapters dealing with: The Church, the Believer and the Liberty (Fatton BMS 1948/49: 135)

The study of the above three chapters was aimed at empowering both leaders and members of the African Church. Questions were sent to all consistories in order to be studied and answered.

Indeed, the consistories presented their reports to the 1948 Synod at Chicumbane. According to André Clerc, the contents of the reports shocked the Synod, because "among two hundred and fifty answers given to the question 'What is a church', only eight were correct answers" (Clerc BMS 1948/49: 342).

The question is: Why did members fail to provide a correct response to the above fundamental question? If they did not know what the church was for them, how could they owe this church? What type of future could be expected from people who ignore who they are?

The difficulties that members of the church were experiencing did not impede the realization of the project of the Autonomy of the African Church. Other external events called for changes, such as the wars that affected the world during the 1940's and their consequences. Africa was also greatly impacted by these changes, as noted by Ross:

> After the landings in North Africa in November 1942, Africa will not again in our lifetime regain that position of relative isolation from Western Europe and world affairs which it had before… African people have not yet the power of growing national solidarity which has come to the Near and Far Eastern peoples, and so can but weakly resist the foreigner economic and political domination of their lands…The Christian forces should endeavor to do even more with and for Africa throughout this critical period by interpretation of its hopes, desires and potentials; by even greater educational efforts, and by intensification of the whole Christian service program throughout Africa for leadership training and for increasing African solidarity and All Africa cooperation through the Christian Church (Ross 1948: 1-2 / DM 1250 B – A 374)

The above statement shows clearly that the Swiss Mission was conscious that changes in Europe were to affect the whole Africa. It was critical that Africans were educated and prepared for evangelism, solidarity, and for the general wellbeing of the Continent. The

church was seen as having the primordial responsibility in guiding Africa to peace and to development.

From the above statement, we learn that a combination of internal and external political situations drove the Swiss Mission to accelerate and intensify its project of the Africanization of the Church.

2.1.7 Political Situation in Mozambique

Mozambique had been colonized by the Portuguese in 1498 when Vasco da Gama discovered the country. The occupation of the territory, however, was done slowly but violently, as discussed in chapter one. Chamango adds that "the final occupation of Mozambique was only possible with the imprisonment of Ngungunyana" (Chamango 1996: 158).

The violence used by the Portuguese in order to subjugate the traditional chiefs created animosity between Mozambicans and the colonizers. The Portuguese occupied the country through the use of force, and the Mozambicans had never forgotten this humiliation.

With the imprisonment of Ngungunyana and other traditional chiefs, the Portuguese intensified their control over the southern region of Mozambique, where the Swiss Mission was more active.

Gradually, the Portuguese initiated their interference, with the aim of destroying the work of the Swiss Mission. Church activities and schools are good examples of this interference.

There are many examples of employees who were expelled by their Portuguese bosses accused of having 'independent spirit' that they had acquired in protestant churches.

The Roman Catholic Church, which was an ally of the colonial regime, enforced infant baptism as a measure of control of their attendance of protestant worships. Parents who

were Protestants and whose children attended Roman Catholic Schools, were not happy with this situation. They asked the Swiss Mission to thus introduce infant baptism. According to Mazenzule, in order to satisfy these parental requests, the Swiss Mission introduced the practice of infant baptism in 1939:

> There are many examples that shows that children lived under repression, forced to attend Roman Catholic' schools as well as being compulsory baptized (Cruz e Silva 2001: 102)

Despite not considering Africans as human beings with rights, the Catholic Church baptized them. The Catholic Church justified this attitude by saying that "the destiny of Africans is slavery; they do not have rights but they have a soul. That is why they have to be baptized and, if necessary, to be instructed on faith" (Biber 1987: 55-56)

The kind of mentality as mentioned above could not in any way inspire genuine respect or love. The period between 1900 and 1940 was known in Mozambique as being characterized by the hard hand of colonialism. Forced labour and arbitrary imprisonments were commonplace occurrences. The Protestant Churches were the sole institutions offering an amicable shoulder to Mozambicans. The care offered to people maintained it through the persecutions.

According to Faris, the power that the Roman Catholic Church held over Protestants was reinforced by the 1930 Colonial Act, which recognized the Roman Catholic Church as an "instrument of civilization and national influence" within the larger framework of the Portuguese 'Estado Novo'. Having control over the situation, the Roman Catholic Church forced Protestant Missions "to work under severe restrictions" (Faris 2007: 29).

The Roman Catholic Church, which was also the State Church, collaborated with the political regime by oppressing Mozambicans through the violation of secrets shared during confessions. Dom Manuel Vieira Pinto, who was the Catholic Bishop of Nampula, confirms the oppression of the Roman Catholic Church to Mozambicans in this way:

> Effectively, the Church collaborated with the colonial regime. It actively collaborated by accepting to diffuse the Portuguese national culture, by ostensibly appearing side by side with the colonial governor; by preaching a gospel of resignation and of obedience to the established rules. It passively collaborated with the colonial power by accepting to be manipulated; because of fear and

prudence, the Roman Catholic Church suffered oppression to the extent of silencing crimes and colonial violence (Vieira Pinto 1979: 72).

The author believes that the Bishop did not approve the attitude of his church, because he was aware of the abuse of the confessional. This led him to write a book denouncing the injustices of the colonial regime in collaboration with the Catholic Church. His courage in a moment where many oppressors were still active is very much appreciated.

The ordinary citizen was unable to understand what could lead a church that proclaims and teaches concepts such as love and justice oppress its own members. This attitude assumed by the Catholic Church was therefore condemned both inside and outside Mozambique. Butselaar is also of the opinion that Portugal was generally insensitive to the appeals made by other nations, even in relation to the abolishment of slave-trade. He says that "in spite of Portugal having declared the abolishment of slave-trade in 1836, it continued with this practice for a long time" (Butselaar 1987: 22).

The colonial regime never ceased to treat Mozambicans as objects. Oppression was the arm that it used the most. By God's hand, however, some of the Mozambicans that were sent aboard in slavery were able to return home. They returned to their homeland with a different understanding of themselves as an image of God. They also came back transformed, and carrying with them the liberating message of the Scriptures, which they shared with their family and the wider community. According to Butselaar, this message affirmed that "God concedes liberty to all people" (Butselaar 1987: 22).

It is clear that when people lose their natural liberty either as a community or a country; this is when they most appreciate the liberating message of the Scriptures as taught by Jesus in the Gospel of Luke.

In 1955, Paul Fatton affirmed that "he appealed his colleagues to do their best in offering good standards of education because of the closure of many schools by the Portuguese" (Fatton 1955: 5 / DM 1215 C -F1). This, and many other similar threats, forced the Swiss Mission to intensify the preparation of Africans for Autonomy during

the early 1940's.

Cruz e Silva says that by the end of 1940, there was a clear sense of social differentiation in Mozambique. Living and working conditions were very difficult; salaries were very low. Africans were obliged to produce whatever the colonial regime demanded. All these constraints resulted in strikes and rebellion from the population. Portugal, instead of listening to the needs of their colony, intensified their oppression over the Mozambicans. This violence attempt to maintain complete control over the colony failed, and Portugal was unable to impede the advancement of protests, the proliferation of clandestine nationalistic activities and the rise of nationalist movements (Cruz e Silva 2001: 113).

Indeed, many movements of people of all ages arouse, for a number of reasons. One of the common objectives was to create a spirit of unity amongst the Africans.

Again, Cruz e Silva provides an insightful explanation of the events in those troubled times:

> When the Portuguese revised the constitution between the years 1951 and 1953, they transformed the colonial statute of Mozambique into Province. This change represented a complete integration of Mozambique into a unified Portuguese State. Within this new socio-political context, the Africanization of a well identified protestant church, with its languages and culture, ideologically animated by the notion of independence and already experiencing autonomous management, reinforced political abyss between the Presbyterian Church and the colonial State (Cruz e Silva 2001: 133)

The complete integration of Mozambique into a unified Portuguese State did not impede the will to acquire self-identity. On the contrary, it reinforced it. The preaching of the liberating message of the gospel (Luke 4:18-19) was the eye-opener for many Mozambicans. Through it, Mozambicans were able to analyze, distinguish, and understand the political system in which they lived.

In 1960, the Mozambicans living in Moeda protested against the Portuguese, clamouring for greater political rights. As a response from their coloniser, they were horribly massacred. From then, nothing could prevent them from fighting for their rights,

freedom, and dignity. This feeling of intense nationalistic pride and desire for political freedom was not unique to the Mozambicans, as many African countries reached liberty through similar processes that included fighting for their liberation.

2.1.8 International Political Situation

Contrary to the internal situation in Mozambique, the international political situation was favorable to the development of anti-colonial movements. The openness of the powerful was due to the consequences of the Second World War. Again it is Cruz e Silva who affirms that:

> The changes that occurred after the Second World War had direct and indirect consequences upon Portugal and its colonial' politic. The environment was favorable to the development of anti-colonial movements and to democracy. The Pan African Manchester Congress in 1945 launched appeal for the immediate independence of all colonies. In 1947 and 1948 the independence of British colonies in Asia reinforced this tendency (Cruz e Silva 2001: 113)

As previously mentioned, the changes that were occurring worldwide were having a direct impact on Africa. The Swiss Mission was also aware of what was going on. It was a time of defining strategies and of taking action towards the Autonomy of the African Church under its guidance.

The Portuguese colonial regime had already declared war against Protestant Churches. As an oppressor, it could not facilitate the game, as Oduyoye wisely affirms:

> The powerful never let go because they cannot exist as entities in themselves; they are nothing if they do not have others to trample under their feet or to look down upon. They know no other life and therefore have to do all they can to retain the situation that gives them their dominant role (Oduyoye 1986: 84)

Portugal's attitude toward Mozambicans was in line with Oduyoye's statement above. Instead of listening and changing its oppressive structures, it insisted in oppression. As a result, according to Vieira Pinto, "during the last decades of the twentieth century, people who were still dominated from different forms of colonialism revolted and, little by

little, assumed liberty, identity and the construction of own history" (Vieira Pinto 1979:124)

Protestant Churches in Mozambique knew humiliation, but they resisted because they believed that God cared for their wellbeing, and would ultimately protect and liberate them.

2.1.9 The Swiss Mission's Challenges

The Swiss Mission started the process of handling Autonomy to the African Church pressed by the events occurring worldwide, but essentially pressed by evangelist. The pressure from evangelists obliged it to create an Indigene Pastorate. This is one of the biggest challenges that the Swiss Mission has had to face.

It is a given fact that since the beginning of their work in Africa, Swiss missionaries had been preparing Africans for evangelism and for Autonomy. It is also known that they did not immediately implement a process that could lead African' Churches to Autonomy. Rather, this process was introduced slowly, a fact that is supported by Georges Andrié's testimony that:

> During the ninetieth century, missionaries spread the Gospel but they were not conscious about the necessity of training well the African pastors and the lay' people (Cruz e Silva 2001: 131).

The process of training future church leaders not only started at a later point, but it stemmed from the active request that evangelists be ordained, as mentioned earlier.

This request made by evangelists led to the creation of an Indigene Pastorate. Henry Junod prepared the regulations of this training especially for the Mozambicans. This school had dual objectives, namely to prepare people with spiritual values and to prepare the future leaders of the Church. Junod himself clarifies these objectives, stating that:

> The creation of an indigenous pastorate is one of the means from which the highly desired

As it can be clearly understood, to the process of attaining the Autonomy of the church required an in-depth preparation that included not only theological studies, but also drew from other disciplines. If the Swiss had known from the beginning that the African Church was to become an Autonomous entity, why had they not prepared them better? This is not an easy question to answer. However, some reports mention that the different players within the Swiss Mission had different opinions. Those operating in Southern Africa who had a deeper insight into the situation in Mozambique felt the pressing need for Autonomy, and as a result actively searched for solutions, while those who were based in Europe saw this attitude as a mere precipitation. Rosset was obliged to explain in detail the reasons behind the creation of an indigene pastorate, as can be seen in the following lines:

> If the issue seemed not necessary, we were, however, persuaded that it was desired. Firstly, to satisfy the desire of our churches so that they also get what was already accorder to others; secondly, to make sure that, step by step, they walk towards autonomy which is the final goal to be achieved (Rosset 1909: 1/ Box 30.1- 2F).

