

Andrews University

Digital Commons @ Andrews University

Dissertation Projects DMin

Graduate Research

1989

History and Analysis of the Relationship Between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and Several Independent Churches in the Kasai Province of Zaire, 1972-1985

F Duane McKey
Andrews University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dmin>



Part of the [Missions and World Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

McKey, F Duane, "History and Analysis of the Relationship Between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and Several Independent Churches in the Kasai Province of Zaire, 1972-1985" (1989). *Dissertation Projects DMin*. 191.

<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dmin/191>

This Project Report is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Research at Digital Commons @ Andrews University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertation Projects DMin by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Andrews University. For more information, please contact repository@andrews.edu.



Seek Knowledge. Affirm Faith. Change the World.

Thank you for your interest in the

**Andrews University Digital Library
of Dissertations and Theses.**

*Please honor the copyright of this document by
not duplicating or distributing additional copies
in any form without the author's express written
permission. Thanks for your cooperation.*

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

ABSTRACT

HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
AND SEVERAL INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE
KASAI PROVINCE OF ZAIRE, 1972 TO 1985

by

F. Duane McKey

Adviser: Russell L. Staples

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Project Report

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
AND SEVERAL INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE
KASAI PROVINCE OF ZAIRE, 1972 TO 1985

Name of researcher: F. Duane McKey

Name and degree of faculty adviser: Russell L. Staples, Ph.D.

Date completed: June 1989

Religious ferment in the Kasai Province of Zaire in the decades preceding and following independence gave rise to a number of independent religious movements, some of which were overtly political. In an effort to control these movements, the Zairian government passed a law in 1971 which restricted the religious practice of these independent groups. As a direct result of these legal disabilities, a considerable number of independent movements in the Kasai sought affiliation with the Seventh-day Adventist Church. This study surveys the history of the relationships between the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the above independent churches from 1972 to 1985 and

attempts to analyze both the successes and the failures of the SDA Church in its efforts to accommodate, incorporate and institutionalize them.

This study is motivated by a concern to document the experience of the Seventh-day Adventist Church with the independent churches in the Kasai. As such it is an historical study which seeks to survey what happened in a broad sweep in chronological succession. The data is drawn largely from sources within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The data includes: articles published in denominational papers, correspondence between Church officials and the parties involved in the Kasai experience, statistical records, and two sets of questionnaires. Personal interviews were conducted with members of the Kasai expatriate missionary and Zairian pastoral staffs.

It is concluded that the Adventist Church did not maximize the possibilities of incorporating into its membership those independent churches which requested affiliation. This was largely due to a lack of adequate understanding of the independent churches, an unrealistic evaluation of the dynamics involved, the failure to adequately accommodate styles of worship and leadership, lack of continuity in leadership and strategy, and the general unpreparedness of the Church to cope logistically with the situation.

The utility of the study lies in the idea that this analysis of the Kasai movement should provide a basis for some understanding of similar movements, and should help to equip the Church with ways of working with them.

Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
AND SEVERAL INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE
KASAI PROVINCE OF ZAIRE, 1972 TO 1985

A Project Report
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Ministry

by
F. Duane McKey

June 1989

UMI Number: 3096473

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3096473

Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

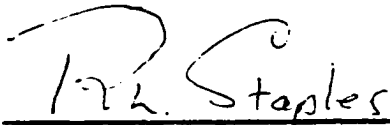
HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
AND SEVERAL INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE
KASAI PROVINCE OF ZAIRE, 1972 TO 1985

A Project report
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Ministry


by

F. Duane McKey

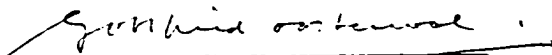
APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:



Adviser,
Russell L. Staples



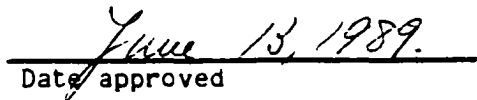
Dean,
SDA Theological Seminary



Gottfried Oosterwal



Douglas R. Kilcher



Date approved

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	vii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the Project.	1
Purpose of the Project	1
Method Employed.	2
Justification for the Project.	3
Definition of Terms.	3
II. BACKGROUND AND LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES	7
The Land and the People.	7
History before and after Independence.	10
The Growth and Development of Christianity	15
Missionary Societies--Catholic and Protestant	15
The Organization of the "Eglise du Christ au Zaire"	17
Recent Church-State Relationships From 1972-1983	20
Historical Summary	21
III. CHARACTERISTICS OF SOME OF THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENTS.	23
African Independent Movements.	23
Introduction	23
Reasons for the Growth of the Independent Movement	25
Independent Churches in Zaire.	29
Kimbanguism.	29
Religious Independent Movements in the Kasai	32
Kimbanguism and Related Independents in the Kasai.	32
Independent Churches in the Kasai Other than Kimbanguist.	37
Vandaism	37
Eglise Saint Emmanual.	38
Kitawala	40
Eglise du Troisieme Testament au Kasai	41
Eglise Evangelique des Sacrificateurs.	42
Bapostolo.	43
Anima.	45
Miscellaneous Type of Independents	46

The Jamaa	46
The Theological Characteristics of Independent Churches	47
The Theological Points of Contact of Independent Churches with the Seventh-day Adventist Church . . .	50
Summary	56
 IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH IN THE KASAI	58
Historical Overview of the Establishment of the Adventist Church in Zaire	58
Development of Adventist Work in the Kasai	59
Slow Beginnings, 1949-1971	59
Development of the "Eglise du Christ au Zaire and the Organization of the Kasai Project	63
Leadership in Growth	69
Introduction	69
Ministerial Training Sessions	73
Personnel--National	75
Developments Under Kasai Project Directors	78
Don Thomas	79
A. M. Long	84
Gordon Ellstrom	92
Roy Perrin	100
Logistics	104
Building Supplies for Lulengele	105
Roads	106
Church Construction	106
Fuel	107
Food	107
Climate and Location	108
Publications	108
Government	109
Financial	110
Summary	111
 V. WORKING WITH INDEPENDENT LEADERS IN THE KASAI	114
Introduction	114
Leaders who Sought Affiliation	115
Kubi--Eglise Saint Emmanual	115
Tshitata Fuamba--Eglise Saint Emmanual	116
Beya Hubert--Eglise Spirituelle de Kamombela	117
S. Kantole--Eglise de l'Amour de Dieu	118
Ilunga Kabeyamuambi--Eglise de Jesus Christ sur la Terre par le Saint Esprit	119
Mutshipaie Banseke Tshishi--Sabbatique de Matete . .	120
Baki Samuel--Eglise de Jesus Christ des Saints du Derniere Jour	121
Ndaye Manatshitu--Eglise Spirituelle Kimbanguist de Kamombela	122

