

# THEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN AFRICA

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Today the African peoples have come to know who they are after many years under foreign power. They no longer ask the question, "Who am I?" as Bonhoeffer did in his poem,<sup>1</sup> but rather their attitudes are characterized by Christian hymns extolling their African identity.<sup>2</sup> They recognize their rich religious heritage and hence refuse to be accused of being "pagan." Now that a large number of African peoples have embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ they want to seek ways to integrate Christ into their culture. This has necessitated the following questions:

Is it possible for Africans to lead a rich spiritual life and worship God in their own ways?

Is it necessary to copy European norms and liturgy?

Since worship can be regarded as a constant creation of the Holy Spirit, why shouldn't Africans feel free to innovate and pray in their own way?

Such questions have brought about the quest for a theology in Africa. As a result, a variety of theologies have emerged in recent years. This paper examines some of these basic trends in theological reflection in Africa, in particular, African Theology, Black Theology in South Africa and African Christian Theology. Further, it seeks to show an inner cohesion among these trends towards the final emergence of an authentic Christian Theology in Africa.

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## AFRICAN THEOLOGY

**Problem of Definition**

Since there has not been any definite or clear definitions of African Theology, different theologians, both Africans and non-Africans have seen and defined it in their own ways. John Mbiti, probably one of the greatest exponents of African Theology, says the following concerning the term "African Theology."

Indeed the term...has its limitation and ambiguities; it says both nothing and everything at the same time. Some people are using it as an ideological spring board; others fear it and consider it to be a demonic threat to the Christian faith in Africa.<sup>3</sup>

Mbiti, in his book, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*, is not even sure that the term can be defined. He writes "It is all too easy to use the phrase 'African Theology,' but to state exactly what that means, or even to show its real nature, is an entirely different issue."<sup>4</sup> He further explains that such a theology could not be uniform throughout the continent of Africa. He concludes, "Theological systems and schools of thought will, let us hope, emerge, and it is these, rather than a single static system which together may constitute *Theologia Africana*."<sup>5</sup>

In his effort to define African theology, J. Mugambi, in his recent book, *African Christian Theology: An Introduction*, concludes; "African Theology may thus imply (1) African Christian Theology (or African Muslim Theology); or (2) African Religious Tradition (referring to non-Christian and non-Muslim African traditions)."<sup>6</sup>

A few other scholars like Turner<sup>7</sup>, Kato<sup>8</sup>, Diadanso<sup>9</sup> and others have expressed the difficulties brought about by the term "African Theology." The impression given by this term is that it is possible to have one theology in Africa. Yet, as suggested by Mugambi above, Africa has many theologies. We can even go on to say that there are varieties of Christian, Muslim and other theologies in Africa. I suggest, therefore, that the term "African Theology" is misleading and confusing and that the term, "African Theologies" should be used to refer to various theologies in Africa.

## CONTENT OF AFRICAN THEOLOGY

The true nature and origin of African Theology can be ascribed to Dr. J.K. Agbeti. He represents the thoughts of most theologians in Africa today who draw a sharp distinction between African Theology and Christian Theology. The following quotation will give us an idea of what African Theology is, as understood by Agbeti and those scholars in his circle.

The idea of "African Theology" seems to have been confused with the idea of "Christian Theology" as it may be expressed by African Theologians using African thought forms. Thus it is my intention...to show that "African Theology" is distinct from Christian Theology....Thus we may think of different kinds of theologies, e.g. Christian Theology, Islamic Theology, Old Testament Theology, Hindu Theology, African Theology, etc. Consequently when we talk about "African Theology we should mean the interpretation of the pre-Christian and pre-Moslem African people's experience of God."<sup>10</sup>

According to Agbeti, African Theology is a return to African traditional religious experience—the practices of African peoples before Christianity and Islam were introduced to them. How do we understand Agbeti's idea of African Theology? It seems to me that he is suggesting that we do away with Christianity since we do not need it, we never needed it, and will never need it; with it also is the Islamic religion—but give us back the religion of our ancestors. This kind of attitude presupposes the validity of the African religions with regards to God's direct revelation to the worshipper. Salvation is possible in African religion, according to Agbeti, for he says that "the traditional African has a living experience with God quite distinct from the Christian experience of God."<sup>11</sup>

The primary source for African Theology, according to Agbeti, is not the Bible. The source material for African Theology has to be gathered from Africa and its traditional religions. If the Bible is to be used at all, it will only serve to support that which is already found in the traditional religions. Hence he writes:

Materials about African religion are being collected and collated regionally. From these regional sources, could grow a religion which could be truly called African Religion. It will be from this source that an "African Theology" may be developed, a theology which will critically systematize the traditional African experience of God, of God and his relation with man, of man and his relation with God, of the spiritual universe, of Sin, etc.<sup>12</sup>

Agbeti's "African Theology" is an attempt to state African peoples' thought about God and as such is not Christian nor is it biblically based.