Rosset defends the creation of an indigene pastorate, by showing that Africans deeply desired it, and the Swiss Mission had the obligation of attending to their requests. However, at the same time, Swiss missionaries were sensitive to their colleagues who thought that this preparation was unnecessary. The author's argument is supported by the way in which regulations for the indigene pastorate were made, as seen in the following examples:

➢ The indigene pastor can not attend the conference with the same rights as those of a white missionary; he cannot administrate money or immovable's belonging to the Mission;

➢ An indigene pastor cannot bless marriages; sign any official documents or a reports regarding his own work; cannot be placed far from the supervision of a Swiss missionary; and is not allowed do any accounts;

➢ The indigene pastor will not have the same privileges as the Swiss missionaries

behind the Conference; will not be allowed to build his own house. This is necessary to assure his transference from one place to another.

The above examples may explain the discomfort created within the Swiss Mission by the birth of an Indigene Pastorate. This is also sustained by the affirmation made later by Rosset when he said:

> When the missionaries accepted the creation of an Indigene Pastorate they did not know that this new 'army body' was called to replace this of the missionaries in a very short period... Secondly, in creating an Indigene Pastorate, we wanted to prove that we also wanted to see this church developed and stepping towards autonomy (1909: 1/ Box 30.1- 2F).

The above statement shows that the birth of an Indigene Pastorate created fear amongst some of the Swiss missionaries. They feared being replaced by the 'new army' of Africans. It must be asked, if Swiss missionaries were not ready to be replaced by Africans, why did they declare the Autonomy of the church? More investigation is needed in order to understand the real motives that forced the Swiss Mission to declare Autonomy of the African Church.

2.1.10 The Training of the African leadership of the Church

Although not having been taken seriously since the beginning (Cruz e Silva 2001: 131), the training of the future African leadership of the Church later became an issue of big importance.

Since its establishment, the Swiss Mission trained people for evangelization. The training provided to this group was very superficial. Swiss missionaries recognized the limitations that this group had when evangelists asked to be ordained. Their request made the organization of an Indigene Pastorate that aimed at training people who were better qualified for the ministry of the church possible.

The training of Africans was initiated in 1879, with the envoy of the first group of seven students to Lesotho to be trained as teachers (see Maluluke 1995: 72). This group was

followed by another group consisting of three men in 1907, as indicated by the 1903 and 1905 Synods held in Mozambique and South Africa respectively. These two Synods elected the three people involved in this training, namely: Calvin Maphophe, Yonas Maphophe, and Samuel Malale. These three men were the first black ministers within the Swiss Mission in Mozambique and South Africa.

These three men were carefully selected from a pool of candidates who were considered to be the best caliber for the job. This selection process for future leaders was linked to the principle that had been frequently articulated by the Swiss, namely:

> The future of the church depends on the training of qualified young people. Actual circumstances urge us to prepare elite of indigene people. It is also necessary to study the mechanisms from which we can progressively and systematically attain to the replacing of the notion of "Mission" by this of "Church" on the indigene's people' spirit (Perier 1936:2 / AC 1084/51 20C).

The Swiss Mission initiated and developed this project. In Mozambique, the search of suitable intelligent young people to include in this project resulted in Eduardo Mondlane being nominated as a candidate, especially for the position of a leader of young people. Andre Clerc expressed many times the need to appoint someone who could respond to the challenges of urbanization that had affected all Mozambicans, especially the youngest people in the country (Clerc 1946 - DM 911 C/4).

For the Swiss Mission, workers of the Church had also to be qualified, and were required to be seen to possess high moral standards. Some of the criteria required from candidates for theological studies were as follows:

➢ The candidate must have served the Mission for a period of at least five years as an evangelist or youth leader

➢ He must have an educational level that would allow him to follow the course, but also to respond to the needs of people he will lead

➢ He must be recommended by the missionary to whom he served, as well as the Synod Committee

> All indigene candidates must have a white missionary as counsellor

The above are some of the criteria that were established according to the norms of the organization of the African Church (Box 20.3 1F).

These criteria, namely the one which recommended that a white missionary had to be a counselor of a student, contributed towards creating a legacy of godfathers or protectors within the IPM. These godfathers or protectors are said to be responsible by the state in which the IPM is. They are accused of recruiting people for ministry who have any calling only to destabilize the church.

The Swiss Mission continued with its task of training evangelists. The introduction of indigene pastorate forced the Swiss Mission to consider their best evangelists to isolate those who were considered to be suitable to be trained as ministers, as per the criteria listed above. This practice, which appeared to be innocent, later became known as one of the big challenges facing evangelists and ministers within the IPM.

Ricatla, the spiritual center founded by Lois Xintomana early in the eighties, was developed by the Swiss Mission. Later, it became the United Seminary of Ricatla where all protestant churches have trained their leaders to date. Confirming the importance of Ricatla as an ecumenical center for the training the future leadership of the church, Cruz e Silva wrote:

> Between 1917 and 1948, the United Seminary of Ricatla (SUR) had six courses with duration of three years each and *the number of students grow up to twenty* [italic mine] (Cruz e Silva 2001: 128).

The Seminary prepared students for different functions in the church. The five ministers who were ordained during the ceremony of handling Autonomy to the IPM in 1948 had been trained at Ricatla.

Although not ready to hand Autonomy to the African Church, the Swiss Mission was under immense pressure to do so. As a result they deemed it necessary to formulate a

set of norms that would allow it to exercise total control of the Africans working in the church. This control may have prevented these Africans from forming a genuinely loving relationship with the Swiss Mission, and consequently their church. Instead, they were coerced into do the following:

> They will preach, evangelize, and teach catechism; they will collect offerings with the help of lay people, they will do the registration of members monitored by a supervisor, they will take care of the building they will be living in; they will be transferred according to the needs; they will be accommodated in a house with four bedrooms and a kitchen. These houses will have twelve square meters and three meters height; they will be at work all the time excluding the moments when they will be cultivating for their feeding; they will have rights to one month of holidays each year but they can not be absent from their posts for long time. Their stipends will be fixed by the Conference and ratified by the Synod; the African church will not have any property registered in its name (Rosset 1909:1-4 in Box 30.1- 2F).

The kind of restrictions mentioned above shows that the future Autonomy of the African Church was nothing more than a slogan. Africans themselves may have forced the situation through their exigencies and questioning.

The discussions described above also indicate that Africans were prevented from understanding both their role and from seeing Autonomy as a form of liberation and opportunity for them to grow. These may be the reasons that prevented the members from owning the Autonomy of their church concretely in relation to its financial sustainability.

The way in which the above assignments were implemented and the impact they may have had on members will be examined when dealing with positive and negative aspects of Autonomy.

However, it is important to see how other Swiss Missionaries interpreted their relationship with Africans. Below is an extract of a report written by André Clerc, who stated:

> These native colleagues offer all their time and strength to the church. The ministry of the African minister is difficult. They travel long distances, around 80 kilometers on foot or by bicycle. They bring spiritual support to a society shadowed by its belief. Their strokes are not healed. They

assume the leadership of their parishes and they are the administrators of finances in their respective regions. Some of them had become thin, others are sick and others reached exhaustion (Clerc BMS 1952/53: 78)

In the above extract, Clerc affirms that African ministers were viewed as colleagues. He thus differs considerably from others, who considered them to be merely collaborators; he also says that they were fully occupied by the church. This was one of the assignments of the indigene pastorate, whose implementation was revealed to be cruel. He also shows that discrimination was commonplace within the missionary church.

Even while recognizing the significant role played by the Swiss Mission in the fields of education, health, agriculture, and Christianity, one is free to ask how Africans could continue to remain silent when they were living in such difficult circumstances.

2.1.11 Financial Constrains

The second considerable challenge facing the Swiss Mission was linked to its financial situation. Speaking about Autonomy of the IPM, Paul Fatton initiated his speech by saying that:

> The problem is huge, complicated, it preoccupies all Missions but it has to be done. It is true that decisions were taken rapidly but, hopefully, they were done with the aim of preventing the IPM from depending too much from external aid…These Missions are a weak minority… a vacillating and maybe badly done financial principles plunged them in an abyss of difficulties (Fatton BMS 1948/49: 135).

This introductory remark aims at showing the seriousness of the issue the author wants to introduce. It immediately calls our attention to the fact that the Mission did not have sufficient means for this work in Africa. It also helps us gain an understanding of its financial principles, namely the stipends that were to be paid to church workers.

In order to continue its work in Africa, constant appeals to members were made by the Swiss Mission, which were aimed at encouraging their members to give generously, as demonstrated by the following message issued by Ali Robert:

Friends of the Missions! One very easy way of helping the mission consists of collecting stamps. You can collect big number of stamps from Switzerland and from aboard. Ask support from your friends, from the commerce and please, do it for the benefit of the Swiss Mission in Southern Africa (Robert BMS 1948/49: 31).

These appeals were partly aimed at preventing the total collapse of their intervention in this part of the continent, but also as a measure against the constrained international financial situation of the time. The wars had weakened the capacity of production and of productivity, not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world. These weaknesses had a significant impact on the contributions made by the Mission of the Church; in addition to these difficulties, Swiss missionaries were conscious that if Africa becomes independent, they could for any way continue leading the African church.

Concerning the issue of finances, available reports from the time also show that the Swiss Mission annual budgets were systematically in deficit. The deficit caused difficulties for the execution of programs on time.

The appeal above shows the seriousness of the issue and makes it clear that situation in which the Swiss Mission found itself during these years was a very difficult one.

Financial reports from the 1940's show how challenging it was for the Mission to achieve the necessary budget for their work. For many years, the church in Switzerland could not send any delegates to monitor the work that was being carried out by the Mission in Southern Africa because of these financial constraints. For the purposes of declaring the Autonomy of the IPM, however, the church of Switzerland had the moral obligation to send a delegate to Africa to oversee the process. The following passage written by Henry Guye shows how difficult it was to realize this dream. The message says:

There is long time that the council is not visiting our missionary' stations. With God's wish, Mr. and Mrs. Reymond will travel to Africa in the beginning of April. Mrs. Reymond is accompanying his husband through the request of our missionaries. Neither the council, neither other interested people had foreseen this double financial charge because of reasons very well known by all of us. Hopefully, her ticket was kindly paid through the Elim Hospital budget in South Africa (Guye BMS

1948/49: 36-37).

The above quotations raise serious questions concerning the teachings of the Swiss Mission on giving. While there are several examples that demonstrate acts of charity, such as that provided by Ali Robert regarding the collection of stamps, the author was generally unable to find examples where the Swiss Mission teaches its members how to give generously of their money to God. The silence on this crucial issue poses serious questions concerning the real motives that led the Swiss Mission to declare Autonomy of the church.

Coming back to the issue of financial constrains, the report of the 1951 Council says that "since 1915 the mission had been closing the year with a deficit balance" (BMS 1952/53:73/74).

The above statement shows that during the thirty three year period, the Swiss Mission faced severe financial difficulties. It needed to alleviate itself by finding practical solutions. To discharge itself from the burden of paying stipends to their 'African collaborators' (as it used to be referred), the Swiss Mission decided that the African Church had to pay its expenses. This can be demonstrated by the following affirmation:

> The task of every mission is to create a church that depends on its own resources spiritually and financially. This was the case of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (DM 1215 C/ 6:).

The above declaration shows that the Swiss Mission had taken the decision of handing Autonomy to the IPM very seriously, but financial situation may have pressed it.

From early in the forties, the preparations of the African Church towards gaining Autonomy intensified. This period is known as the 'Africanization of the Church'. The term 'Africanization' indicates clearly that Africans were to participate actively, in order to take the lead of processes that before had been totally in the hands of white missionaries.

The process that led the IPM to gain Autonomy was full of difficulties but also of

meaningful and diversified activities. It was also full of documents that needed to be drawn up, like the Constitution and Conventions. The author will now show how this process developed by demonstrating its different steps or phases.

2. 2 Towards Autonomy

Having demonstrated the motives that forced the Swiss Mission to hand Autonomy to the IPM, it is now necessary to demonstrate how this process was conducted.

The author begins this demonstration by bringing some words of exhortation pronounced in 1929 by the Rev Paul Loze, a Swiss missionary working in Mozambique. He said:

> How slow we are, how blind, always hesitating, forgetting the word of the old prophet: 'Cursed be he that does the work of the Lord negligently' (Jer. 48:10). And beside that what loss of strength, of men, of money, all belonging to our Lord, on account of our lack of brotherly love and co-operation. Belonging to the same father we are two often acting as if we were strangers to each other, giving sometimes the appearance that we are fighting against each other (Loze 1929: 1).

The above words were pronounced in a meeting of missionaries from six protestant churches in Mozambique.

The project of the Africanization of the Church prepared by the Swiss Mission was inclusive for all Protestant Churches working together in Mozambique. This process started with the signing of a Memorandum by different missions working in Mozambique and in South Africa. Meanwhile, the Swiss Mission took pains to organize the IPM, and in 1948 it launched the Autonomy of the African Church in Mozambique.