Paul Mwamba--Eglise de Anima	122
Ntande Bomba Buanga--Spirituelle Kimbanguist	123
Churches Which Did Not Request SDA Affiliation.	124
Johane Maranke--l'Eglise Apostolique Africaine de J. M. (Bapostolo).	124
Kadima Bakenge Musangilayi--Eglise Evangelique des Sacrificateurs.	125
Miscellaneous Independent Churches.	126
Working with Leaders Who Sought Affiliation	127
Summary	133
 VI. ANALYSIS OF THE ADVENTIST EXPERIENCE WITH THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE KASAI	 135
Introduction.	135
Background.	136
An Analytical Look at the Groups and Individuals Who Became Church Members.	138
Evaluation.	141
A Synthesis of the Adventist Experience in the Kasai.	150
Summary	157
 VII. SUMMARY.	 160
Conclusions	160
Reflections Pertinent to the Church	164
Reflections Pertinent to the Student.	166
Summary	167
 APPENDICES	 168
Appendix A. Independent Churches in the Kasai.	169
Appendix B. Mobutu's Law Regulating Churches	171
Appendix C. Map of Zaire	172
Appendix C-1. Map of Kasai Province.	173
Appendix D. Zaire Union Statistical Report, 1972-1985.	174
Appendix E. Long Administration--Expatriate Staff.	175
Appendix F. Kasai Annual Statistical Report, 1972-1985	176
Appendix G. Ellstrom Administration--Expatriate Staff.	177
Appendix H. Kasai Project Field Territory Organization	178
Appendix I. Kasai Church Properties, 1972-1985	181
Appendix J. Perrin Administration--Expatriate Staff.	182
Appendix K. Kasai Missionaries, 1972-1983.	183
Appendix L. Church's Reaction in Print	185
Appendix M. Questionnaire.	194
Appendix N. Kasai Workers Statistical Report, 1972-1985.	195
Appendix O. Kasai Church Members' Survey	196
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 197
 VITA	 213

LIST OF TABLES

1. Those Who Joined the SDA Church from Independent Groups . . . 140
2. Analysis of Totals 140
3. Those Who Joined the SDA Church from Missionary Churches. . . 140

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Recognition and thanks are generously given to the many who helped to bring this project analysis into being. There are the missionary colleagues, both expatriate and African, who shared their experiences informally and who willingly participated in the surveys and questionnaires. The editorial suggestions of Joyce Jones, the Andrews University dissertation secretary, were greatly appreciated. Spending much time and having a great influence on the thoughts in this paper are the members of the project committee: Russell Staples, chairman, Gottfried Oosterwal, and Douglas Kilcher. Finally, the greatest gratitude is expressed to my own family. My children, Bracken and Denae, for their encouragement and my wife, Kathy, whom I consider a partner in ministry, for her helpfulness and countless hours of skilled typing on the computer. She has been an inspiration to me.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of Study

This study is a broad analysis of the factors relating to the success and failure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church to incorporate into their fellowship several independent churches in the Kasai Province of Zaire from 1972 to December 1983.

This study grows out of eight and one-half years of experience as a resident missionary in Zaire in the Seventh-day Adventist Church both in the Kasai and in Lubumbashi at the Zaire Union Office¹ in departmental work and administration. The experience has led to the conviction that Seventh-day Adventists did not maximize the opportunity of incorporating several independent churches into the Adventist Church in the Kasai, Zaire. This was due, perhaps, to the unprecedented² nature of the situation. This study seems to confirm that conviction.

Purpose of the Project

This research is an analysis of the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the two Kasai Provinces of the Republic of Zaire.

¹The Zaire Union is the denominational organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the country of Zaire.

²To my knowledge, an experience such as that which occurred in the Kasai in 1972 has never before been experienced in Seventh-day Adventist denominational history.

The whole "Kasai Project"¹ experience was studied from an historical and analytical perspective.

The purpose of the study was:

1. To recount the story of the "Kasai Project" experience to enhance the understanding of the global Seventh-day Adventist Church as to what actually happened.
2. To endeavor to comprehend the leadership, composition, ethics, and function of the independent churches in the Kasai.
3. To arrive at constructive suggestions as to what approach may be desirable in dealing with a large influx of members into the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the future.

The Method Employed

To accomplish this purpose, I visited the Kasai in December 1985 and March 1986. I had been a resident, expatriate missionary in 1976 and 1977. I studied the church records, conducted surveys of the members, and interviewed previous leaders of independent churches. Since I was administrative secretary for the Zaire Union Mission, I also conducted a thorough search of the Zaire Union archives in Lubumbashi in 1985 and 1986 in search of records, statistical reports, financial statements, and correspondence pertaining to the Kasai Project. Basically, then, the method employed in this study is partly historical, partly analytical, partly derived from the study of the anthropological literature on the independent religious movements and the people in the Kasai, and from personal observations. But the

¹See definition of terms on p. 5.

method employed is that of historical reconstruction of the events and facts in the practical/social context of the time rather than anthropological.

Justification for the Project

The "Kasai Project" is an important page in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It is also a unique and unprecedented experience in Adventist Mission. I believe that Adventists can learn from both the successes and failures of the venture. Therefore, the detailed story needs to be written and analyzed.

My own experience in Zaire, having been intimately involved with missionary work in Zaire and the Kasai Project during the years 1975 to 1986, leads me to believe that a proper evaluation needs to be made. This is true especially now after some time has elapsed and one can evaluate and look more objectively at what took place. The analysis of these events may help to equip the church to handle a similar situation in a more efficient and effective manner should such arise elsewhere in Africa or in the world field.

Definition of Terms

Adventist Volunteer Service Corps (AVSC). Church volunteer workers who are sent from their homeland to another country for a one-to two-year term of service.

Church Growth. A term meaning "all that is involved in bringing men and women who do not have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ into fellowship with Him and into responsible church

membership."¹ For the scope of this study, church growth has direct reference to that type of growth, as aptly put in the above statement by Wagner.

Ellen G. White (1827-1915). "Cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, writer, lecturer, and counselor to the church, who possessed what Seventh-day Adventists have accepted as the prophetic gift described in the Bible."²

Expatriates. Church workers who are transferred from their homeland to another country. The expatriates sent to Zaire agree to serve a six-year term with a furlough of three months in their homeland after thirty-three months of service. "Expatriate" replaces the older term "missionary."

Evolués. A French term used before independence to refer to those Africans more or less disassociated from traditional institutions, who often have a post-primary education, and who speak French.

Independent Churches. Established Christian churches which are indigenous to Africa in general and Zaire in particular. These are the churches which grew out of the African religious independence movement.³ The African independent movement was a movement of independently organized churches which arose during the last part of the nineteenth century and has continued until the present.

¹C. Peter Wagner, Your Church Can Grow (Glendale, CA: Regal Book, A Division of G/L Publications, 1976), p. 12.

²Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "White, Ellen Gould (Harmon)."

³See appendix A.

Kasai Project. The organized work of the Zaire Union Mission comprised of the East and West Kasai Provinces of Zaire. The project was established in 1972 in response to several independent churches which had requested affiliation with the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The Kasai Project functioned directly under the Zaire Union Committee, which acted as its governing body. The project was terminated in December 1980, when it was organized into the Central Zaire Field.

Katangese Rebellions. In 1977 and 1978 Katangese rebels invaded the Province of Shaba (Katanga) from Angola in an endeavor to regain the province. The Katangese rebels had fled to Angola in 1963 when Moise Tshombe's secession of Katanga was overcome by the United Nations' troops. Tshombe had developed a unilateral declaration of independence in July 1960 and seceded the Katanga Province from the Congo. Katanga was the wealthiest province of the Congo.