Christianity, according to those who agree with Agbeti, is a "cold and cruel religion" which has caused frequent strife between the converted and the traditional religionists. For them missionaries did more harm than good, "They scared our people with stories of hell," they insist. "They painted their God as a demanding God who wanted worship 'or else'."<sup>13</sup>

The Rev. Solomon Lediga in the context of South African Black Theology would feel at home with what Agbeti has to say. He makes no distinction between Black Theology and traditional African religions. He sees a very close relation and no tension between the two. According to him, Black Theology "originates in the very existence of a religion pertaining to Africa. Perhaps Black Theology was dormant and covered in the mystery and taboo that pervades primitive religion the world over."<sup>14</sup> He contends that just as God spoke to Moses by the burning bush, today He speaks to Africans in lightning and thunder and other natural phenomena. He writes:

On the horns of sacrificial beast is laid the altar of atonement (at-one-moment) with the creator....The flesh and blood of goat cleans and unites. Those who partake of the feast of redemption live forever and those who do not eat of the meat and wash in the blood of the lamb are outcasts and they are doomed.<sup>15</sup>

He therefore concludes:

We shall sing praises unto this God and tell the spirit of our forefathers who dwell with his courtyard to mediate for us. We shall commune with Him and His spirits beast and beer brewed from the grainary He has secured for us.<sup>16</sup>

For it is, after all, this God, and not the sectarian and selfish God of the white man, who is overflowing in love. Lediga believes, therefore, that it is the task of Black Theology to reveal anew this God to Africa.

I believe very strongly that to study African traditional religion in the task of Christian theologizing in Africa is a worthwhile exercise which African-Christian theologians should seriously think about. This is because African religions have much to offer to the shaping of authentic African theologies. Moreover, there are many Africans today who still value and follow traditional African religions. It is also only after a serious study that our knowledge of African religions will increase; and it is only after such that proper contextualization can take place. To avoid misunderstanding of terms and definitions, I suggest that the theology propounded by Agbeti and Lediga be called "Theology of Indigenous African Religion" for that is exactly what Agbeti and Lediga are concerned about. Such theology, though genuinely African, yet seems to lack the necessary Christian component, is a universal heritage rooted in the person of Christ and the biblical witness. In my proposed improvement of terminology in this paper, I have suggested the preferred use of the term Christian Theology in Africa which is authentically African and also genuinely Christian. Turning now to Black Theology in South Africa we shall see by contrasting it with Black Theology in North America that it succeeds in being both a Black and a Christian theology.

#### BLACK THEOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are three views about the origin of Black Theology in South Africa. Some on the continent believe that Black Theology was born in the year 1700 near the mouth of the Congo River. It was founded by a Congolese girl, Beatrice Kimpa Vita, a prophet, who claimed that she had been commanded to preach and teach after she had experienced death and had been resurrected. She taught that:

Christ appeared as a black man in Sao Salvador and that all his apostles were black. He was a Christ who identified himself with the Africans, who threw in his lot with that of the suffering, oppressed blacks as opposed to the white exploiters and oppressors.<sup>17</sup>

She insisted, therefore, that Christ would restore the Old Congolese Kingdom and establish a paradise on earth. Others claim that "African Theology began in 1960 during a meeting of theologians in Zaire, reflecting on the topic: 'Debate on African Theology?'"<sup>18</sup> This particular seminar seems to have sparked a larger discussion on Black Theology in other parts of the continent, particularly in South Africa.