2.2.1 The Launch of Autonomy of the IPM (LUMUKU)

The Autonomy of the IPM (LUMUKU) was launched in 1948 at Chicumbane, Gaza Province. The event was presided over by the Rev. Eugene Reymond, a representation of the Swiss Mission, and the Rev. Filemon Nyankhale, a representation of the African

church. It was in this ceremony that the African Church was officially baptized as Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (IPM).

For Chamango, the launch of the Autonomy of the IPM was beyond the geographical space occupied by the Swiss Mission. For him, God was acting through this event to liberate the entire country from Portuguese dominion (Chamango 1998: 2). He understood the launch of Autonomy as being the '*prophecy*' of the future independence of Mozambique.

Chamango's thinking is in line with the insecurity that the event provoked to the colonial power. Indeed, the oppression under the protestant church intensified. More evidence of this oppression will be shared later in this chapter.

The sig that things were changing radically was the indication that an African minister would preside over the Synod. Shortly after the Swiss Mission had been established in 1887, all conferences were only attended by Swiss missionaries (Butselaar 1987: 107). The introduction of a Synod in 1903 did not alter this procedure. For 61 years, African ministers and evangelists were essentially invisible and voiceless within the church. This changed at the Lumuku of 1948, which was a clear indication that the leadership of the IPM was initiating the process of taking the lead at the Synod. Cruz e Silva refers to the recollections of Georges Andrié, a former missionary who declared:

> 1948 is an important date for the africanization of the church. This period is known as Lumuku in Xitsonga. The church was called to establish its roots among the population and we did efforts in this direction (Cruz e Silva 2001: 130)

The ceremony of handing Autonomy to the IPM in 1948 was a verbal one. There are no available official documents referring to it. The program of the celebration of this event does not indicate the precise moment when a discourse of handing Autonomy to the IPM was pronounced. The only indications that a major change had occurred the presence of a black minister leading the Synod, coupled with the presence of the General Secretary of the Swiss Mission serving as an envoy to confirm the transition of

activities to the natives. But, maybe by fear of the colonial government, any pronunciation was openly made in order to invite members of the African Church to owe it by, for example, paying stipends to its workers (1948 Synod Program: 1-2).

For Otoniel (not his real name), the 1948 Autonomy represents the materialization of an old dream of Mhalamhala and those who followed him. He said also that members were active propagating the church, but they may have not understood the process in which they were involved (Otoniel 03/02//2011)

Otoniel's declaration may mean that Africans were *instructed* on what they had to do with regard to this process, rather than being active participants in the process, who had the power to shape the process to reflect the African's needs and thoughts. This thus may have prevented them from expressing their will. The Regulations that thus allowed for the involvement of the Africans had been prepared without their input, and did not allow room for them to decide about the future of their church.

It was in 1948 that the African Church was baptized as Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (IPM). According to Valter (not his real name), the designation IPM was effectively only a reality in theory, as in practice the African Church continued to be called Swiss Mission or the church of VaTsonga and VaRhonga (which were the two ethnical groups that belonged to it). These two ethnical groups are original from the Gaza and Maputo Provinces. Indeed, many people still ask where the name IPM comes from, because it has no historical significance for them. One has to explain that Presbyterianism is a government system of the church that members of the former Swiss Mission adopted.

Although not having been official, that is, recognized by the colonial government, the 1948 Autonomy of the IPM transformed the way the church was operating. Ecclesiastic structures were set up. The legacy was created and, as Maxwell says,

> When all is said and done, your ability as a leader will be judged by how well your people and your organization did after you were gone. Your lasting value will be measured by succession (Maxwell 2002: 1192).

Taking in consideration Maxwell's statement above, one can say that any initiative carried out without the conscious involvement of the locals, remains foreign in nature. But, if local people are involved or if the initiative stems from them and their input then the possibilities of their engagement and the resultant success on the initiative are bigger.

2.2.2 The setting up of Ecclesiastic Structures

The handing of the Church to Africans forced the Swiss Mission to create norms. Such norms were guaranteed by Regulations, the Constitution, and Conventions. The regulations of the ecclesiastic structures that were started in 1948 later evolved into a Constitution. These ecclesiastic structures were aimed at establishing a system of Church government called Presbyterian. This system sees the coming together of leaders and members (collegial system) when decisions concerned to the life of the institution have to be taken. It is believed that this kind of system prevents the establishment of a hierarchical authority.

Therefore, the newly-born ecclesial institution did not have any authoritative power. It was expected to be open to the points of view or criticism of others. From this perspective, the IPM was expected to grow in a healthy way, and to renew herself whenever necessary. In this way, the IPM could identify herself as being a member of the Reformed Churches (*Ecclesia Reformate simper reformanda), as* the reformed church may always be reformed when the need to adapt or change arises.

Accordingly, the Rev Filemon Nyankale, who was elected the president of the Synod in 1948, who was expected to lead the IPM found that he was limited to the terms of the Synod's mandate.

Hierarchically, the ecclesial structures that were confirmed in 1948 are as follows:

- ➤ The Parish, which is led by the consistory. The Consistory is a body constituted

by the missionary or minister and by lay people. In this body, church matters are discussed. Distinction was given to issues related to ecclesial discipline, methods of evangelization, and the setting up of new parishes. Issues that the consistory is unable to solve are transferred to the presbytery.

➢ The Presbytery is a body constituted by a certain number of parishes that belong to the some region. Only those who are elected by parishes were allowed to participate as delegates of a presbytery. In 1948, three presbyteries were designated, namely the Presbytery of Umbeluzi, Inkomati, and Limpopo. All of them had Swiss Missionaries as their leaders.

➢ The Synod was the central body that gathered delegates from all Presbyteries and other services like schools, hospitals, and agricultural settings on an annual basis. The Synod had the responsibility of regulating the moral life of members, passing legislate relating to Church matters including ecclesial discipline, and homogenising the procedures of all consistories.

➢ The Synod Committee was a body that functioned on a permanent basis. It was composed by seven members. Swiss missionaries occupied the positions of both president and deputy president. Of the remaining five positions, four were occupied by native workers. The future development of the church suppressed this organism, and it was replaced by the Ntsombano.

➢ The Ntsombano was a new organization that was born with the launch of Autonomy in 1948. The members of Ntsombano were ordained ministers, and were either Swiss missionaries or African ministers. The Ntsombano had the responsibility of discussing all matters related to the work of the church. Decisions made by the Ntsombano were not to be changed, especially those related to ecclesial discipline coming from the consistories and from the Synod Committee.

➢ The 1948 Lumuko also created a Central Cashier, which essentially worked as a private bank. All contributions from parishes and any other internal or external donor were sent to this cashier. The Central Cashier was directed by two missionaries, a minister elected by the Ntsombano, and two voters designated by the Synod.

➢ The Missionary Conference that was attended exclusively by white missionaries.

The above Ecclesiastic Structures were collectively responsible by the development of the Church. It is important, however, to bear in mind that the administration of the Swiss Mission continued in the hands of a Council based in Lausanne, Switzerland (1921: 1-6. Box 20.3 1F)

It seems to the author that all the above regulations existed only to address the work done and decisions made by Swiss Missionaries. There is no evidence that native ministers had significant roles to play. The many reports regarding meetings held in Switzerland, South Africa, and Mozambique relate to the discussions held and decisions made concerning Regulations, Conventions, the Constitution, and Memoranda. Maybe Africans were correct in their assertion that they were not involved in discussions concerning the Autonomy of their Church.

During this period of transition, norms for the payment of salaries or Stipends to church workers, namely the evangelists and ministers, were also made. According to the regulations, church workers were to be paid by the Central Cashier.

The parishes had to send any money that they had collected to the Central Cashier twice a year. Then, the Cashier was meant to use this income to pay back the stipends to the evangelists and ministers recognized by the Ntsombano. (This means that there were practicing evangelists who were not recognized as such by the Ntsombano).

Evangelists were paid only for the time spent in church activities. Only church workers whose parishes had previously sent their contributions to the Central Cashier were paid (Ibid: 9).

The Regulations outlined above guided the African Church until 1962, when three important steps were put in place, namely:

➢ The Swiss Mission started the process of sharing activities with the VaTsonga Church (IPM);

> The VaTsonga in turn implemented the evangelization of the country, Mozambique; and

> The task of paying Stipends to church workers by the IPM since the event of Lumuku in 1948 was spelled out. This responsibility has been in the hands of the Swiss Mission until this date.

As the author has already mentioned, there are no sources that can provide us with insight into how this process was done and what kind of difficulties and obstacles were encountered during its implementation. There is, however, evidence that church workers were not well paid, and that they were not happy.

The second phase of Autonomy started with the signing of the 1962 Convention. In 1962, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (EPCSA) also become Autonomous from the Swiss Mission. The 1962 Convention is therefore very important for both churches.

2.2.3 The 1962 Convention

As previously mentioned, the political situation in the sixties was a volatile one. Many liberation movements had been born and were active. Swiss missionaries were conscious of the need to accelerate the empowerment of Africans in terms of the Autonomy of the churches under their auspices.

A project known as Convention was signed between the Swiss Mission and the IPM in Mozambique and with the EPCSA in South Africa, which resulted in the departure of the Swiss Mission and the birth of the Missionary Department. Therefore, the 1962 Convention was no longer under the name of the Swiss Mission, but rather under the name of the new board: the Missionary Department of the Swiss Romand (DM).

The 1962 Convention was aimed at gradually reducing all kind of financial support to

the two churches in Mozambique and South Africa. However, the two churches were not yet prepared to assume this responsibility. The DM thus had to continue supporting the two churches for a long time. The EPCSA was eventually able to reach financial stability in the nineties. According to Helio, before 1990 many parishes had reached financial autonomy and helped other parishes to do the same. The financial support of the Missionary Department (DM) to the EPCSA was thus terminated in 1990, while the IPM continues to be financially dependent on the DM.

From 1962, an institution IPM was meant to work or cooperate with a department, which is led by technical people (as opposed to a church, which is led by religious people who have great knowledge concerning matters of faith, such as love and forgiveness, and who may in addition have some knowledge of technical principles). How then could these two different and distinguished bodies work together without conflicts?

The 1962 Convention mentioned the handing over of the Council, Presbytery, and Synod to the IPM. However, the buildings where all documents were kept remained in the hands of Swiss missionaries. In the case of the IPM and Mozambique, it was not even possible to transfer the ownership of properties to Africans, because the country was in the hands of the Portuguese. Furthermore, Swiss missionaries were still the official representatives of the IPM before the colonial authority; they continued to live and to work in the very buildings that the African leadership needed for its work. All this made the 1962 Convention a controversial one. Georges André shared his view when he said:

> During the years 1962, 1963 and 1964 important debates took place between the Missionary Department (DM) and the IPM. The ownership of properties was transferred to the IPM without any legal title. From my point of view, this was a big problem, because it is not possible to hand over the leadership of the Council, of the Synod and of the Presbytery without handling the properties (Cruz e Silva 2001: 189).

Despite this contentious situation that was provoked by the 1962 Convention, for some Mozambicans it brought new opportunities and challenges. For example, the natives had the newfound opportunity to lead the church, for example with the

election of the Rev Zedequias Manganhela as Synod Council President. This election is considered to be historic, because for the first time an African occupied an executive position within the church.

According to Mazenzule, it was during this period that the IPM expanded her activities to the Centre and the North of the country. From 1968, three ministers, Felix Khosa, Eugénio Chivite, and Djindje were successively sent as missionaries to Nampula. The envoy of these ministers among their own people was a very important event that showed the commitment of the IPM to evangelize her own people. The 1962 Convention also stated that Swiss missionaries working in Mozambique were under the leadership of the IPM. Therefore, some of them were also sent to the center of the country, namely Beira. The stipends of these missionaries continued to come from the DM in a new initiative known as Consultation.

Somehow the whole church was involved in this process. The author is reminded that constant appeals that were made during the preaching and workshops. As a young woman in the church, she often heard questions such as 'Who among you would like to work for the church?' She is also reminded of the Chemana's choirs, like Xipalapala. Xipalapala was a song that challenged the belief and the practice of paying low stipends. It showed that although members loved their church and would be happy to keep serving it, they were forced to work elsewhere because the salary in the church was so insignificant that they could not survive upon it. Some of the lyrics of Xipalapala are, "Vahivitana le Nampula, ni ne Vila Pery… Eu não, eu não, eu sim, eu vou!", which translates to " *We are called in Nampula and in Vila Pery... Not I, not I, me yes, I will go!"*

Those who said that did not want to go further justified their attitude by saying that, "Eu não vou ganhar lá uma miséria, deixar de ganhar fortuna nos caminhos de ferro! Não senhor!", which means "*I do not want to go because I will be paid miserably, while working for the railways I can get a fortune! No man!"*

Xipalapala was thus a song that denounced injustices, especially the practice of paying low stipends within the church. At the same time, it was calling for the change

of this practice, observing that the practice prevented people from choosing to serve in the church.