Nationalization. The policy in Zaire announced late in 1973 when foreign enterprises in agriculture, commerce, and transport were transferred to Zairians. "Nationalization in Zaire is known as Zairianization."¹

Salongo. A system of public works requiring all Zairian citizens to give free labor to the public roads on Saturday mornings. The law was instituted in February 1973, and six months later through the intervention of the ECZ it was changed to allow Adventists to do their free labor on Sunday mornings rather than Saturdays. Salongo means work in Lingala.

¹H. M. Rotn, Margarita K. Dobert, Irving Kaplan, et al, Zaire, a Country Study, 3d ed., (Washington, DC: American University, 1979), p. 316.

Seventh-day Adventist (SDA). The Seventh-day Adventist Church is "a conservative Christian body, worldwide in extent, evangelical in doctrine, and professing no creed but the Bible. It places strong emphasis on the Second Advent, which it believes is near and observes the Sabbath of the Bible, the seventh day of the week."¹

Sustentation Overseas Service (SOS). Retired volunteer church workers who serve in an overseas country for one to two years.

Student Missionaries. Missionaries who are sent from one of the SDA colleges in North America, Europe, or South Africa to serve as volunteers for nine to twelve months.

Zaire. Zairian currency unit introduced on 24 June 1967, replacing the Congolese Franc; z1 consists of 100 makuta. From 24 June 1967 through 22 March 1976, one zaire equalled two U.S. dollars. The zaire has been devalued several times since, and in 1986 sixty zaire equalled approximately one dollar.²

Zairian Missionary. A church worker who is transferred from his/her home area to another culturally different area within the country of Zaire. The relocation usually involves learning a different language and adapting to a different culture.

Zaire Union Mission (ZAU). The name of the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zaire.

¹SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Seventh-day Adventist Church."

²Roth, p. 315.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES

The Land and the People

The events in the Kasai, which are the subject of this study, must be seen against their historical background. This chapter begins with an historical overview which gives the understanding necessary to follow the study.

The Republic of Zaire is located in the heart of the African continent. It is about the size of the United States east of the Mississippi River; "with an area of 905,365 square miles, it is the third largest African country after the Sudan and Algeria."¹

This central African country occupies most of the Zaire River Basin, which is officially known outside of Zaire as the Congo River. Zaire was formerly a Belgian colony known as the Belgian Congo. The nation achieved its independence on 30 June 1960, and was renamed the Republic of the Congo. In 1964 the name was changed to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and, again, on 27 October 1971, to the Republic of Zaire. On 30 June 1966, several cities and towns whose names were of European origin were renamed as follows: Kinshasa, formerly Leopoldville; Kisangani, formerly Stanleyville; Lubumbashi, formerly

¹The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 1984 ed., s.v. "Zaire, Republic of."

Elisabethville; Kananga, formerly Luluabourg; and Mbuji-Mayi, formerly Bakwanga. This was the beginning of the move toward authenticity. Zairians who had European/Christian names were obliged to change them to authentic African names. European dress (including ties) was outlawed in favor of a national Zairian costume: for men, this resembles a dark, long-sleeved safari suit; and for women, wrap-arounds. This development of authenticity was intended to allow the Zairians to attain a certain national identity.

Zaire is a very wealthy country because of its rich mineral deposits. These include diamonds (mainly industrial) in the Kasai, gold in the Kivu, and uranium, cobalt, and copper in the Shaba Province.

The importance of Zaire as a supplier of strategic raw materials has long been recognized. Zairian mineral production is second only to South Africa on the continent, and uranium for the first atomic bomb came from the mines of the Province of Katanga (subsequently renamed "Shaba"). No country has a better claim to be called the geopolitical key to Africa.¹

In the mid-1970s there were an estimated twenty-five million people living in Zaire. More than half of the country is very sparsely populated. In more recent years people have migrated toward the cities, especially Kinshasa. In the early 1960s Kinshasa had a population of some 350,000. However, because of the move of the populace toward the capital and the population explosion in the Third World, by 1967 Kinshasa had grown to one and one half million.²

¹The Encyclopedia Americana, International Ed., 1980 ed., s.v. "Zaire."

²Herbert Weiss, Congo 1965 Political Documents of a Developing Nation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 16.

According to the United Nations projections, by the year 2025 Kinshasa will have between fifteen and twenty million people, becoming one of the largest metropolises in the world.¹

As to languages, Bascom observes that "Africa is linguistically one of the most complex areas in the world . . . ; the usual figure of eight hundred languages for the continent is doubtless an underestimate."² In Zaire alone estimates vary between 200 and 250 ethnic groups and languages. The official language of the country is French. Four Bantu languages are given special status by the government. They are Kikongo, Tshiluba, Lingala, and KiSwahili.

In particular reference to the Kasai area itself, which is the concern in this project, the main languages spoken are Tshiluba and French. In some areas Lingala is also used.

The Kasai is made up of two regions. The Kasai-Occidental (population 2,434,000) and Kasai-Oriental (population 1,872,000) with a total population of 4,306,000 and an area of 125,554 square miles.³ The average elevation is about 2,500 feet above sea level and is located in the south central part of the country.

In Olga Boone's book, Carte Ethnique du Congo, Quant Sud-Est, are listed twelve major tribes in the Kasai in 1961. These included (1) Babindji, (2) Kanyoka, (3) Kuba, (4) Luba, (5) Luba-Kasaji,

¹Robert W. Fox, "The World's Urban Explosion," National Geographic, August 1984, p. 181.

²William Russell Bascom, Continuity and Change in African Cultures, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 15.

³The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 1984 ed., s.v. "Zaire, Republic of."

(6) Lulua, (7) Luntu, (8) Lualua, (9) Mbangani, (10) Nsapo, (11) Salampasa, and (12) Songye.¹

A few years later, in 1966, Vansina added several more tribes and clusters to the Kasai list. They are: (1) Mputu, (2) North Kete, (3) Bangu-Bangu, (4) Tio, (5) Boma-Sakata, (6) Nku, (7) Yans-Mbun, (8) Lebe, (9) Njembe.² Therefore, one has a list of over twenty major tribes in the Kasai, not to mention the many ethnic groups, clans, and small tribes which may comprise a small village.

The regional capitals consist of Kananga in the west and Mbuji-Mayi in the east. The most influential tribe in the Kasai-Occidental is the Lulua and in the Kasai-Oriental is the Luba. After independence, there was an endeavor for unification of the tribes into one nation. This consisted of a deemphasis of tribalism. For example, one was no longer a Lulua from Luluabourg but a Zairian from Kananga. Tribalism in the Kasai has been a factor for the SDA Church to reckon with in the development of the evangelistic interest in the Kasai. This factor is developed more fully in the succeeding section.

History before and after Independence

The continent of Africa was ripe for independence toward the end of the 1950s and early 1960s. The Belgian Congo was no exception.

It was the eve of the demand for independence. On 28 August 1958, General De Gaulle was at Brazzaville across the river from

¹Olga Boone, Carte Ethnique du Congo, Quant Sud-Est (Brussels: Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1961), p. 271.

²Jan Vansina, Kingdoms of the Savanna (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), pp. 19-123.