Finally, there are those who think that Black Theology reached South Africa through the influence of James Cone's tape in a seminar in 1971. The impact upon the participants was great. Mokegthi Motlhabi in an essay on Black Theology writes, "We feel...what Cone says in our bones."<sup>19</sup>

Whether this was the true origin or not, it is not until recently that the title "Black Theology" was imported from the United States, although it must be noticed that the content of American Black Theology was not imported with the title. Basil Moore defines Black Theology as a situational theology, the situation being the oppression of the black

man in South Africa. He writes, "It (Black Theology) begins with people—specific people, in a specific situation with specific problems to face." The black people in South Africa are facing the problems of oppression, fear, hunger, insult and dehumanization.<sup>20</sup>

Black Theology in South Africa is an attempt of the black man to overcome his slave mentality. The black man has been taught to think "white" and to believe that only what is associated with white is valuable. He has been accepted as human only in so far as he has rejected black ideals and accepted white ideals. Black Theology gives the black peoples their due recognition that the black man is somebody. In an attempt to find who they are, the South Africans are asking questions such as, "Was our black society and history and culture before the white man came so rotten and heathen that it had to be destroyed?"<sup>21</sup> It is with this idea that they turn to scripture, tradition and classical doctrine to ask if it can say anything about black people in their situation.

Black Theology in South Africa is not the same as its counterpart in North America. The reason is obvious. The black American has lost the cultural context in which African Theology is taking place. We see that South Africa merges the two theological trends, Black and African Theology. The political bias in South Africa put the Africans, in many respects, in the same category as a black American in the United States. The main distinction is that the South African is in Africa, and this offers him "the substratum for an African Theology."<sup>22</sup>

Some teachings of Black Theology in South Africa sound like those of the Black Theology of James Cone of the United States. But it must be stressed that, although they have some striking similarities, they are not identical. When we read the statements of Baartman and Buthelezi, we are led to believe that there is a great difference, at least in attitude, between these two theologies. Ernest Baartman for instance writes:

This is the difficult demand... "to love the white man." We cannot hate our fellow man. God created us in love that goes through bitterness, sweat and blood. He chose death. It is difficult to love whites. It is costly to love whites, yet the hatred must be rebuilt in love...the Gospel directs us all to pray that the day must never come when every black man will say, "I shall have nothing to do with the white man."<sup>23</sup>

In the same tone, Manas Buthelezi writes:

What is it that is unique in the Christian Gospel?... It is the love of God in Jesus Christ that transforms strange neighbors into loving brothers. It is very often said that points of racial contacts are points of friction. What is unique about the gospel is that it changes points of contact into points of fellowships.<sup>24</sup>

This attitude portrayed by Baartman and Buthelezi is in line with Jesus' teaching, "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, and pray for those who ill-treat you" (Luke 6:27-28). On the contrary, Black Theology of North America is colour conscious in that the North American Black Theologians insist that blackness is the symbol which points to the dimensions of divine activity in America and that whiteness symbolizes the activity of deranged men and is satanic in nature. Hence, Cone writes:

In order to be Christian theology, white theology must cease being white theology and become Black Theology by denying whiteness as a proper form of human existence and affirming blackness as God's intention for humanity.<sup>25</sup>

Thus Black Theology, in an apparent departure from the conventional interpretation of Christian teachings, holds that everything that assists the destruction of white racism is truly Christian, "the liberating deeds of God." And that the acts which "impede the struggle of black self-determination—Black Power—are anti-Christian, the work of Satan."<sup>26</sup>

Another African scholar, Adam Small, comments that it is not the purpose of black South Africans to hate whites but rather to treat them as people. Then he adds that they wish to help the white people of South Africa "to see themselves as they are, to cease fleeing from reality."<sup>27</sup> Others like the late Steve Biko, though he is not a theologian, share similar values. Biko advocates a "peaceful integration of all the races in South Africa into a new, just and democratic socio-economic political system, symbolized by 'sitting at the same table' justly sharing the country's resources."<sup>28</sup> Included here is also Nelson Mandela, the vice-president of the African National Congress, for constantly and insistently preaching this message of love.

It must be mentioned, finally, that Black Theology in South Africa does not deal primarily with the colour of the skin, but with the entire value system symbolized by apartheid. It is also self-critical and open for dialogue.

Black Theology in South Africa may thus be regarded as a Christian theology. We get a picture of black Christians being persecuted as they witness to Jesus Christ, who frees all—black or white. One may hope that the present developments in South Africa will only serve to increase the focus of Black Theology in their reconciliation and love. As we move finally to Christian Theology done in Africa, we make suggestions for a theology that is both, like indigenous theology in Africa, authentically African because it takes seriously African Indigenous Religion, and, like Black Theology in South Africa, solidly Christian, because it begins with distinctively Christian affirmations.