While it affirmed that members were being evangelized and increasingly involved in the running of the church, it also expressed their anger at the low stipends that the church was paying to her workers.

During this period, several other momentous events occurred that merit especial mention. These are the birth of the Igreja de Cristo em Moçambique (The Church of Christ in Mozambique), the United Seminary of Ricatla, and the publication of the Constitution of the IPM.

2.2.4 The establishment of the Church of Christ in Mozambique

Where do we go? This was the question that had preoccupied Swiss Missionaries since 1912. The discussions described above led to the identification of a project that could unify the different denominations working in the region to form a National African Church. The mentor of the project, Paul Berthoud, believed that the term "'National Church', referred to the totality of different ecclesial denominations working together in a country" (Badertscher 1934: 2 – Box 20.10 2F).

In the heart of this project was the issue of training African leadership of the church. The Missions were conscious that none of them could find all the necessary means to form the African Church while working alone (Badertscher 1934: 1).

Berthoud's dream resulted in three important milestones being realized by the church, namely the founding of the Church of Christ in Mozambique and the Christian Council of Mozambique, as well as the composing of a Constitution.

It is important to note that later Eduardo Mondlane identified the prejudices between the different denominations that eventually served as the foundation for the development of a church and of a united Africa. Faris states that:

Rather than seeking unity and cooperation in their evangelical task, they focused on the prejudices formed in the contexts from which they came and translated them into the communities they founded in Africa. These artificial differences then occupied the energy of the African Church rather than struggling with the real challenges of the dehumanizing impact of colonialism… the doctrinal differences brought division in the church and impeded the application of Christian faith in day to day life and in the development of the social order (Faris 2007: 25).

Mondlane was right in affirming that the church was not fulfilling its role in transforming the daily life of Africans according to the Christian faith in practical ways. This may explain the precarious situation Africans face in all spheres of their life.

The project initiated by the different denominations was aimed at providing Africans with the necessary skills to be able to manage their resources and to construct a Christian nation. Many activities were developed in order to achieve the realization of this dream. According to Pierre Loze, this project was termed the "Bantu races united in service for the Kingdom of God" (Loze 1929: 1. AC 1084/51. 2C).

As demonstrated by Pierre Loze, the project of Africanizing the Church was not unique to the Presbyterian churches in Mozambique and South Africa. It was a project that included other missions operating in this region, which led to them deciding to collaborate by forming a Federation of Churches.

In the case of Mozambique, the Protestant churches working in Mozambique created two ecumenical organizations, namely the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM) and the Church of Christ in Mozambique (ICM).

The CCM was established in 1948, the same year that the IPM reached Autonomy. The missionary Eugene Reymond confirmed the involvement of the Swiss Mission in the creation of CCM when he wrote:

In face of the very difficult situations troubling Mozambique and in face of the immensity of parts of the country that are still to be evangelized, the evangelical missions are examining their responsibilities. We can say that the Christian Council of Mozambique has become reality (Reymond BMS 1948/49:278).

The launch of CCM in 1948 is a clear demonstration that the Swiss Mission wanted to

create a Christian Nation in Mozambique. However, in the beginning this body was only constituted of white missionaries working in Mozambique, with Africans only being incorporated later. This objective was seen by the colonial regime as an affront. The Protestant Churches paid a very hard price for this boldness.

Recognising the role played by the Swiss Mission in the creation of the CCM, Todd, a former Swiss Missionary stated in an interview that "throughout the years, as a founding member of the Christian Council of Mozambique, the IPM remained a member of the organisation and continued housing it in her headquarters on her historical Khovo site" (Todd, 02.12.2010). Indeed, the CCM continued to do its work in Khovo for many years. The transfer to another building occured in 2002 when the IPM was undergoing a period of considerable development, and needed more space for her activities.

Slowly, the project of the Federation of Churches was attained. The following passage, written by Knudson, a Methodist missionary, illustrates how the project developed:

> The Church is a gift of God to the humanity. The Church is not, therefore, a human creation. It is necessary to prevent the church from false names that we give to it by ignorance, inconstancy or by proud. We have to stop to use the names Lutheranism, Calvinism and Methodism. We can use these names only for historical reasons. These names have to be placed in second place. From now, the designation Church of Christ in Mozambique is the new designation that we have to use" (Knudson BMS 1948/49: 372).

The IPM was incorporated in this project by a logotype that read:

Church of Christ in Mozambique

Brach Presbyterian

All the other churches were identified as branches. This project operated successfully for several years. The different churches were able to choose from amongst their workers the most suitable candidates to be sent to serve as missionaries in other countries such as South Africa. This was the case of Pilato Sibane, who was sent to work with Mozambicans in the goldmines in South Africa. Later, the ecclesiastic proud of the different missions working in Mozambique came to the fore and the project

collapsed. More research is needed in order to determine the reasons that led to its collapse.

2.2.5 The Writing of the Constitution

Although the project of writing of a Constitution had the establishment of an African Church (Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Mozambique and South Africa) as its prime objective, the author's intention is to focus specifically on the Constitution of the IPM.

As mentioned earlier, both internal and external political situations had changed the way of thinking about Africans. One of the issues that affected the Swiss Mission was the discovery that Africans were not happy with the existing situation. They had realized that the church, as it was being led by the Swiss, had failed to react sufficiently when its members were experiencing difficulties as a result of Mozambique's wars. Because of the absence of care within the Swiss Mission, members opted to join other churches like the Ethiopians (Badertscher 1934: 3).

From this time, Berthoud wanted to know why the Swiss Mission had failed. This question led to an in-depth study that delved into the way of life for Africans. An extract of this study states:

> Studies that were done during more than ten years led to the discovery of the Culture and of the past of Africans. This discovery shows appreciation concerning the tribal system of the Bantu culture (Ibid: 4)

After the gaining the results of this ethnological study and analysing the findings, the Swiss Mission reorganised the church. The study showed that the Bantu System incorporated norms of respect of the Ubuntu spirit or humanity. Some of these norms of respect include:

➢ The respect for the authority of the church, because without it there is no order or

security;

- ➢ The sense of community and communion which lead to the respect of the family, clan, tribe, and nation;

- ➢ The African does not rejoice or suffer alone. Whether in the case of marriage, disease, or death, he sends messages announcing the event to his entire family to inform them about what is happening. The extent of this announcement includes the ancestors.

In conclusion, the Swiss Mission had discovered that the spirit of Ubuntu is manifested in a simple gesture of stopping one's activities in order to greet someone, as this simple gesture shows that you care. These were some of the underlying principles that guided the project of writing a Constitution for the IPM.

2.2.6 The 1970 Convention

The 1970 Convention represents the final step for Autonomy of the IPM and the EPCSA. In Mozambique, the 1970 Convention was signed on the 10th of October at Hlamankulu by the Missionary Department of the Swiss Romand (DM) and the leadership of the IPM. Members of the IPM and church workers were present for this momentous occasion.

This Convention handled all the properties that belonged to the Swiss Mission for the IPM (Schools, hospitals, along with other buildings). As previously mentioned, the Swiss Mission had been transformed into the DM in 1962. By 1970, the DM considered the IPM to have sufficiently matured to the point they could bear full responsibility of conducting her own affairs competently. Because of the importance of the 1970 Convention, and the impact it produced both inside and outside the IPM, the author will let registered some of its articles below:

Article 1

a) The IPM will ask the Missionary Department (DM) to recruit missionaries according to her needs. The DM will make an effort to search for candidates in order to respond to the request of the IPM;

Article 2

d) During its permanence in Africa, the missionary is a member of the church in which he works. He stays under the care and authority of this church. He can be invited to be a part of church structures;

Article 3

a) The DM hands over to the IPM all its goods (movables and immovable) that exist in Mozambique. The IPM assumes responsibility for all these goods.

By its very nature, the 1970 Convention was conferring full Autonomy to the IPM. This is why the author included a section where she asked some church workers if they occupied the homes where Swiss missionaries lived during the interviews. Otoniel said that the process of occupying the houses that belonged to former missionaries was a gradual one. It was not easy to introduce an African to a house where he was not prepared to live in. Mazenzule added that the occupation of the houses belonging to former Swiss Missionaries was never discussed by the leadership of the IPM, and it appears that this process unfolded in an ad hoc manner, with ministers occupying these houses when they were transferred to work in missionary stations and whenever they were vacant. This process was thus a frustrating one, with ministers frequently not being allowed to live in these houses, or even sometimes not being allowed to use the offices that had previously belonged to a white missionary. The minister was thus marginalized; and as a result the community did not recognize him as their new leader. It seems that the community was still expecting the return of Swiss missionaries to their communities.

It is important to highlight that the recruitment of Swiss missionaries by the IPM was to benefit not only her, but also other reformed churches in Mozambique. For example, this means that the missionary could be a teacher at the United Seminary of Ricatla

while also working for the Church of Christ.

From the declarations of Co-researchers, it seems that the transition of responsibilities to the African leadership of the IPM was not transparent and was not sufficiently explained. It is evident that the African ministers were seen as being subordinate to the Swiss. Therefore it was necessary to explain to members that this situation had been surpassed, and that the African minister possessed all the necessary skills to occupy the place that had previously belonged to the Swiss missionary.

The 1970 Convention was interpreted as an affront by the Portuguese colonial regime. Because of this interpretation, it reinforced the persecution of the IPM.

In 1972 the colonial Police of Defense of the State (PIDE-DGS) initiated a severe persecution of those who were suspected in an operation that was known as 'Vendaval**, which means** 'Storm'. The IPM was the target of this persecution, with many of its members being imprisoned. For Simão Chamango, "the 1970 Convention made the colonial Portuguese regime to act directly against the IPM. Ministers, evangelists, and elders were imprisoned and taken to the Machava jail, where the pastor Zedequias Manganhela and the evangelist José Sidumo were assassinated. Because of this severe persecution, the IPM can be considered as a mirror of the Mozambican people suffering under colonialism and as a symbol of the future independence of Mozambique" (1998: 3).

As the reader can see, the IPM was never allowed the opportunity to conduct its work in peace. The colonial regime used its time, energy, resources, and intelligence to destroy the IPM. This church developed under constant oppression

Despite the apparent clarity of the contents of the 1970 Convention, it seems that its daily implementation remained a challenge for the IPM. For example, the executive continued to ask the opinion of the DM concerning administrative issues. On the 28th of December 1971, the Rev Zedequias Manganhela wrote a letter asking the secretary of the DM, the Rev Georges Andrié, if he could have permission to sell part of the IPM headquarters and Hlamankulo in order to address the problem of paying stipends to the

workers. He also asked whether the IPM could not find local solutions to address this problem, instead of continuing to depend upon the DM. He insisted that the Synod Council also needed to solve the problem of lack of available accommodation for her workers, noting that this solution appeared to be connected to the availability of money. Finally he asked:

> For how long will the IPM have to depend on the DM for financial sustainability? (Manganhela 1971: 1-2).

This letter touches the heart of the author's research study. It shows that the problem of financial dependency was still preoccupying the Synod Council a full year after Total Autonomy had been handed to the IPM. It also shows that the issue of the financial sustainability of the IPM was not a clear one, or that at least it was an issue that the IPM leadership was not prepared to acknowledge.

The response came on 7th of March 1972, stating that:

> Although the fact that issues of salary go beyond the simple administrative issues, I want to make clear that administrative issues are no more of the competence of the DM... it has to be clear that the IPM has the liberty of making decisions that she finds to be the best (Andrié 1972:1 -2).

This response of the DM indicates that either the Convention was not being interpreted in the same way by the IPM, or that its contents had not been well understood by them. This may confirm the views of the Co-researchers that the process was not known by the IPM. They may have participated in the Hlamankulo event, because it was associated with worship or because the community was invited to greet the visitors. The significance and the goal of the event were, however, not understood. Some former general secretaries of the IPM affirm that they ignored the content of the 1970 Convention. This is a clear demonstration that the goals of Autonomy were not known by those who have the moral obligation of teaching members to owe, support, and develop their church.

The secretary of the DM affirmed that the administration of the IPM was no longer the responsibility of the Swiss, and therefore from a legal point of view, the Autonomy of the

IPM was real since the signing of the 1970 Convention. Maybe as a result of this response the IPM, the leadership started to plan for effective Autonomy.