Leopoldville making his famous speech on complete independence for any French dependency who asked for it. "Two days later, the leaders of various political movements in the Belgian Congo sent a collective letter to the Belgian minister, demanding immediate and far-reaching political reforms."¹

The tide of nationalism swept across the Congo led by a few hundred "évolués, who, seeing that the white man's grasp was slipping in every other African country, were determined not to be left behind in the race for power."²

By 1960, as the political independent momentum began to build, Belgium found itself relinquishing its control over the Belgian Congo after nearly seventy-five years of rulership. The Congo had not received much preparation from the mother country. It is not surprising that the governmental machinery broke down when Belgians were no longer there to run it?³

During the first five years of independence, the country faced problems of secession and civil war that affected the full and normal developments of almost every national institution. In 1965, Joseph Mobutu⁴ took over the country in a military coup--unseating his

¹George Martelli, Leopold to Lumumba (London: Chapman and Hall, 1962), p. 223.

²Ibid.

³Bruce Fetter, The Creation of Elisabethville (Stanford: Hoover Colonial Studies, 1976).

⁴Joseph Desire Mobutu adopted Mobutu Sese Seko as his legal name in 1972 shortly before he ordered all Africans with European/Christian names to adopt African names with the move toward authenticity.

father-in-law. He then endeavored to end the civil wars and sought to absorb the many factions into one nation. He has been basically successful except for the ever-present independent faction around Kalemie in the east and the two invasions of the Katangese into Shaba in 1977 and 1978.

The Kasai, like the rest of the country, does not lack a colorful history. Its history mainly centers around the Luba in the Kasai-Oriental and the Lulua in Kasai-Occidental. For years before the Belgians arrived, the Luba, sometimes called the Baluba or Luba-Kasai, were continually harassed by the Afro-Arab slave traders.

With the arrival of the Belgians, the uprooted and enslaved Lubas took refuge in Lulua country, settling around European administrative and mission posts. They took advantage of education in the mission schools and jobs from the Belgians. They prospered well, leaving their neighboring Lulus behind. The Luba were the school teachers, the personnel officers, or other white-collar workers, and they held the desirable land. The Lulua, on the other hand, had been fairly well off, so they had no need to seek education or other opportunities. After World War II the Lulua began to perceive the Luba as an advantaged group, blocking access to opportunities in Lulua territory.¹

Just preceding and following independence in 1959 and 1960, tribal violence broke out between the Lulua and the Luba. The Luba fled from the Kasai-Occidental to the Kasai-Oriental. Between 1958 and 1963, the population of Kasai-Oriental tripled from more than 300,000

¹Roth, Zaire, a Country Study, p. 142.

to over one million (1) because of the arrival of the Luba from Lulua country, and (2) as a consequence of their flight from the copperbelt in what was then Katanga (later renamed Shaba by President Mobutu) as they encountered difficulties there.¹

A similar situation occurred in Katanga (now Shaba). By independence, half of the African elite in Elisabethville were Luba-Kasaians, much to the consternation of the local Lundas who outnumbered the Kasaians five to one. Then in 1962, Moise Tshombe's² government requested the United Nations to repatriate the Kasaians in Katanga to the Kasai-Oriental.³ Later the secession of Katanga was followed by civil war in the Kasai. This tribalistic atmosphere has had its influence on the "Kasai Project" as most of the new SDA members have come from the Kasai-Occidental, while a number of the pastors are from the Kasai-Oriental.

The Mobutu government in 1965 sought to bring harmony out of this disunity and chaos. Several measures have been taken to accomplish this end since Mobutu became president. Among them were authenticity, nationalization, and detribalism, all of which had their impact on the Kasai.

1. The development toward authenticity involved such things as the taking of African names in place of European/Christian names, not only for towns but for individuals as well.

¹Ibid., p. 143.

²See Katangese Rebellion under definition of terms on p. 5.

³Roth, Zaire, a Country Study, p. 144.

2. Nationalization or Zairianization developed rapidly after independence. More and more resentment was built up against the European community. The climax of the resentment came in governmental measures to nationalize European businesses in the early 1970s. Then in 1976 and 1977, with many of the businesses in a depleted state, the government invited the previous owners to return and again take charge of their once-owned businesses.¹

3. Detribalism is a government goal. The present Zaire government has made great strides in its endeavor toward unification. With the singing of the national anthem (La Zairoise²), with political manifestations, and with large billboards declaring Mobutu to be their only guide and founder of the republic, Zairians have developed a sense of national pride. The young Zairian in the metropolitan areas is beginning to consider himself a Zairian first and a Luba or Bemba, etc., second. But tribalism is still a factor which is very much alive. All these factors of political independence would have an affect on the development of the interest of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai. The government's efforts of authenticity, nationalization, and detribalization have all had their influence on the Kasai Project. Most noteworthy is nationalization. During this time, European businessmen were forced to leave their businesses, and many essential supplies became very scarce, if not impossible to obtain. This scarcity of supplies greatly hampered the reopening of

¹Interview with Mr. H. Hasaan, a Belgian businessman residing in Lubumbashi, Zaire, April 1986.

²Translation: The Zairians.

Lulengele Mission, the headquarters for the Kasai Project, as well as the building of churches, which were needed to care for the new members.

The Growth and Development of Christianity

Missionary Societies--Catholic and Protestant

Christianity in Zaire can be traced back to the Middle Ages. However, Christianity seemed to have met with little success because of the inroads of Islam. Then in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese brought the first Catholic missionary priest in 1485 and others in 1491 to the Congo. This was the first Christian mission of any consideration in West or Central Africa; but for unknown reasons, it just faded out. All that remained of the Portuguese efforts in 1879 when Protestant missionaries arrived at San Salvador were the ruins of a Christian cathedral and a crucifix, other fetishes, and confused memories of the earlier teachings.¹

After the Protestants (British Baptists) arrived in 1878, the Catholic missionaries began to return. When in July 1885, King Leopold II was proclaimed the 'Sovereign of the Congo Independent State,' there began a move by his government to "imprint a Belgian character upon Christian missionary work in the Congo."² That character was Belgian Catholic, the religion of their motherland, which was also a state supported church. This was in direct contrast to the American

¹C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964), 1:127-131.

²Ruth Slade Reardon, "Catholics and Protestants in the Congo," Christianity in Tropical Africa, ed. C. G. Baëta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 85, 86.

Protestants who were financially supported by a volunteer laity in the homeland.

Since the Protestants were already present, the king could not replace them with Belgians because there were few Belgian Protestants. But Belgian Catholics were available and they came. According to Reardon, "Up the main Congo River and its chief tributaries went a double stream of Christian missionaries--the Catholics who were also Belgians, and the English, Americans, and Scandinavian Protestants."¹

Tensions arose between the Protestants and Catholics as national favoritism was shown by the state to the Catholics. So much state favor was shown to the Catholic missions that the Protestants began to feel themselves at a considerable disadvantage by comparison.² Even today as one drives through the countryside or flies across the savannah, one is struck in awe at the many huge Catholic missions which were constructed during the Belgian colonial period with government funds.

In the early 1900s, the ecumenical movement played a considerable role in drawing the Protestant missions together. However, the Catholics remained aloof. Tensions mounted before World War II because of the Belgian governmental favoritism shown to the Belgian Catholics. The Protestants made many accusations of religious discrimination by the Belgian government. After the war, however, with the help of the World Council of Churches, tensions somewhat abated.³

¹Ibid., p. 86.

²Ibid., pp. 86-87.

³Ibid., pp. 85, 95.

Of special interest to the Kasai is the fact that American Southern Presbyterians reached Luebo in 1891 and have concentrated their attention on the Kasai with headquarters at Kananga.¹ Other prominent Protestants in the Kasai have been Baptists, Mennonites, Methodists, and Adventists.