## AFRICAN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

### The Need

The foregoing discussion highlights the indisputable need for the emergence of a Christian Theology which is also African in the sense that it will meet the needs of the common African men and women wherever they are. Such a theology should be one which will interpret to the African people Jesus Christ, who is the only ground of unity for Christians. It should be a theology which will make them feel at home in the new faith. In other words, it should be a theology that will attempt to relate the gospel message to the various African situations in which they live and work.

Kwesi Dickson in an essay "Toward a *Theologia Africana*" quotes Donald Jacobs as saying:

Traditional Western Christian theology has some weaknesses even for western needs and often has not been seen to be relevant to African problems. Now we must come to the scriptures to discover God's answers to our problems here in our day.<sup>29</sup>

Such a cry for a theology which is relevant to African needs can be heard from E. Bolaji Idowu. Concerning the church in Nigeria he comments that it has not developed a theology which bears the distinctive stamp of Nigerian thinking or meditation. "Theologically," he says, "she has been spoonfed by Europeans all along."<sup>30</sup> A theology which will minister to the African people "cannot be produced by a church which is imprisoned within foreign structures; such is forever impossible with a church whose spiritual and intellectual nourishment is a theology ready-made from abroad."<sup>31</sup>

The need for African theology was underscored again in 1969 when Pope Paul in his address to bishops declared:

The expression, that is the language and mode of manifesting the one Faith, may be manifold; hence it may be original, suited to the tongue, the style, the character, the genius and the culture of the one who professes this one Faith. From this point of view, a pluralism is not only legitimate but desirable. An adaptation of the Christian life in fields of pastoral, ritual, didactic and spiritual activities is now possible, it is even favored by the church. The liturgical renewal is a living example of this. And in this sense you may and must have an African Christianity.<sup>32</sup>

It is my conviction that for such a theology to retain its Christian uniqueness, it must start by confessing Jesus Christ as Lord who died and was raised for us, as its focal point of faith. It must do so in such a way that it will be "faithful to the inner thrust of the Christian revelation and also in harmony with the mentality of the person who formulates it."<sup>33</sup> We need to study the rich heritage of our African peoples recognizing that our people knew and worshiped God the Father.<sup>34</sup> And that it is the radical quality of God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ to which they need to be introduced. It is necessary that the African theologians interpret the gospel in such terms as are not only intelligible to African people but also suitable to their own temperaments.

It is evident that contemporary African Christians cannot continue to exist on an adapted theology. There is no real short cut; as Allmen puts it;

We must not fool ourselves; Western Theology is not Universal Theology. Whatever is universal about Western Theology is owed solely to the faith that has been professed in all times and in all places; and Western Theology has the duty to reckon with the possibility that others may express the faith in a manner that is just as valid and just as "universal," in categories that are proper to them.<sup>35</sup>

African theologians must initiate a theology that is distinctively African, yet absolutely and truly Christian in its doctrine. A theology that will afford our people to worship God as Africans, that is:

In a way which is compatible with their own spiritual temperament, of singing to the glory of God in their own way, of praying to God and hearing His Holy Word in idiom which is clearly intelligible to them.<sup>36</sup>

It is then, and only then, that we shall have a truly authentic African Christian the-

ology. A theology that will not be a copy of Western theology; nor will it be a syncretism of African traditional religions and Christian faith; neither will it be eclectic in nature. It will be a theology that will solely be grounded in an African understanding of scripture as the only true and infallible Word of God. How shall such a theology come into being? I will suggest that African theologians should be aware of such theological processes as syncretism and be able to avoid dangers inherent in a mishandling of these processes. I will discuss this briefly in the following section.

#### THE PROBLEMS OF SYNCRETISM IN AFRICAN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

As I said earlier, the term "African Theology" is very debatable and many African theologians see and define it differently. Let me now mention a few more theologians who take a different line from that of Agbeti. Bengt Sundkler relates African theology with Christ when he says:

Theology in Africa has to interpret this Christ in terms that are relevant and essential to African existence....In Africa the same Christ, the King, proves Himself to be the life and the fullness with power to liberate from sickness and death and devil.<sup>37</sup>

Such a theology, Sundkler contends, "must...start with fundamental facts of the African interpretation of existence and universe." At this point, he discusses what he calls "the links with the beginning, the links with the living dead...and the pastor as the mid-man."<sup>38</sup> Sundkler somehow fails to make a clear-cut distinction between the primacy of African religious experience on the one hand, and the supremacy of Christ on the other.