Unfortunately, the Rev Zedequias Manganhela was imprisoned by the Police of the Defense of the State (PIDE) in July 1972, and assassinated in December of the same year. The imprisonment and assassination of the IPM Synod President may have strongly contributed to the development of the IPM, and played a role in terms of the governance of the IPM (including aspects such as the paying of stipends). As a result, this event may have indirectly triggered the need to challenge the practice of paying low stipends to workers and the phenomenon of the dependency disorder that affects the IPM.

The author will now delve into the practice of paying low stipends and the phenomenon of dependency disorder as a result of the Autonomy of the IPM.

2.3 The Impact of the Autonomy in the IPM

2.3.1 Positive Impact of Autonomy

2.3.1.1 Identity Formation

The Autonomy of the IPM produced positive changes to the orgnaisation, both internally and internationally. It will not be possible to record all the events that constitute these positive impacts. However, there are issues that warrant discussion. Based on a review of the literature and the responses provided by Co-researches, the author has selected some of the issues that are widely considered to be the most positive changes brought about by the IPM gaining autonomy.

Africans learned the power of identity when they were subjected to slavery. They felt as though they were defeated by colonialism, because they were not united. Therefore the absence of unity among Africans is seen as representing the fragility and powerlessness of the humanity (Harries 2007). Only through unity, not only in terms of family, clan, or tribe, but as a nation, could Africans successfully defeat the common

enemy. This unity developed from the sense of identity and belonging that developed in the Mozambicans.

Identity formation was not limited to nationalism. Arguably, it was primary linked to a common identity as Christians. It was through this Christian identity that Africans acknowledged injustices and developed the need to challenge their existing identities as human beings, Christians, and Africans living in Mozambique. Eduardo Mondlane, who was prepared by the Swiss Mission to become the leader of the Christian young people in Mozambique, later became the architect of the Mozambican unity.

Through the teachings of the Swiss Mission, Mozambicans reached a sense of identity as both a National Church and as Nation. From the work of the missionaries, a new form of life emerged. Patrick Harries remarked that:

> New forms of identity were inculcated in Christian converts. Parents and children were encouraged to occupy a single dwelling, and to eat together in a way that created and reinforced the nuclear family. Square houses fostered individualism as ideally, each member of the family was provided with a separate room. The missionaries attempted to generate a wider sense of community by ranging the houses on both sides of a long street instead of building them in the traditional, circular manner that caused the village to look inwards (Harries 2007: 82).

The author agrees that from the preaching of the gospel, Africans had undergone an amazing metamorphosis. However, she does not agree that 'square houses' fostered individualism, because Africans are naturally sociable people, and their very anthropology reinforces the meaning of the other when they defend the ideology that 'I am because you are'. The present society laments the destruction of what was considered to be the positive basis of the African life.

2.3.1.2 The Use of Vernacular Languages

The use of vernacular languages is another positive impact of Autonomy. Although the Portuguese intimidation manifested through decrees and diplomas that the use of the vernacular was prohibited in protestant schools (Cruz e Silva 2001), the use of

vernacular continued to penetrate the hearts of the natives, and enhanced the culture of reading and writing. It also contributed to self-esteem and to the rise of African elite. According to Maluleke:

> The writing down of the Xitsonga language and the initiation of a literature culture amongst the Vatsonga people has proven to be the most celebrated achievement of missionary endeavor… Next to the proclamation of the gospel, the creation of a literature culture amongst the Vatsonga is the most valuable gift the Western Christian mission has given the Vatsonga (Maluleke 1995: 34).

In the case of Mozambique, the writing of Xitsonga transformed the life of the people, as it became akin to an instrument of power. The preaching of the gospel was facilitated by the '*Buku*', a book that contained same passages of Scripture, hymns, and doctrinal bases. Patrick Harries explains how the Vatsonga in Delagoa Bay benefited from the *Buku*:

> An ability to read the Scriptures was a cornerstone of the Swiss missionaries' Protestantism. Literacy allowed a personal interpretation of the Bible without the mediation of a case of clergymen. This reinforced the Presbyterian view of conversion as a spontaneous, emotional and individual act and stimulated the growth of a self-governing, self-propagating, indigenous church… The Bible reader of the Swiss, the *Buku*, was both the book of God and a powerful instrument of evangelization. It contained the four chapters of Genesis and a harmony of gospels that recounted the life, death and resurrection of Christ (Harries 2007: 165-166).

Harries confirms that the ability to read and write in the vernacular became an instrument of power as it allowed the spread of the gospel in record time. Contrary to the Roman Catholic Church that prohibited the reading of the Bible, the Protestant Church used it for both private and public worship.

Funzamu applaud the use of the vernacular, saying that "in present days, many people can read the Bible and other books written in local languages; hence local languages are now taught at universities" (Funzamu 1983: 4).

The use of vernacular was also of great benefit as people could write articles and stories and recount personal experiences, and publish these pieces in the Church Magazine. *Nyeleti ya Mixo / Mahlahle* (Morning Star). This magazine contributed to the

understanding of issues linked to the colonial power and its practice of injustices toward Mozambicans. Cruz e Silva confirms the above, by observing that:

> Although the magazine *Nyeleti ya Mixo* (Morning Star) was in Xitsonga, it initiated the publication of same articles in Portuguese since 1931… It contained not only news concerning the mission but also about the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique (Cruz e Silva 2001: 89).

Cruz e Silva confirms that it was almost impossible to avoid commenting on the way in which the Portuguese were conducting local affairs. Therefore, Christian faith and politics were mixed and were analyzed in the light of the gospel.

2.3.1.3 Education, Training and Social Work

It is not easy to separate the involvement of the IPM from ecumenical bodies, education, and training, as these three issues are transversal. To be specific, bursaries for students were obtained via ecumenical bodies. These burses were employed in the training of many Mozambicans who developed important roles in the social life within the country. In order to know the importance of the work developed by ecumenical bodies in benefice of the IPM members and of the Mozambican society, Cruz e Silva states that:

> The committee of secondary studies promoted the financing of bursaries for the areas of Arts, Humanities, Agriculture and Social Sciences within and outside the country. From 1963 to 1969 the number of bursaries offered to the IPM is three hundred and fifty three burses (Cruz e Silva 2001: 177-179).

The education of the IPM members and the Mozambican people was the primary goal of Autonomy. Educational skills as envisaged by the Swiss Mission impacted the life of Mozambicans within and outside the church. Within the church there were trainings for the ministry, for evangelism and for heath institutions, like nursing and pharmacy. Special trainings were also in place and these were related to the intellectual and spiritual formation of youth and women. The work developed within these two groups

impacted the life of the church and of the society in general. The IPM bourses were not exclusive to her members. They were also available for Christians belonging to other churches and to people professing other religions.

One of the examples of this impact is the life and work of Eduardo Mondlane. Robert Faris describes it as follows:

> Perhaps the greatest contribution the protestant churches of Mozambique, and particularly the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (IPM), made to the liberation struggle was Eduardo Mondlane. His life and work within the church as a youth in Mozambique were exemplary and when he returned to Lourenço Marques from the United States in 1961 he was welcomed as a hero both of the church and of the nation (Faris 2007: 16).

Needless to say many youth were equally impacted by the teachings of the IPM. These people can be found today in different institutions of the church and of the government.

Women and girls also benefited from the teachings of the IPM. They learned to value their life as human beings. According to Harries,

> Through their sewing classes, missionary women attempted to introduce a new domestic task that took native women out of the fields and placed them in the home. But sewing was a practice traditionally performed by men and Christian women were at first unwilling to enter into an activity that seemed to suppress their femininity. However, this attitude changed as clothing became both a sign of Christian respectability and a source of income. Within a few years, large number of women, particularly young schoolgirls, was attending sewing classes (Harries2007: 82).

From the quotation above, it becomes clear that the work developed by Swiss missionaries and the IPM positively impacted the lives of those who openly embraced Christianity as proclaimed by Protestants. Ministers were trained to lead and to spread the gospel among Africans. They were helped by elders who were directly involved with people in their communities. The edification of the ecclesiastic body was therefore their responsibility.

Analyzing the impact of the Autonomy of the IPM, Cruz e Silva found that:

> The 'Lumuku', Autonomy that begun in 1948, was a long process that can be interpreted as involving whether the formation of African ministers as well as other religious leaders toward

autonomy. The formation of the different kind of professionals for different sectors was already well established in the thirties and fifties. It was increased in the sixties and in the seventies (Cruz e Silva 2001: 186).

This shows the seriousness of all those involved with the Autonomy of the IPM. The good things resulted from the handing of Autonomy to the IPM on its members, the church itself, and even the wider society was so strong that even the events that occurred later were unable to tarnish the effects.

The training of the Clergy had remained a priority since 1948. This training was done in partnership with the Swiss Mission. Since 1907, the Swiss Mission was involved with the training of ministers, evangelists, and teachers. This training enabled the Swiss Mission to spread the gospel among the natives. According to Otoniel, "the minister had the power of inviting the community through the local chiefs to announce the gospel and also to combat the abusive consummation of alcohol" (Otoniel 04/02/2011)

Without training, the minister could not have sufficient arguments to face the local chiefs. There is awareness that the training was elementary in nature, and were far from corresponding to the real needs of ministers, as mentioned by Andrié that:

> For many years the pastoral training was weak. Students could be happy to learn more about, for example, the History of Israel. They could understand and feel part of the Universal History and of the Ecclesial family. This could help them to have conscience about themselves in relation to other churches and to challenge their inferiority complexes. In these trainings they could find a precious guide, acquire the necessary knowledge to build the church and the country. They could be able to enter in authentic problems of faith because they have admirable thirst of knowledge (Andrié BMS 1954/55: 5-7).

Andrié's vision was to train thoroughly all of the IPM ministers and workers who were engaged in different areas within the church. Although it has not been possible to realise this dream fully to date, Andrié's vision contributed to the positive impact the IPM had, because it is still possible to complete the implementation of it. The education and training was both formal and informal in nature. In order to train her workers and children, the Swiss Mission implemented schools wherever the church was established.

These schools were open to the Mozambican society as a whole.

The youth benefited from receiving additional training in Mintlawa and through attending youth groups. The impact of these trainings is evident today through the good work that is being done by those who were trained. According to Todd, the Dr Eduardo Mondlane joined their ranks, like all the leading lay-people, teachers, ministers, male and female elders, youth leaders etc., during the second half of the 20th century. The IPM continued offering pastoral training at the Rikatla United Seminary for a number of CCM member churches, as well as for her own future ministers and pastoral couples (Todd on 2nd December 2010).

The training from which the IPM members benefited was weak, but still appears to have impacted positively on the Mozambican society. It enabled members to defend their faith in the midst of many challenges, during a period which was characterized by the fall of morals and the rise of paganism.

2.3.1.4 The Approval of a Constitution

The approval of the IPM Constitution in 1963 is considered to have had a significant positive impact upon the IPM. The impact that the Autonomy of the IPM produced among believers and to the society as a whole, was due to her organisation. This organisation was defended by a Constitution that had been approved by the Synod in 1963, which consisted of four chapters and one hundred and sixteen articles. The Constitution was written in three languages, namely Portuguese, XiRhonga, and XiTsonga. All members were encouraged to have their own exemplar of the constitution.

The set up of a Constitution was a very important issue, because it enabled members to understand the reasons that had led them to identify themselves with the IPM. This identification enabled them to love and to work toward the development of their church, the IPM.

The Constitution was organised in terms that clearly demonstrated the basis of the Christian faith, as they can be found in Ephesians 4: 4-6. From this definition, members understood the meaning of unity in Christ, which in turn allowed them to work openly with other churches and to be increasingly involved in the establishment of the ecumenical movements.

The Constitution also served to define the relationship of the IPM with her members. The foundations of these relationships were based on the Gospel of John 15: 1-5. In practice, the interpretation of the cited part of the Scriptures allowed the IPM to communicate the good news both formally and informally. These processes made her able to multiply the number of believers, but the inverse also occurred as the same members later left the church when she acted in an authoritarian way against those who were found to have faulted, under the structure called Ecclesial discipline. The concept of the Ecclesial discipline and the impact it had on the church will be developed later in this chapter.

The Constitution also dedicated part of its pages to the Ministry of the Church. Its formulation was based on Ephesians 2:18 and I Corinthians 12. From this perspective, the IPM was successful in having its members called to different ministries. Same were ministers, other became evangelists, teachers, nurses; some members chose to work with young people, women, the elderly, etc.. With each member understanding the importance of their work in the area that had had chosen to devote themselves to, the IPM was able to function in a harmonious way.