The Organization of the Eglise
du Christ au Zaire

The organization of the Eglise du Christ au Zaire (ECZ) is central to the theme of this paper. The Zairian government intervened in local church affairs in 1971 and formed the ECZ in 1972. The reason for this move, as noted below, was the polarization of independent churches in the country which took on political overtones. The following is a brief history of the development of the ECZ.

In 1911, a group of Protestant missionaries formed the first Protestant cooperative society known as the Congo Continuation Committee (CCC), which developed into an ecumenical organization. It was later changed to the Congo Protestant Council (CPC) in 1924, and then in 1934, they elected to call themselves the Church of Christ in the Congo.²

In March 1970, the Church of Christ in the Congo developed into the "Eglise du Christ au Zaire." This union was somewhat unique; for even though the Protestant assembly members' vote was not unanimous

¹David B. Barrett, World Christian Encyclopedia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 759.

²Gordon C. McDonald, Donald W. Bernier, Lyle E. Brenneman, et al, Area Handbook for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo Kinshasa) (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 205-207.

and was not referred back to the member churches, it was taken as definitive. For the next two years eight churches, led by the Methodists, refused to accept the decision to form the ECZ and attempted to withdraw from the body and form the Council of Protestant Churches of the Congo. However, they were not accepted by the Zairian government and were forced to return to the ECZ in 1971 and 1972 with government intervention.

In 1971 and 1972 the government regulated the practice of religion in Zaire, legalizing, at the outset, only three Christian denominations: the Church of Christ (ECZ, Protestants), the Catholic Church, and the Kimbanguist Church (EJCSK). Later, others were added. The December 1971, regulation of churches was established to control practice of religion in Zaire.¹ Representatives of churches in the republic had to fulfill the following conditions: be at least forty years old, have good conduct and a sane mind, hold a masters or doctoral degree in theology or a degree from a four-year theological school, have not spent over five months in prison, and have 100,000 zaires (\$200,000) in a local Zairian bank account.

Anyone who might wish to raise up a new church could not have previously been a pastor or priest in any other church or have left any other church as a dissident.

It is also interesting to note that to have legal authorization to function as a church, its would-be leader must meet the above requirements and be granted juridical personality from the ministry of justice.

¹See appendix B for a copy of the law.

By 1973 seven religious bodies had been accorded juridical personality in Zaire. They were the Catholic Church, Eglise du Christ au Zaire (ECZ), Kimbanguist Church (EJCSK), Greek Orthodox Church, Islamic Community, Jewish Community, and the Baha`i Assembly.¹

The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zaire is officially known as the "42em Communauté" (42nd Community) of the ECZ.

The law was instituted because by 1970 it was estimated that between 500 and 2,600² independent churches had arisen in Zaire, with a number of them located in the Kasai. Many of these independent leaders had become involved in politics--an involvement that had its roots in the country's fight for independence in the 1960s. Because of their tribal instincts of reverence to the local diviner, the populace had a tendency to support their local independent pastors to the point of rejecting the central governmental authorities. Thus, in light of the above-stated laws of 1971 and 1972, most of the independent churches lost their juridical personality and were deprived of their legal right to exist. Some sought affiliation with the ECZ and by 1977, thirty had been granted legal status and admitted as full members. The law had accomplished its task.³

¹Barrett, Encyclopedia, p. 758.

²Marie-Louise Martin, Prophetic Christianity in the Congo (Johannesburg: Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1971), pp. 20, 21.

³Barrett, Encyclopedia, p. 759.

Recent Church-State Relationships from 1972-1983

With the movement of the Zairian government to unify the more than 250 ethnic groups into one nation, the president has taken certain religious terms concerning his person. He is referred to as "The prophet of twenty-one million Zairians," "Our Clairvoyant Leader," or "One through whom providence shows itself to be just and logical." Party chants began as Catholic liturgical phrases. They sing, "Oh, that Mobutu may be with you!" Party halls are referred to as temples. On the "President's return to Kinshasa after his October 1973 speech at the United Nations, the mayor of Kinshasa asked party members to give him a reception similar to that given Jesus on His return to Jerusalem."¹

The government has been concerned about its own identity and has launched a deliberate campaign to weaken Christian religious affiliation in order to facilitate the creation of a national identity. Moves have been made against all organized and legalized churches with the prohibition of religious broadcasts, regulation of publications, prohibition of youth groups, and seizure of church-owned schools.²

It is interesting to note that the church-state struggle generally concerns the identity of Zairians and, many times, the ideology they are to adopt. President Mobutu has said, "In Zaire, it

¹K. Adelman, "The Influence of Religion on National Interpretation in Zaire" (Ph.D. diss., Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1975), 162.

²The schools were returned to the churches in the late 1970s, and the youth clubs in collaboration with the government are now legalized and able to function.

is the MPR¹ and not the Church that will lead the way," which well summarizes the main issue of conflict. The MPR desires to place itself before all other "interests and to provide its members with identity, beliefs, rituals, social rules, and the unifying thread of life. When this happens, it is inevitable that it comes in conflict with organized religion, which has traditionally held these same goals."²

When one considers the church-state tensions in this light, as one of competition over allegiance and identity, it is easier to understand why this conflict arose and still exists.

Historical Summary

We have briefly considered the history of Zaire, its people, and the land. We have noted the Belgian rule and the development of the independent state of Zaire. Of interest to us specifically has been the emergence of Christianity in this setting. Probably most important to this study is the development of the "Eglise du Christ au Zaire" and the involvement of the state in enacting laws restricting the practice of religion of most churches (mainly independent) except within the framework of the ECZ.

The government was especially interested in controlling the churches for two reasons: (1) The MPR was endeavoring to establish its own identity and loyalty of the citizens of Zaire to the country of Zaire, and (2) independent church leaders had long been involved in

¹MPR is an abbreviation for the national political party Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution or translated, Popular Movement of the Revolution.

²Adelman, p. 193.

politics. In 1970 a leader of a prominent independent church was hanged in Kinshasa for his political involvement in an attempted coup. Therefore, the government was interested in curtailing the activities of the more than five hundred independent churches and groups which flourished after independence in 1960.

The historical overview, which has been briefly outlined in this section, functions as a backdrop for the development of the Kasai Project, the particular interest of this document. It was this political regulation of the church out of which the religious atmosphere in the Kasai was created. When the independent churches lost their legal right to function, they either disbanded or sought affiliation with a legally authorized existing church. This created the situation in which the SDA Church found an opportunity to incorporate a number of these independent groups, communities, and churches into the Adventist fellowship. Thus the "Kasai Project" was formulated.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOME OF THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENTS

African Independent Movements

Introduction

David Barrett in his book Schism and Renewal in Africa, says that by 1968 five thousand independent churches existed on the African continent. These had arisen since 1862 and had separated themselves from the historical churches in schism. Also there were one thousand renewal movements within the organized churches. The African independent church movement had found fertile ground for birth and growth on the African continent.¹ This African independency, as it is also referred to, exists in thirty-two of the forty-one nations south of the Sahara.²

Adrian Hastings divides the African independent movements into three distinct types or movements, each with its own specific characteristics. They are:

1. The African or Ethiopian type which dates back to the late 1800s. This wave of independency arose as a protest against the

¹David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 6.