Harry Sawyer, makes the following comments:

There is a strong case for *Theologia Africana* which seeks to interpret Christ to the African in such a way that he feels at home in the new faith....Care must be taken to avoid syncretistic tendencies as well as a hollow theology for Africa. The answer is in the vigorous pursuit of systematic theology, based on a philosophical appraisal of the thought forms of the African people.<sup>39</sup>

He expects this theology to be evangelistic and one which will erect bridges between the gospel and African thought forms.

M.E. Glasswell also sees African Theology to be a theology "which is conceived by Africans on the basis of African religious insights and emphases, and which serves the African understanding of the Christian faith and advances it."<sup>40</sup> This definition, and the rest of them that we have seen, have been said to fall under one danger—the danger of syncretism.<sup>41</sup>

Syncretism, according to *A Dictionary of Christian Theology*, is "the mingling together of different philosophies or religions, resulting in hybrid forms of philosophy or of religion."<sup>42</sup> In this context it would mean a theology which finds itself torn between traditional African beliefs and Christian faith. The result of such reconciliation of different beliefs and practices in religion is a mixture into one single theology. This has been regarded as a dangerous trend by some theologians.



The issue of syncretism in African (and other) theologies has been a topic of lively debate among theologians. It would appear that the castigation of syncretion emerges from the conservative premise that all tenets of Christian Theology are universally and eternally valid, and hence their contact with any "pagan" elements would only serve to adulterate them.

I would say that the question of syncretism cannot be so easily dismissed. It requires to be defined and understood in terms of its efficacy and limitations rather than "dangers." Syncretism is more ineffective than dangerous. It will suffice to give one example of how ineffective syncretism can be. In India syncretistic reconstructions of the best of Hindu and Muslim religions, as attempted by Emperor Akbar (1542-1605) and later on a broader scale by Mahatama Gandhi (1869-1948), with the apparent noble intention of forging a unity between the two religions eventually failed.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

First, I would suggest that the term African Christian Theology is misleading. The term to me has its emphasis on "Africa" rather than on "Christian." Christian doctrines are held to be universal, eternal and non-negotiable. But the context of theology changes so that we can talk of Christian theology in America, India and so on. In this case, "Africa" defines the context of a theological reflection; it demarcates a culture in which Christian universal doctrines are taught. And as such, I would prefer the term Christian Theology in Africa to differentiate Christian Theology from other African Theologies.

Second, there is need for a serious dialogue between Christianity and African Traditional Religions. If Christianity is truly universal, in that it is identifiable with each and every human culture as it professes to be, then it should be able to penetrate the African culture. Christianity, then, cannot afford to reject such dialogue unless it is willing to forfeit its claim to catholicity.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, today's theology is committed to dialogue if it is to be relevant in the fast-changing society. Aylward W.F. Shorter devotes his book *African Christian Theology* to this idea of "dialogue." It is hoped that through questions and exchange with theologies of the past and of the present we shall perceive God's message for our contemporary situation, and it is for us to draw this message into a relationship of dialogue with our African culture.

Third, there is a "call for a new pattern of training of the (pastoral) ministry in Africa."<sup>44</sup> It is absolutely necessary that African ministers are trained in their own environment to provide authentic African ministry to African Christians. Signs of such a move are already evident.

The AMECEA Pastoral Institute and the African Inland Church Missionary College (both in Eldoret, Kenya) are encouraging responses to this call. The former gives renewal courses and updates both the clergy and the laity on the approaches to new theological trends in their mission. The aim of the latter college is to provide relevant, practical cross-cultural training for men and women who feel called by God to go out to proclaim the word of God as demanded by Jesus, "Go throughout the whole world and preach the gospel to all Mankind" (Mark 16:15).

It should, however, be noted that as long as the so-called "extreme rightist," missionaries from Europe and America, continue to manage and teach in African theological and pastoral institutions, there can be no real hope for the emergence of an authentic African pattern of Christian ministry. It is sad to note that these institutions are more like Western islands in Africa rather than like African institutions themselves. African graduates from such deculturized schools come out as "black Europeans" rather than as authentic Africans. In language, cultural and almost all other values they copy their white teachers. In Kenyan streets one may frequently witness scenes where these self-made Euro-African evangelists are heard preaching in English with a colleague interpreting for them in the local language; whereas both the preachers as well as the audience are quite fluent in the local language. It is in this light that the need for the emergence of authentic patterns of African pastoral ministry becomes all the more urgent.