The Constitution also dedicated one chapter to the organisation of the church. The organisation was based on assemblies. Some of the assemblies have already been mentioned, such as the Consistory, Presbytery, and Synod. In addition to these assemblies, others were constituted in order to ensure that the church was allowed to function properly.

The Constitution served as an instrument that allowed the IPM to maintain her identity during times of crises. It was, therefore, an important tool from which the church's sense

of unity was strengthened, and through which the unity of the country was born.

The Constitution thus functioned as an instrument from which the IPM did its work that would impact positively on the church. At the same time, the work done also exposed the IPM before the Portuguese colonial regime.

However, while the Constitution was a powerful tool that the IPM used to produce such positive changes in their church, it is important to note that it also contributed to fights and rivalry among IPM leaders. In the Constitution, the position of the Moderator and this of the General Secretary were not very clearly stated, and due to this lack of clarity, there was no space for them to work together. During the Synod the Moderator acted as a judge, whose task was to evaluate the work developed by the executive, while the General Secretary and his executive team were acted as advocates for the work. It was thus difficult to avoid enmity between these two bodies. As a result, the Synod became akin to a parliament, where the different parties experience conflict due to their opposing views. This negative image reverberated in parishes and created difficulties for the realisation of the Kingdom of God.

The above picture contributed negatively to the dependence syndrome of the IPM. The relationship between ministers and their folk was broken (Ez. 34: 1-10). Pastoral Care did not have space.

2.3.1.5 The Ecumenism

The openness of the IPM to other churches and Church Institutions and bodies was revealed to be a blessing during moments of crises, as these Institutions served as the voice of the voiceless in times when the integrity of the IPM was in danger.

Ecumenism is thus also a positive impact that helped the IPM to interact with other churches both locally and internationally. While preparing for autonomy in 1948, the IPM was also strongly involved with the preparations that gave birth to the Christian Council

of Mozambique (CCM), as previously mentioned. She sustained the work of this body by allowing it to work in her installations freely, and to develop its activities in her headquarters until 2002. The relationship of the IPM with the CCM was consecrated in Article three of her 1963 Constitution.

In 1963, the IPM participated in the birth of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), which was held in Kampala, Uganda. By 1976 she had become a full member of this ecumenical body, during an assembly held in Egypt.

The IPM had become recognized by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) years before, and had gained membership in 1964 in Frankfurt. This body participated actively in the establishment of a Presbyterian system within the IPM. In 2010, The WARC was transformed into the World Communion of Reformed Churches (WCRC) in Grand Rapids, USA.

The IPM was also a founding member of the Communauté Evangelique d'Action Apostolique (Cevaa), which is known today as the Community of Churches in Mission. The Cevaa was born in 1976 in Benin, with the primary objective of maintaining and strengthening the link between churches that belonged to the Parish Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) and the Swiss Mission as 'sisters' for the proclamation of the Good News. The secondary objective of this body was to contribute to the growth, training skills, sustainability, and development of these churches. Since its birth, the IPM has been an active member of Cevaa.

This involvement with Cevaa helped the IPM to face the dual challenges of the Mozambican war and Marxism. The aid provided to the IPM was seen to be very positive, as she benefited greatly in terms of the work done by the ministers and lay people. It was particularly during the hard years of war and massive destruction of Mozambique that the Cevaa showed care. The Cevaa initiated programs of theological empowerment from which the IPM leaders and members benefited and helped her to care for the Mozambicans who had been dispersed by the war. It also offered financial support in the form of projects that enabled people to survive. The training offered helped the IPM to rebuild her self-esteem and to offer hope to those who had been

strongly affected by the war.

In 1981 the IPM became a full member of World Council of Churches (WCC) in Dresden. The IPM also belongs to the Blue Cross, an international body involved with the fight of alcohol abuse. It was also involved with the birth of the United Seminary of Ricatla (SUR) in 1958. Similar to the CCM, the SUR was also hosted in the IPM land. The SUR has the objective of the training ministers, evangelists, and youth leaders. Five Churches were the founders of this important institution, namely:

➢ The Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (IPM);
➢ The Episcopal Methodist Church;
➢ The Wesley Methodist Church;
➢ The Congragational Church; and
➢ The Church of Christ in Manica and Sofala.

The involvement of the IPM with these different ecumenical bodies impacted positively upon the lives of her constituencies. Andrié describes the role played by WCC after the 1970 Convention:

In autumn of 1971, the DM received an invitation from Philip Potter, who was the WCC Director of 'Mission and Evangelization'. The invitation was addressed to the protestant missions engaged in Angola and Mozambique. The theme to be debated was:

Is it conveyable to you (DM) as protestant mission to continue your work in the two Portuguese colonies? (Andrié 2008:1).

The reader is reminded that in 1971, the Portuguese colonial power acted as a 'wounded buffalo' and had been bent in destroying Angola and Mozambique. For the author, the WCC played her role as a member of the body of Christ. She did not force the DM to abandon his work in Africa, but she encouraged them to think about it. The discussion that followed between the DM and the IPM reinforced their relationship and mutual care.

The Ecumenism is thus seen to have impacted positively upon the life of both the IPM and the country, because of the opportunities for education, training, and the numerous

development projects she offered.

2.4 Negative Impact of Autonomy

2.4.1 The Missionaries' Doctrine

In chapter one, the author shared how the Swiss missionaries inculcated in the IPM founders the necessity of separating spirituality and theology. This doctrine threatened Africans, because they were forced to separate their worship into two parts that were inherently alien to their existing and historical worldviews. According to African worldview, both the spiritual and physical are inseparably intertwined. According to Sheldrake:

> The separation between theology and spirituality has led to the existence of two worlds. One of these worlds is seen as being concerned with the intellect; whiles the other world is linked with the devotional dimension of Christianity (Sheldrake 1998: 33).

Mozambicans have difficulties in separating their intellect with from the devotional dimensions of their faith. Because of the difficulties posed by the new doctrine, new converts to Christianity experienced it as dilemma. Unable to accommodate it, they refused to view their spirituality as being subordinate to theology. The following generations of the IPM workers may have failed to challenge the subordination of their spirituality to Western doctrines that were hostile to their identity and culture, specifically the doctrine of self-denial that was instilled in the IPM workers. This doctrine is supposed to have stemmed from the first three gospels (Matt 16: 24-28; Mc 8: 34 – 38; Luke 9: 27-29). This begs the question: what does self-denial mean? The author believes that it means different things for different people. Swiss missionaries may have interpreted it as meaning that "Africans have to be paid in kinds and goods" (Butselaar, 1987: 114). Africans, however, never accepted this interpretation as being correct or applicable for them. For them, kinds and goods could never replace salary. Therefore, they considered the system introduced by the Swiss Mission as being unsupportable (Ibid: 117).

The superiority, power, and art of the Swiss missionaries led them to establish new norms, which changed the practice of paying workers in kinds. However, this new practice did not address the fact that workers were being underpaid, in fact, it served to maintain this practice. In fact, the Swiss Mission introduced a practice of giving low stipends (mphamu) to her workers (Ibid: 118). They introduced this practice believing that were acting in accordance with Scripture, namely the doctrine of self-denial, as mentioned above.

The author's understanding differs from the above statements. She believes that one has to deny him or herself in order to follow Jesus. However, she hardly sees the connection of others imposing as her duty to serve the Lord with hunger; as she cannot see how forcing her family to starve intentionally will deepen her service to God. The author believes that all people who do their work purely in order to serve, and do so with love and dignity are obeying God's command of loving one another.

The author's belief is based on Matthew's teaching that "*man shall not live by bread alone*" (Matt 4: 4) and John's view that "*I have come that they may have life, and that they may have it more abundantly*" *(*John 10: 10*).* For the author, these two gospels teach that those who serve the Lord also have the right to food and to meeting their material, economic, and physical needs into to maintain their survival so that can praise the Lord. The above passage of scriptures shows that those who follow Jesus have to commit themselves to good moral principles. Therefore, the author consider that the interpretation that receiving low stipends (and thus that you are denying yourself) and thus that you are committed to serving the Lord as being inherently flawed.

This practice of paying low stipends that have been employed by the IPM leads to injustices, and it may be argued that this literal interpretation of Jesus's message threatens life, by:

> ➢ Coercing people to live in extreme poverty;
> ➢ Allowing the practice of human abuse without questioning;
> ➢ Avoiding administering Pastoral Care Ministry to those who need it most; and
> ➢ Encouraging the practice of oppression, especially to the poor and to the

voiceless.

All of the above practices are against the realization of the Kingdom of God, because the oppressors are not being challenged in their evil ways.

Adeyemo states that "self-denial means abandoning one's assumed right to self determination, because only God matters for life and for eternity" (2006: 1144).Here, Adeyemo is rejecting the popular and literal interpretation of the above passages as meaning to have to endure all kind of difficulties so as to be able to enter heaven.

The missionaries may have abused the interpretation of Jesus's message of self-denial when they forced evangelists to serve the church and receive low stipends in return. To exacerbate matters, payment was only made occasionally and not in monthly installments as is normally the case of salary payments. The evangelists' spouses also served in missionaries' homes as volunteers without receiving any financial retribution. The justification was that "God has the right of asking everything from them" (Butselaar 1987: 115 -118).

Evangelists were unable to tolerate this situation for long. They felt that the system was an intolerable one, and asked for it to be replaced; a request that was ultimately denied. Those who had an independent spirit decided to confront the missionaries' attitude, and as a result of this action, they were severely punished, put under ecclesial discipline, and were excommunicated from the Holy Communion (Ibid: 131).

From the above statements, it seems to the author that for the missionaries, those who wanted money were seen as mercenaries.

The missionaries' practices opened doors to a culture of oppression and abuse within the IPM. Workers were physically and spiritually abused, and their rights ignored by a system that ignores Jesus's teachings of loving one another as oneself.

It seems that the practice of injustices had become a part of the culture and very structure of the church. For example, when the leaders of the church in Switzerland were informed about the reclamation of evangelists concerning the payment of stipends

in an irregular basis and concerning the voluntary work in missionaries' homes, the secretary of the Council in Switzerland at the time, Paul Leresche wrote a letter of exhortation to Mhalamhala and his fellows, which stated:

> You belong to the Lord and you have to consecrate your life to Him… You have to learn how to deny yourself, how to do self-sacrifice and not look for your own advantages but serve the near. In this case, you have to look first to the missionary family and to all which is linked to the mission…Your missionaries were stimulated by the zeal and well being of your compatriots. They sacrifice themselves without paying attention to their personal needs giving you the example (Butselaar 1987: 118)

Evangelists interpreted the above letter as being an intimidation. For the author, however, it was more than an intimidation: it was a judgment pronounced against people who were effectively silenced. It transmitted the will of masters to their slaves, with the aim of instilling a sense of fear in them. Taking in consideration the prevalent political system, the Swiss missionaries won the battle, but lost the opportunity of being accountable to their fellow human beings, who were made in God's image like them.

Jesus rebuked the Pharisees when they abused their power, and labeled them 'hypocrites'. Indeed, when Pharisees won a proselyte, they made him twice as much a son of hell' (Matt 23: 15). Jesus was rejecting the injustices that Pharisees were practicing against the poor who most wanted to follow Jesus.

By distorting the interpretation of the doctrine of self-denial and by proclaiming the message of sanctity that contradicted the correct meaning of scriptures, the Swiss missionaries had succeeded in implanting Christianity as praxis in Mozambique, but they may have failed in constructing a church that condemns injustices.

The IPM is known as a church that teaches good moral principles, but also as being a male-dominant and oriented church that oppresses all those who want to be independent. Because of this oppression, members developed a syndrome of dependency disorder, which needs to be challenged and transformed.

Having personally experienced the hard hand of male dominance of the IPM, the author took the courage to challenge this phenomenon by conducting research on Autonomy of

her church, the IPM.

The above seems to indicate that the problem of paying low stipends to church workers by the IPM is linked to a phenomenon of dependency disorder. The IPM never succeeded in collecting sufficient funds from her constituencies to meet her basic needs. More than sixty per cent of the IPM budget comes from DM and other partners (IPM financial reports, 1995, 1996). The issue of raising money amongst members has historically been, and in fact continues to be, a jagged stone for the IPM leadership.

The practice of paying low stipends to church worker is considered to be one of the most negative impacts of Autonomy. This practice is negative and far-reaching, because it affects the lives of both leadership and workers. It also affects the family members of church workers, and affects the performance of the church because workers do their work without any genuine interest.