²Ibid., p. 15.

missionary control in the mission churches, and the seeming impossibility of the promotion of blacks above a certain level. In West Africa there was even a tendency to demote Africans as the white missionary force increased. "Such churches retained nearly all the characteristics of the body from which they had seceded, while in some cases tolerating polygamy more openly than did the missions at least among the laity."¹

2. The Zionist type--a movement of independency that dates back to around 1910. It was centered around a prophet or prophetess who had a healing, praying, and prophetic kind of ministry.

Members came both from established Christian missions and from non-Christians. Their organization was quite different from the mainline missions, although they obviously had learned a lot from the established mission. Hastings comments:

They seldom began as a clear schism within a mission church; they emerged rather as the following of a prophet or group of prophets--the latter being men and women who had acquired a personal position on account of their prayer, healing, or preaching activities within an existing church, but who clearly did not belong very closely to its hierarchy or regular ministry and sooner or later came adrift of it.²

This type was symbolized by individual charismatic giants like Alice Lenshina in Zambia; Charles Wovenu in Ghana; Johanne Maranke in Southern Rhodesia; Simon Kimbangu in the Belgian Congo; Kikuyu in Kenya; Manku, Isaiah Shemba, and E. Lekganyane in South Africa; Joseph

¹Adrian Hastings, A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975 (Cambridge: University Press, 1979), p. 68.

²Ibid., p. 68.

Babalala and Harris of West Africa; and Josiah Oshitelu Wade of Nigeria to mention a few of the most prominent.

3. The type that is symbolized more by a multiplication of small groups and their growth and institutionalization within some of the older movements. Probably the most noted group here is Placide Tempels' "Jamaa," a significant charismatic movement within the Catholic Church in Zaire.

Reasons for the Growth of the Independent Movement

This section is an attempt to answer why the independent movement arose. The growth of the religious independent movement is very complex and difficult to understand. Nevertheless, I endeavor here to outline the factors which brought about the movement.

The factors which precipitated the rise of independent churches in Africa include both political and religious constraints.

1. Political Factors. Some of the movements were a reaction to the colonial situation where religious resistance became a substitute for forbidden political protest. Independency became a struggle against tyranny and oppression. One authority says:

The first reaction of the humiliated Africans can be nothing far from an aversion to anything 'white', expressed in the slogan, 'Africa for the Africans.' The real reason was that the humiliation burnt into the soul of the black man, like a brand of a slave, by the treatment his race received from its white masters; oppression, of course, but also condescension.¹

Thus since the established churches were seen by many African nationals as instruments of colonialism, independency became a reaction

¹Nathaniel I. Ndiokwere, Prophecy and Revolution (London: Camelot Press, 1981), p. 19.

to that system.¹ This idea stemmed from the days of slavery when some missionaries were associated with the mercenary slave trade. "The Catholic Missionaries who entered and left with slave ships were not considered unrelated to the slave trade."² It should also be noted that as the Africans were taught the Bible by the missionaries, more and more discrepancy was seen by the nationals in the way the missionaries treated the Africans and the principles of the Gospel.

2. Religious Factors. Several important religious factors must be mentioned. First, the independent churches usually responded to the deeper emotional needs of Africans, which were not being met in the intellectual, doctrinal approach of the transplanted western churches. The Western-missionary approach remained largely at the intellectual and ethical levels of man's consciousness without touching the deeper emotional level that the Africans had experienced in their tribal religions.³

Second, a very important factor had to do with a perceived inconsistency between the teachings of the Bible and the teachings of the missionaries. The inconsistent teachings included visions, complex rituals, the separation between clean and unclean animals, the practice of polygamy, the descent of the Spirit of God upon prophets, the

¹Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries working in the Congo have been directly accused of having contributed to the execution of the prophetess Dona Beatrice and to the imprisonment of Simon Kimbangu.

²Laurent de Lucques, Relations sur le Congo du Pere Laurent de Lucques, 1700-1717 (Brussels: Institute Royal Colonial Belge, 1953), pp. 44, 282-284.

³Victor E. W. Hayward, Introduction in African Independent Church Movements (London: Edinburg House Press, 1963), p. 8.

interpretation of dreams, miraculous healings, and the expulsion of devils.¹ Many of these doctrines were consistent with certain African traditional religious teachings. This factor was especially noteworthy in Protestant missions where converts were given Bibles in their own languages as the source of authority and the African converts interpreted the Bible literally. On the other hand, this phenomenon rarely occurred within the Catholic missions where Bibles were almost never given out to their converts. When given Bibles, they were offered only as a secondary authority to the Catholic Church with which ultimate authority rested.

Third, there was the disruption of the traditional tribal religious society. When the missionaries first arrived in Africa, they became involved with the big issues of social injustice such as tribal wars over slavery and slave trade. Later they were involved in church construction and church expansion as the African field opened to the gospel. Unfortunately, most of them never really understood the African and his world view. The missionaries were involved usually on a superficial level. The African, no doubt, perhaps subconsciously at first, felt that his world view and the social functions of his traditional tribal religion were under assault by the mission. Barrett lists ten significant areas of assault. They were:

- (1) community structure (polygamy, the extended family, the status of women, etc.);
- (2) land and property (tribal land rights, ancestral ownership of the land, the earth as a mother deity, etc.);
- (3) laws and taboos (tribal law, authority of the elders, bride-wealth, etc.);
- (4) religious concepts (mythology, the tribal world view, the ancestral cult or remembrance of the living dead, etc.);
- (5) religious leadership (priests and priestesses, prophets

¹Hastings, p. 71.

and prophetesses, medicine men, rainmakers, diviners, etc.); (6) religious symbolism (masks--human and animal, body markings, religious dress, etc.); (7) magical concepts (white and black magic, fetishes and charms, etc.); (8) rituals (religious rites at birth, circumcision, funeral rites, exorcism, rites combating witchcraft and sorcery, etc.); (9) worship (sacrifices, food offerings, emotionalism, singing, dancing, drumming, etc.); (10) vernacular language itself which was enshrined by the tribes' soul.¹

The African religious society was often so closely interwoven with the social structure that to suppress or change one feature tended to disrupt the whole society, despite the traditional resilience and flexibility shown by African societies.²

Basically, one can say in summary that the African independent movement was a quest for a realized religious community in and through which immediate human needs--social, psychological, and physical--could be met. Therefore, the independent religious movement was a reaction against colonialism and racism, a move toward nationalism, and an effort by the African to understand his own faith in his setting/society. The movement also arose for selfish reasons when a leader wanted personal recognition--to be known as the prophet and founder of his church.

In the words of Taryor, "The Africans themselves see their movement as a reformation of an over Europeanized, over Americanized, and over materialized Christianity. They want to indigenize the

¹Barrett, Schism, pp. 266-267.

²Ibid., p. 267.

faith, interpret, and apply it to give it a practical meaning in their setting."¹

Independent Churches in Zaire

Most of the independent churches in Zaire are usually classified as Zionists as most of them came into being under the direction of a charismatic prophetic leader with a healing, praying, prophetic ministry. The most significant ones are considered here.