### CONCLUSION

In this paper I have examined the three theological trends in Africa, namely, African Theology, Black Theology in South Africa and African Christian Theology. I have shown the differences among these trends. I have attempted to argue that many times these three trends are mistakenly lumped together in the general category of "African Theology" or "African Christian Theology." I have further sought to urge that a close study of these trends is necessary in order to understand and appreciate the emergence of a genuine Christian Theology in Africa towards which each of these trends contributes in its own special way.

I have further attempted to show the difficulties in defining African Theology and to delineate what African Theology is as understood by Agbeti and those who agree or even disagree with him. I have suggested that the term "African Theology" is not suitable to denote the entire process of theological reflection in Africa as Agbeti advocates and thus suggest that his theology would be better called "Theology of Indigenous African Religion." In reference to the various theologies in Africa, I have recommended the term "African Theologies."

I have also discussed Black Theology in South Africa and argued that it is not the same as its counterpart in North America. I have argued that Black Theology in South Africa is solidly Christian because it begins with distinctively Christian affirmation.

Finally, I have discussed African Christian Theology and the problem of syncretism. I have offered some suggestions on the growth of a Christian theology in Africa. I have also suggested that the term "African Christian Theology" may more suitably be replaced by the term "Christian Theology in Africa."

### NOTES

1. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1978), p. 18.
2. For example the Kalenjin hymn, "Nyo, Jehovah, Toret Africa!" (God Bless Africa) in *Tienwogik Che Kilosune Jehova* (Kijabe: A.I.C., 1969), no. 245. There are various unpublished African hymns also embodying this theme.
3. John Mbiti, "Theology of the New World: Some Current Concerns of African Theology,"

*The Expository Times*, 87 (March 1976): 164.

4. John Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 185.
5. *Ibid.*
6. J.N.K. Mugambi, *African Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya Ltd., 1990), p.10.
7. Byang H. Kato, *Theological Pitfalls in Africa* (Kisumu: Kenya Evangel Publishing House, 1975), p. 55.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Diongwe Daidanso, "An African Christian Theology," *Evangelical Review of Theology*, 7.1 (April, 1983): 66.
10. J.K. Agbeti, *Theological Pitfalls*, p.54.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55.
13. Basil Moore, ed., "What Is Black Theology?" in *The Challenge of Black Theology in South Africa* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1973), p. 42.
14. David J. Bosch, "Currents and Cross Currents in South African Black Theology," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 6 (1974): 10.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
18. Daidanso, "An African Christian Theology," p. 66.
19. Bosch, "Currents and Cross Currents," pp. 5, 6.
20. Moore, ed., "What Is Black Theology?," pp. 1, 6.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
22. Bosch, "Currents and Cross Currents," p. 13.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
24. *Ibid.*
25. James Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1970), pp. 32, 33.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
27. Moore, ed. "What Is Black Theology?" p. 13.
28. Boniface K. Zabajongu, editorial comments on the article "Biko and Revolution in South Africa: A Liberation Theological Excursus," in *African Ecclesial Review*, 82 (February, 1990):1.
29. Donald R. Jacobs cited in Kwesi A. Dickson, "Towards a *Theologia Africana*," *New Testament Christianity for Africa and the World* (London: SPCK, 1974), pp. 201, 202.
30. E. Bolaji Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 22.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
32. E.W. Fashole-Luke, "The Quest for an African Christian Theology," *Ecumenical Review*, 27 (July, 1975): 262.
33. Daniel Von Allmen, "The Birth of Theology," *International Review of Mission*, 64 (January, 1975): 50.
34. There is a sincere yearning among Africans for a God whom they can worship as truly incarnated in their own religious systems, however uncompromising these systems may be to Western Christianity.
35. Allmen, "The Birth of Theology," p. 50.
36. Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church*, p. 11.
37. Bengt Sundkler, quoted in Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology*, p. 186.

38. Ibid.

39. Harry Sawyer, quoted in Fashole-Luke, "The Quest for an African Christian Theology," p. 263.

40. Rev. M.E. Glasswell, "Can There Be an African or Black Theology," *The Modern Churchman*, 18 (Summer, 1975): 165.

41. See Kato, *Theological Pitfalls in Africa*, p. 175.

42. Alan Richardson, ed., *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976), p. 331.

43. Aylward W. Shorter, *African Christian Theology* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975), pp. 5, 6.

44. Harry Sawyer, *Creative Evangelism* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1968), p. 157.