Swiss missionaries accepted that they were unable to pay African' workers conveniently; they also recognized that although being unpaid, Africans always did their work with joy. Ernest Juillerat, a former missionary wrote:

> Difficulties faced by church' workers do not prevent them from doing good job. This is a motive of admiration because they are badly paid due to the poverty of our congregations (Juillerat 1960 in DM 1215 B).

It is important to realize that some Swiss missionaries were conscious of the poor and often humiliating conditions in which African ministers lived and did their work.

For the author, the problem of salary will not be resolved unless the IPM begins to plant the seeds, water, and trust God to raise the plant and to increase it (I Cor. 3: 5-8).

2.4.2 Fighting and Lack of Unity

According to Co-researchers, the different generations of the Swiss missionaries were clearly in discordance with each other. The content of their disagreements were made public, and they involved same influential and prominent IPM church workers.

Therefore, the IPM may have inherited the spirit of devaluation of the other from the Swiss Mission. This practice may have contaminated the following generations of the African leadership. Maybe they saw this practice as being an acceptable way of conducting church business. Unfortunately it is a practice that destroys IPM workers, their families, and members. It also affects her relationship with individuals and with institutions both inside and outside of Mozambique.

It seems to the author that some church workers were considering themselves to be superior to their colleagues. This spirit of superiority may have developed through the support and especial placement that these workers received from the Swiss missionaries. Co-researchers have referred to them the 'Swiss babies'. These 'Swiss babies' seems to have difficulties in adapting to the new situation of Mozambique. The fighting between Swiss missionaries and Africans were mentioned by Lombard when he wrote:

> Issues like restricted means for a very big task they had; conflicts among missionaries and Africans; insufficiency of salaries paid to Africans and their weak training as being the biggest problems facing the work of the Swiss mission in Mozambique (BMS 1950/ 1951: 280).

The author is of the opinion that one has to be well trained if one is to deliver good work. However, it seems that for same Swiss missionaries, the problem was not only linked to low instruction of Africans. For Andre Clerc, Africans were offered different opportunities and did not enjoy the same rights. He said:

> The difference of opportunities and rights among God's servants within the IPM were the source of misunderstandings and absence of interest 'of evangelism' among members' (Clerc BMS 1948/49: 10).

By writing the above, Clerc acted as reconciler among Swiss missionaries and Africans. This is what the gospel calls believers to do (Rom 15: 5-6). The conflicts amongst the leadership discouraged ordinary members to become involved in the process of evangelism. When leaders fight, they are not representing the mind of God.

For the author, the Swiss Mission had at her disposal all possibilities that would have allowed her to train the African leaders of the church, so that they would become admired and respected. In order to attain this, she should have encouraged and empowered them according to their dedication and intelligence. However, in practice this was very different, with the church unfortunately showing preferences for certain ministers, and ignoring the training needs of others. For example, Harries mention that the missionary Paul Berthoud further widened the division in the mission field when he refused the services of an evangelist sent to him by the mission in Spelonken (Harries 2007).

This example demonstrates the discrimination and lack of consideration within the Swiss Mission. It also reveals the presence of a spirit of superiority and arrogance from the same missionaries. The spirit of superiority was thus transported to churches in Africa as already mentioned (Cf. 2.3.1.4).

The author is of the opinion that if parents fight at home, their more mature children would figure out ways of helping and easing the situation, instead of aggravating it. This analogy intends to show that if the African churches that were created by the some mission have to work together. Church members of the IPM, the EPCSA and the LEC (Lesotho Evangelical Church) would be very happy to see their leaders working together, and have a joint General Assembly. The unity of the churches that originated by the same mission would be a testimony of the good legacy left by the Swiss Mission, as was the example of Jesus (Matt 28- 16-20).

Divisionism is a destructive phenomenon. It was from knowing its power that Jesus dedicated the last moments of his life to prayer. He felt that the success of His work depended on the unity of disciples he had trained (John 17: 6-19).

Fighting amongst leaders constitutes one of the negative impacts of Autonomy. As revealed by some co-researches, Swiss missionaries inculcated divisions among Africans when they showed a preference for some ministers and rejected others. For example, when Africans were replacing a white missionary, they could not live in the house which the missionary had occupied. This was against the gospel that affirms

unity of believers in the body of Christ (I Cor. 12: 12-13).

Swiss missionaries failed to demonstrate that African ministers, evangelists, and other church workers were like them to the IPM. Missionaries also failed to teach by example that these workers had the same rights and obligations before God, and that these rights were shared because they are equal in the eyes of the law. As already mentioned in this chapter, the fighting between leaders is one of the issues that prevented the development of the IPM.

The IPM is called to challenge the negative image described by teaching that when we do God's work we have to include him in the process by inviting Him through prayer. In doing so, He will protect us from evil and we will be able to avoid misleading people.

2.4.3 Persecutions by the Colonial Regime

The handing over of the goods and properties (both movable and immovable) of the Swiss mission to the IPM through the 1970 Convention, embittered the already deteriorating tolerance that Portugal felt towards the Protestant churches in Mozambique. This regime was no longer capable of tolerating the 'abuse', and discharged its anger and hate against the IPM.

The signing of the 1970 Convention between the (DM) and the IPM was done at the height of what the Portuguese regime could tolerate. Two years later, the IPM paid a very high price from her audacity, with ministers and elders of protestant churches being arrested. While members from other protestant churches members were also imprisoned, the majority of them were from the IPM. The former missionary, Georges Andrié, describes how the hard hand of the Police of the Defense of the State (PIDE) had discharged its fury against the IPM:

On twelve December 1972, a telegram informed the tragic death of the Rev. Zedequias Manganhela to the Missionary Department (DM). According to it, the Rev Z. Manganhela was found dead in his cell during the transition of the 10th to 11th of December. For the PIDE, he had committed suicide after having been maintained in secret for interrogations during six months. His

death provoked stupefaction and indignation of the many members belonging to many churches who know him. The suicide of this equilibrated and courageous man, who assumed the presidency of his church with faith, lucidity and wisdom, seemed to be improvised and unusual and incredible (Andrié 2008: 13).

The death of the Rev Zedequias Manganhela traumatized the IPM and the church in Mozambique. It also provoked indignation worldwide. Thirty eight years after his death, members of the IPM are still grief-stricken when recalling his passing. In paying homage to Manganhela, the Rev Chamango presented a book in which he referred to him as "The Pastor and the Martyr" (2005:1). To the IPM members, Manganhela was a victim of Autonomy. The assassination in prison of Zedequias Manganhela, José Sidumo, and Cardoso Tamele in 1972 is also considered to be a negative impact of Autonomy.

2.4.4 The Nationalization of the IPM goods

The wounds provoked by the barbaric assassinate of Manganhela had not yet healed when Mozambique's independence was proclaimed on June 25, 1975, by the late president Samora Machel. The country celebrated this momentous event in its history.

Otoniel and Valter affirm that the IPM participated in rejoicing over the country's independence. It felt as though the assassination of her leaders was being avenged through this act. The festivities, however, did not last long, especially for the churches. The people's joy was abruptly interrupted, due to the unexpected nationalization of schools, hospitals, and other services that belonged to the church. Same churches were transformed into cultural places. It seemed if the death of Manganhela had been in vain. For many members, the memory of Manganhela's death remains alive because the act of nationalising the church buildings added more pain. Those who assaulted the Church buildings also helped themselves to any money that was found there, leaving the church with no financial resources with which to survive.

Written sources regarding the period following the proclamation of independence are scarce. Faris states that:

> Although the constitution approved in 1975 guaranteed the freedom 'to practice or not practice' a religion (Article 33), the churches and other religious institutions were discredited and marginalized as being obscurantist and counter-revolutionary within the dominant ideological framework of scientific socialism. Many protestant Christians found themselves in a dilemma of loyalties between their church and the party while others felt a strong sense of betrayal (Faris 2007:12).

This was destroyed by the war that followed (1982 – 1992), and many people who had left the church were still reluctant to return to it.

During this time, many Christians left the church feeling discouraged by the widely spread message that compared faith with opium, as Chamango says:

> The church was looked down on by a government with a Marxist orientation. The church was considered obscurantist and of being the opium of the people (Phiri, Ross and Cox Eds. 1996: 160).

The marginalisation of the IPM was followed by the nationalisation of her infra-structures, which devalued the work that had been done by the church towards realizing the 'moralisation' of the country, as well as her independence.

According to Edgar, The peak of the IPM sufferings happened during the seventies. It was in this decade that, foreseeing independence of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, the Swiss missionaries precipitated the handing over of the church. They were conscious of their near departure. And they did not either live in a country that will be entering to a new process of searching identity. Therefore, they started to send back their children to Switzerland justifying their attitude by saying that they needed to enroll their children in better studies in the home country (Edgar 12 April 2011).

During interviews, many Co-researches affirmed that Swiss missionaries abandoned the IPM during a very difficult moment. These affirmations led the author to ask Todd, a former missionary, what had caused them to abandon their work in Mozambique. He responded by saying that:

> The motivations of the persons involved and the discussions with IPM leaders at the time over this

difficult issue are certainly well documented in the DM archives in Lausanne. Perhaps also in the IPM Khovo office. A reminder however : Dr. René Gagnaux and his family, Madame Andrée Hoffmann, Miss Mariette Mamin and Miss Madeleine Tschanz, Mr Pierre Jeannet, the DM Secretaries and several other occasional envoys, continued working in Mozambique after 1975. We also came regularly to Maputo from South Africa for our work, my wife and I, since the Frelimo take-over (Todd 2nd December 2010).

Todd's statement shows that the issues that caused the Swiss missionaries to leave Mozambique had been jointly discussed with the IPM leadership. Did the leadership share the contents of these discussions with other colleagues? The interviews revealed that workers who were not involved in the discussions appear to have either ignored what had happened, or were ignorant of as to the reasons underlying this change. Similarly, they appear to have been excluded from the discussions regarding the decisions taken. For example, Mazenzule said that Africans had been informed of the decision that their church was to become Autonomous. They were not formaly involved in the process. The Autonomy was prepared for them, which is arguably why they have never enjoyed it. (Mazenzule 14th November 2010). Valter confirmed this, saying that the discussions had occurred between a small group of selected people, as was the example for the 1970 Convention. Their discussions were not shared because of the prevailing political situation (Valter on 23rd March 2011). How could one expect to see these church workers involved, if they ignored what was happening, and the leadership was not conveying information in a transparent manner?

After the signing of the 1970 Convention, the IPM leadership was obliged to assume functions and responsibilities for which they were unprepared. This was highlighted by the correspondence between Georges Andrié and Zedequias Manganhela. In 1972, Zedequias Manganhela, who was the Synod Council President at the time, was assassinated by the PIDE; an event that the IPM had not yet fully recovered when she lost all her goods in a process called nationalisations four years later. All the efforts made in the name of freedom for her country and people seemed to have been forgotten or unappreciated. In addition, many church workers lost their jobs. These two events strongly and negatively affected the IPM. Discontent was widespread "that all good things would come to Africa after the achievement of political independence"

(Chipenda 1997: 35) proved to be irrelevant.

There is a common perception that the IPM needed ritual healing in order to recover from the trauma that had been threatening workers and members over the years. It was hoped that the rituals will allow her to recover from the humiliating situations to which she had been subjected.

2.5 Challenges of Autonomy

In 1998, the IPM commemorated fifty years of Autonomy. This commemoration offered the IPM the opportunity to reflection upon both the past and the present in order to prepare the future. The ceremony took place in Chicumbane, the place where Autonomy was launched in 1948.

The theme chosen to commemorate the Jubilee of the fifty years of Autonomy of the IPM was a significant one: 'Reconciliation, Peace and Reconstruction'.

The theme may appear to be strange, but the IPM had good reasons to choose it. Internally, reconciliation was necessary with one another, with the government, with the Roman Catholic Church, and with the Mozambican society as a whole. She realized that without reconciliation, peace could not take place, and that this could impede the reconstruction of the entire country.

The reader is reminded that the churches in Mozambique were marginalized after their country gained her independence. It was therefore time for the IPM to declare publically that she was ready for the reconciliation process. Reconciliation is a core part of the mission of the church. In the book of Corinthians it is written that:

> Now, all things are of God, Who has reconciled us to Himself through Jesus Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation (1 Cor. 5: 18-19).

The above message teaches us that reconciliation occurs when we give something that is precious to us to someone else. Reconciliation is a selling and buying

exercise.

Duncan confirms that the mission of the church is vulnerable to demonic or evil forces but it can only win through following Jesus's example. He says:

> Mission is an exercise of vulnerability as we share in the sacrifice of Jesus of Nazareth (Duncan 2007:52).