Kimbanguism

The most significant and largest independent church in Zaire and in all of Africa with half a million members by 1965 is the Eglise du Jesus Christ sur la Terre par la Prophet Simon Kimbangu.² The church was founded by Simon Kimbangu, a Baptist catechist from the Bakongo tribe of Bas Zaire. Kimbangu had a healing and preaching ministry which lasted for about six months in 1921. The Belgian authorities feared the movement as potentially leading to political insurrection. Kimbangu was brought to trial and condemned to death, a sentence which was later reduced to life imprisonment.³ Kimbangu died in 1951 in Shaba in prison. After much persecution and splintering, the church was officially recognized by the Belgian authorities in 1959 after reorganization by Kimbangu's three sons.

¹Nya Kwiawon Taryor, Sr., Impact of the African Tradition on African Christianity (Chicago: Strugglers Community Press, 1984) p. 177.

²Translation: Church of Jesus Christ on the Earth by the Prophet Simon Kimbangu (EJCSK).

³Barrett, Encyclopedia, p. 759.

The movement was of the Zionist type, but perhaps had some Ethiopian elements (Zionist because of the prophetic leadership in Kimbangu and Ethiopian in that there was a reaction to the Catholic and Protestant expatriate control of the church). This was evident when on 6 April 1921 Kimbangu emerged as the prophet, and his village became the New Jerusalem when he "raised the dead, caused the paralyzed to stand upright, gave sight to the blind, cleansed lepers, and healed all the sick in the name of the Lord Jesus."¹

Briefly, EJCSK believes:

1. The church was founded by Simon Kimbangu.
2. It is based on the Christian religion.
3. It has no restriction with regard to regional boundaries.
4. The foundation stone is the Law and the Prophets enlightened by the Holy Spirit. Thus they promote love, peace, fear of evil, and moral purity.
5. It limits its activities to the relationship between man and God.
6. It refrains from political activities.
7. It worships God the Creator and practices no discrimination.
8. It follows the Ten Commandments and, in addition, its adherents must (a) respect authorities, (b) love one another, (c) abstain from alcoholic drink, (d) abstain from dancing, (e) abstain from bathing or sleeping in the nude, (f) keep out of quarrels,

¹Dialungana, the son of Kimbangu, as quoted by Wyatt MacGaffey, Modern Kongo Prophets (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 33.

(g) abstain from smoking, (h) abstain from fetishism, (i) pay taxes, (j) avoid rancor against their neighbors, (k) confess their transgressions before the appropriate body, and (l) abstain from eating pork and monkeys.

9. It is a church of the Holy Spirit. For this reason all Kimbanguist Christians must live according to the Spirit.¹

Interestingly enough, even though their doctrine states that they should not be involved in politics, Kimbangu and his later prophets definitely exercised political influence for the emancipation of the oppressed people.²

Kimbangu was thought of as a god, some sort of invulnerable and invincible prophet, somewhat like the Simbas of Stanleyville in the early 1960s.³

K. Mahaniah, a Zairian, indicates that "Kimbangu was omnipotent and omnipresent. He could visit his followers any time he chose. The king of the Belgians, according to one myth, put him in a trunk, tied it, and dropped it in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. When the king came back to his palace, he found Kimbangu sitting there. He did many tricks to get Kimbangu but he failed; eventually, even he recognized the supernatural power of the prophet."⁴

¹Martin, pp. 23, 24.

²W. J. Hollenweger, Marxist and Kimbanguist Mission: A Comparison (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1973) p. 9.

³David Reed, 111 Days in Stanleyville (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

⁴K. Mahaniah, "The Background of Prophetic Movements in the Belgian Congo" (Ph.D. diss., University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 1975), 265.

After Kimbangu was imprisoned in Shaba, many of his people were deported to different parts of the Congo by the Belgian authorities in an effort to thwart the movement. Martin says that 37,000 heads of families were deported,¹ and according to Heimer, the various colonies of these deported leaders became seedbeds for Kimbanguist growth throughout the Congo.²

Religious Independent Movements in the Kasai

Kimbanguism and Related Independents in the Kasai

By 1944 the EJCSK were established in the Kasai at Luluabourg.³ Interestingly enough, Desmedt says that the Belgian territorial administrator of Luluabourg in the middle of 1950 believed the EJCSK and the Seventh-day Adventists clearly resembled each other. To him both seemed like a new Judaism in that they were: messianic, used Bible texts freely, and placed great stress on the Holy Spirit. It even appeared that a Kimbanguist pastor, Kasai Paul, was at the same time an Adventist pastor.⁴

EJCSK grew rapidly in the Kasai after the ban on the movement was lifted in 1960.⁵ They built schools, mission stations, and churches. By 1969 the main body of the EJCSK in Luluabourg claimed to

¹Martin, p. 7.

²H. F. Heimer, "The Kimbanguists and the Bapostolo" (Ph.D. diss., University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1971), 167.

³Ibid., 170.

⁴R. J. A. Desmedt, Kimbanguism au Kasai, report, File 1785, Aimo archives, (Luluabourg: 1 January 1969), p. 2.

⁵Heimer, 174.

have fifteen thousand adherents in the city and thirty-two thousand in Western Kasai. However, actual records indicated that on 8 July 1967 there were 3,168 in Luluabourg. The evidently exaggerated figure of fifteen thousand had come from Aaron Beya, the Kimbanguist leader of the Kasai.¹ This tendency to exaggerate was apparent in all independent churches and effected the involvement of the SDAs in the Kasai Project.

It should also be noted that in the Kasai there are a number of Kimbanguist-related groups who have splintered from the mother church. Heimer lists these as follows:²

1. Eglise Spirituelle Kimbanguist de Kamombela.³ The adherents of this group believe their church is especially blessed by the Holy Spirit. They believe in healing the sick through prayer. They also practice adult baptism by immersion. This church split in the early 1970s. The group at Kamombela in Kasai Occidental sought affiliation with the Adventists in 1974, and in due course their leader, Ndaye Manatshitu, at Kamombela became a member of the Adventist Church. Another group of Spirituelle Kimbanguist, led by Ntande Bomba Buanga, contacted the Seventh-day Adventist Church concerning their affiliation with the SDAs but did not join the Adventists.

¹Ibid, 175.

²Ibid., 177-202.

³Translation: Kimbanguist Spiritual Church of Kamombela.

2. The Eglise du Christ Lumiere de Saint Esprit au Congo.¹

This organization split from the mother church over financial matters in 1962. This group is composed mainly of Baluba people in the Mbuji-Mayi area of Kasai Oriental, whereas the EJCSK are almost totally in the Kananga and Kasai Occidental area as are the other EJCSK offshoots. This group does not believe in speaking in tongues as does the EJCSK. They are different from many other African independent churches in that they have no special healing services but expect members to seek regular medical treatment. Other doctrines are parallel to that of EJCSK. They claim a membership of ten thousand.²

3. Eglise de Jesus Christ sur la Terre par la Saint Esprit.³

This offshoot is relatively small with only two churches in Kananga. However, their founder and prophet lives in Kinshasa. This is important to them. African independent churches are very concerned about the prestige of being in the capital city and having direct contact with head officials in the government.⁴ Their beliefs are about the same as Kimbanguists; however, they place greater stress on the work of the Holy Spirit. Their church has been wrought with inner strife over leadership. The government has even become involved in the

¹Translation: The Church of Christ's Light of the Holy Spirit in the Congo.

²Heimer, 185.

³Translation: Church of Jesus Christ on the Earth by the Holy Spirit. H. E. Heimer gives the name as the United Church of the Holy Spirit.