For many years, the IPM was vulnerable to the wishes of the colonialists, as well as the victim to the blindness of those who denied the existence of God. She was then offered an opportunity to reverse this negative image.

However, as her vulnerability was shared in the body of Christ, the IPM was called to be open and to forgive those who had previously humiliated her.

The IPM also needed to reconcile with her mother church, the Reformed Church in Switzerland, because of the tensions that had existed between them since Mozambique had gained her independence. She needed to reconcile with God in order to be able to continue her mission prophetically.

All of the above could be possible only with the prevalence of peace in the country, between individuals, between institutions, and between human beings and their creator.

The IPM also needed a new model of reconstruction. She needed to reconstruct the life of her members as a body of Christ, but she also needed to reconstruct the nation that had been destroyed by the war. The IPM faced many challenges before her Autonomy could be healthy. Chamango wrote that:

> Time had arrived for the IPM to implement in full the challenges of Autonomy (Lumuku) initiated in 1948. The Jubilee had the responsibility to decide whether the IPM would continue to be a beggar in order to find money to pay her workers and to build her temples (Chamango 1998: 4).

Chamango's above quotation makes it clear that the primary challenge facing the IPM was her dependency. The preparation of the Jubilee compelled many IPM workers to visit parishes and presbyteries to remind members of the meaning of Autonomy and of the resulting financial responsibility. The author was in fact one of the delegates that

visited parishes, and she observed firsthand that many members had forgotten what Autonomy was all about and what it meant for the church.

The call that Chamango made to the Jubilee in 1998 is still actual. The IPM continues to be a beggar. The present research is an attempt to find solutions to this plight that affects the image and the testimony of the IPM so negatively. Below, I list some of the challenges that the IPM has to face courageously in order to bring transformation:

2.5.1 The IPM's Catechism

One of the big challenges that the IPM has faced courageously is linked to evangelism. When the invitation to follow Jesus is delivered in a simplistic way, the results are generally weak. During the interviews, the Co-researchers indicated that preparation of catechumens does not challenge belief. If someone does not understand the difference between being and not being in the church, how can he/she act positively in order to sustain the church? Pollard affirms that it is not possible to change the content of the gospel in order to make it more attractive or '*to please everybody'* [italic's mine] because this is God's message for all time (Pollard 1997).

However, it is possible to adapt the content of a catechism according to a contextual theology that both liberates and transform. It is possible and is in fact encouraged that Christian values be introduced, along with a set of practices that a Christian is expected to develop and follow.

Butselaar and Harries mention that the first converts in the eighth's followed the traditional way of conversion, which did not challenge the belief that people possessed. "The first stages of conversion were often marked by powerful messages that were revealed through visions and dreams. Hence, their conversion was the product of a wish to gain access to the power associated with dreams" (Butselaar 1987: 98-100; Harries 2007: 75 -77)

The method of conversion described above does not focus on the advantages of Christianity and the disadvantages of the traditional religion. People were not invited to reflect and make decisions with conscience.

Paul Berthoud, who was the first Swiss missionary to be established in Mozambique in 1887, spent his time trying to improve the way in which Christianity was being introduced to the Mozambican people. His efforts, however, were not understood and were widely criticized. It seems that instead of learning African culture in order to understand it and then use this knowledge to introduce the Christian faith, he insisted on employing a method of teaching that was not related to the African way of living. Harries provides the following commentary on Berthoud's method:

> Berthoud forced changes when he imposed a dogmatic and liturgical conformity that was foreign; when he combated the stress on spirituality in their Christianity by preaching on the importance of the flesh, including the recognition of both personal sin and redeeming powers initiated by Christ sacrifice (Harries 2007: 79).

For the author, it seemed that Berthoud aimed at inculcating the correct meaning of being a Christian according to his understanding of the Christian faith. However, instead of helping his new converts share in the love of faith, his teaching method appears to have minimized it. Hence, the notion of a common mission was destroyed. People did not understand his cold theology and, as consequence, they eventually abandoned the church (Butselaar1987; Chirinda 2008; Harries 2007).

Despite the positive impact of the Autonomy of the IPM, the issue of conversion remains preoccupant. The IPM workers affirm that in addition to other issues; the existent catechism is out of date. According to them, it fails to demonstrate how a disciple of Christ has to live its faith in a practical way. As a result, while many Christians are happy to belong to the IPM, they are not considered to be committed members of the church. In times of crises, these members look for solutions out of the church (Harries 2007:).

Syncretism could be the mixture and practice of many tendencies within the larger religious landscape but, it would also be the practice of paganism and Christianity

simultaneously. For Mazenzule, when members go back to syncretism, it means that they are discriminated against in the church. This feeling is expressed in their statement that:

> We never understood that we were God' sons as the Swiss were. While they had right to a good house with furniture, while they have right to transport, a black minister lived in a house build with wood and zinc without any furniture and situated far from the church. We always felt as being Swiss' servants in God's mission. We never saw them as people who could help in our distresses (Interview conducted on 14/11/2010).

The author understands the above to mean that the church workers did not see themselves as being people of God. They cultivated the spirit of inferiority that may have prevented them from growing. Hence, they could not offer any assistance to members, because they possessed a negative image of themselves, which prompted them to return to their ancestors. The church has a long way to go in order to help people trust God.

Although discriminated against, African leaders were aware of the big task they had to carry out in order to build a faithful community. The issue of spiritual growth was therefore a source of concern for the African leaders. The IPM was thus invited to challenge the context which she was witnessing, by carefully understanding the signs of the time in order to grapple with the problems faced by people.

It seems that the practice of syncretism that was such a common one in the past continues to be popular amongst members and workers within the IPM today. This challenges the church to revise the contents and the teaching of her catechism constantly, so it can tackle relevant issues that are being faced by its people.

There are a series of additional issues that continue to stain Christianity, such as the high consummation of alcohol (which has caused many forms of violence in Christian families), abuse, sexual violation, abuse of children, HIV infections, and the practice of various crimes including murdering. Georges de Tribolet discussed the devastation brought about by alcohol, noting that:

> The entire church (IPM) is not abstinent. Many Christians drink in secret. Others frequent

clandestine bars. The drunkenness is stimulated by the abundance of wild fruits that are distilled whatever the season of the year (BMS 1952/ 53: 58).

From the above quotation, one can understand how seriously and carefully people needed to prepare in order to become exemplar Christians. For the author, however, the solution is not necessarily to prohibit them from drinking, but to teach them how to drink with responsibility. This instruction must start at an early age as indicated, by Proverbs 22: 6.

Proverbs teaches to "train the child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it" (Proverbs 22:6). Accordingly, the IPM is challenged to develop a catechism that is applicable for all ages. Step-by–step, people will discover what God expects from them and will learn how to obey. Both the IPM and Mozambican society would benefit greatly from such an initiative.

The insistence on the practice of syncretism, alcohol consumption, and polygamy amongst members of the church, may be an indication that the teachings of the church need to be acculturated.

During the implantation of the church, Mhalamhala refused to compromise his faith by indulging in the gross wickedness that is so often practiced by church members, but rather he believed in allowing for a natural evolution of the transformative process to take place. Butselaar describes Mhalamhala' attitude in the following way:

> He did not hide that he rejected polygamy, drunkenness, violence and other practices alike, but for him, who wanted to become Christian had to liberate himself from those practices. For this reason, he did not force the process of transformation (Butselaar 1987: 64).

In spite of his elementary preparation as evangelist, Mhalamhala proved to be a leader with tremendous compassion for God's flock. He demonstrated through his actions that he believed that the power of the Holy Spirit could bring about transformation if love and justice were present in his teaching and if the teachings were not forced upon his people, but were rather gradually assimilated into their daily lives.

Mhalamhala's example challenges the IPM to produce a catechism that tackles the

issue of evangelism holistically. The catechism has to impress upon members the kind of love that reinforces their self-esteem and the love of their Creator. Through this method of teaching, the IPM will enjoy Autonomy. José Chipenda is of the opinion that a successful church program ought to meet the physical, moral, and spiritual needs of all (Chipenda 1997: 5), and the author believes that by following the example of Mhalamhala the church would be able to address of these needs.

2.5.2 The dependency phenomenon

Dependency is the challenge that the IPM is called to face with courage. The IPM will need to develop strategies that will allow her to deal with this matter beginning by its roots. Members will need to be confronted with former realities in order to find the way out.

2.5.3 The Ecclesial Discipline

When reading the books, magazines, and letters written by both Swiss missionaries and Africans, it becomes clear that the issue of ecclesial discipline is a prominent theme. Ecclesial discipline was normally applied to those found to have been in fault or to have neglected the teachings of the missionaries. Through the practice of ecclesial discipline, many Christians left the church, as Paul Berthoud wrote:

> Many times, I was obliged to discipline them in order to break immoral scandals or intemperance within the church. As you can see, our constant use of discipline has spread among the indigenous and they say "*it is not comfortable to be part of the missionaries' church because, if you sin, you are punished*" (Berthoud BMS 1887/88: 164).

Africans interpreted the use of disciple as being a system of punishment that they could not support. They affirm that within the IPM the practice of ecclesial discipline was transformed, and used to refer to it in caça as 'bruxas', meaning 'hunting witches'. In order to be a good worker, one was under pressure to denounce others, even if one

knew that this was untrue. Africans felt as though they were not a part of the Christian family, because the church was failing in her task of disciplining. This reinforced the Africans' perceptions that they were not being cared for by the Swiss' missionaries.

Africans were not interested in merely following the doctrine blindly; rather, they were interested in learning about Jesus's deeds and in following him. They were interested in learning ways that could make their life better, and improve their relationship with God. This is why they never understood this strange doctrine, although the missionaries invested a great deal of time in this regard. For them, the gospel was viewed as a lifestyle, and not a set of norms that had to be followed without being understood. It can be said that the missionaries efforts in instilling an estrange doctrine reached a dead-end.

Butselaar mentions that a prayer for rain after severe draught was able to convert many Africans than merely impressing them with the message of the gospel. However, it seems that missionaries were not able to understand the feelings of these Africans, which inevitably resulted in confrontations (Ibid; Harries 2007).

The lack of interest in the doctrine by Africans may be explained by the fact that when they received ecclesiastic discipline, they ended up leaving the church (BMS, 1948/ 49: 269). The author is of the opinion that Africans were not resisting the missionaries' teachings; but rather were trying to understand it, while learning how to assimilate the teachings into their lives, which was slowly being transformed by the power of the Holy Spirit. This was a process, and the results were not always immediately evident, which was often misinterpreted by the missionaries.

Africans were happy with Christianity, but they did not understand several norms of the doctrine and ethics that they were called to obey and follow, as they were fundamentally different from their cultural belief system. However, a small percentage of Africans were able to grasp these norms quickly and unfortunately learned to act with hatred toward their colleagues or church members who appeared to be failing in this task. Reymond noted that:

Some consistories that were not spiritually fully developed in order to understand the true sense of ecclesial discipline, applied their authority in a rigid and legalist way as if they represented a tribunal. They forgot that only God can judge, they forgot that the gospel is love that forgives instead of sending away those who sin without pity (Reymond BMS 1948/ 49: 269).

The above quotation is a clear demonstration that the IPM needed clear norms of discipline, and that these norms needed to be grounded in an understanding of the function of discipline. These norms, regulations or ecclesial discipline have to teach people their limits in order to put an end to anarchy, rather than being wielded as a tool for power. The IPM is also challenged to develop a Pastoral Care Ministry that presents God as a caring father who knows the weaknesses of his children, and is hence ready to forgive and protect them with courage

2.6 Conclusion

Chapter two dealt with the literature review. This literature showed how a small African Church developed until she gained Autonomy from the Swiss Mission. This Autonomy was done gradually I through a process I termed 'Towards autonomy', which took twenty two years to finalise.

The chapter also demonstrated the challenges that the Swiss Mission and the IPM had to face during their journey towards Autonomy. The significant portion of the chapter was dedicated to explaining the reasons that led the Swiss Mission to declare Autonomy, the awakening of the African Church, and the challenges that this awakening added to the Swiss' mission project. Internal and external political situations that influenced the process were also mentioned.

The last section of the chapter was dedicated to the evaluation of the impact of Autonomy. There were both positive and negative impacts of Autonomy. The positive impacts are those who impacted positively upon the members and the wider society. Some of these aspects that benefitted were ecumenism, education, and social work. In

this aspect, the rise of Eduardo Mondlane and his work deserved special reference.

The following chapter will concentrate on Gerkin's methodology, as well as Pollard's. This combined methodology will be employed in the attempt to solving the negative consequences experienced as a result of the current practice of the Church, in particular her way of caring for unpaid ministers within the IPM.