⁴Bengt G. M. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 85.

settlement of their internal disputes.¹ Their leader Ilunga sought affiliation with the Adventists at Lulengele in 1972.

4. Kimbanquist Eglise pour le Travail de Dieu.² After a dispute in 1960 with the EJCSK over government subsidies, this group split from EJCSK and they elected not to accept the subsidies.

They believe that the Holy Spirit is active in their church. As proof they say they experience healings by the Holy Ghost through prayer and holy water.³ They have four small churches in Kananga.⁴

5. Eglise des Noirs dans Afrique Central.⁵ The church flourished before independence as they prayed for deliverance from the white colonialists. They have a strong emphasis in healing and baptism. With these rites they freely use water, fire, and oil. Their membership in the Kasai is small. They also have members in other regions. They practice polygamy in contrast to monogamy taught by their parent church, the EJCSK.⁶

6. The Kintwadi. This group has little association with other Protestant churches and refer to themselves as spiritual Protestants. They respect and teach the doctrines of Simon Kimbangu and accept him as a prophet. They plan their meetings so as not to

¹Heimer, 187.

²Translation: Kimbanquist Church for the Work of God.

³Heimer, 189.

⁴Kananga is the nationalized name for Luluabourg.

⁵Translation: The Church of the Blacks in Central Africa. The abbreviation is ENAC.

⁶Heimer, 194.

interfere with organized church worship services. They have a strong emphasis on healing by the spirit. When one receives the spirit, he shouts and jumps for joy. They claim a membership of two thousand in Kananga.¹

7. Eglise du Salve de Jesus Christ par le Prophet Simon Kimbangu.² Emmanuel Bamba split with the EJCSK over the question of leadership in 1960. He felt himself to be a prophet. He contended Kimbangu had given to him the leadership of the EJCSK after Kimbangu's death. The church had a short life and disintegrated in 1966 when on May 30, Bamba was executed in Kinshasa for plotting against the government.³

In closing this section on the EJCSK and its offshoots, it should be noted that Diangienda, Kimbangu's son, has been the most prominent leader of the EJCSK since before independence. The group has more recently endeavored to make their church "more Protestant" by replacing the spontaneous method of worship by a Protestant liturgy and by making Christ the central focus of the worship service instead of Kimbangu and other prophets.⁴

¹Ibid., 199.

²Translation: The Church of Salvation of Jesus Christ by the Prophet Simon Kimbangu. Also known as the Congolese Church.

³Heimer, 201.

⁴Mahaniah, 263.

Independent Churches in the Kasai
Other Than Kimbanguist

Vandaism

Vandaism was founded by Moses Vanda-Ekanga Emmanuel in 1940. Vanda lived in the Kasai-Oriental on the Sankuru River near Mbuji-Mayi. On a Sunday in 1940 he had his first vision. He was to preach the Ten Commandments, cast out evil spirits, destroy fetishes, and chase away the sorcerers. Vanda was overwhelmed. He could not read and he had never been baptized into any church, but he felt compelled to be faithful to the instructions of his vision. Because of Vanda's inability to read, the Bible was not used in the services and this lack brought heavy criticism.¹

Through 1959 Vanda evangelized in both Kasai Provinces. Then in 1959 and 1960 when hostilities arose between the Baluba (East Kasaians) and the Lulua (West Kasaians), he moved with his wives and children from Kananga (Luluabourg) to the Kasai Oriental.²

The church split over the Baluba-Lulua troubles, but it continued to flourish.³ It continues to function at present but is still not legally recognized by the state.

It was Vandaism which Kubi Mamba's church, Eglise Saint Emmanuel, grew out of in the early 1960s. This was due to the tribal tensions between the two Kasai provinces following independence.

¹Jacques-Oscar, "A Propos du Vandaism et de Son Fondateur," Bulletin Trimestre du Center d'Execution des Programmes Sociaux et Economique (Lubumbashi: CEPSE, 1971) September-December, No. 94-95, pp. 69-72.

²Ibid, pp. 62-85.

³Interview with Mukadi Luaba, Lubumbashi, Zaire, 1 April 1986.

Kubi's church would play a central role in Adventist development in the Kasai Project in the 1970s.

Eglise Saint Emmanuel

The Eglise Saint Emmanuel¹ was founded by Kubi Mamba² on 26 September 1965. As a young person, Kubi always had the conviction of becoming a priest. He attended Catholic and Presbyterian worship services. However, these experiences caused him to have many biblical questions. He then ceased attending these worship services and began to study the Bible. He attended several Protestant churches in an effort to find satisfaction to his questions.³

While Kubi was searching the Holy Scriptures in an attempt to answer some personal questions, he visited his home village in Kasai Occidental in 1961. He found the people in his village had left the Presbyterian Church and joined the Vanda. Kubi was surprised to learn their curious doctrine which included the belief that God lived in the forest. In addition, they did not believe in baptism, they never read the Bible, and to become a member of the church, one had to pay ten cents, give a chicken to the pastor, and receive in return a small sack of powder--which was reputed to be fire from God--to place on their foreheads at night to keep the evil spirits away.

For two years Kubi studied with the Vanda. He finally formed his own singing group to minister in song to several independent

¹Translation: The Church of Saint Emmanuel.

²In the following pages Kubi Mamba will be referred to as Kubi.

³Kubi Mamba to Duane McKey, 10 April 1986.

churches. In 1964 Muamba Lupaka, a member of the Vanda Church of Kananga in Kasai Occidental, had a vision where he was told that Kubi was to be the new director of Vandaism.¹ The church at Kananga accepted this revelation but Kubi refused it. He said, "I cannot accept to lead a church that is not from God and does not consider the Bible as its basic material of instruction."²

Kubi was asked two more times by the Vandas of Kananga to be the Vanda Church director. Finally he accepted with the understanding that he could reorganize the Vanda Church on the basis of Bible principles. Thus was born the Eglise Saint Emmanual. The church grew rapidly between 1965 and 1971 attaining a membership, according to Kubi, of 75,000 men, women, and children.³

The Eglise Saint Emmanual believed in baptism by sprinkling, which they had learned from the Catholic and Presbyterians. Marriage was to be monogamous as opposed to the Vandas' polygamous marriages. They practiced the Lord's Supper and pastoral ordination. Offerings were received from the church members and the local pastor was authorized to keep a portion for his salary.

Their members came mainly from the Vandas of Kasai Occidental, but a few also came from the Catholic, Presbyterian, and other independent churches. It is felt that one of the reasons for the offshoot of the Saint Emmanuals from the Vandas was their tribal

¹This was based on the tribal tensions between the Luba of the Kasai Oriental, which was Vanda's tribe, and the Lulua of Kasai Occidental. Kubi belonged to a sub-tribe of the Lulua.

²Kubi to McKey, 15 April 1986.

³Ibid.

differences.¹ Vanda, a Luba, had to leave his work in Kananga in the early 1960s because of the tribal wars between the Luba of Kasai Oriental and the Lulua of Kasai Occidental. The Eglise Saint Emmanuel was a Zionist movement.

Kubi's church played a prominent role as one of the largest independent churches that requested affiliation with the Adventists in 1972. More people from the Eglise Saint Emmanuel became Seventh-day Adventists in the Kasai than from any other church. Kubi influenced Tshitala Fuamba, one of his area leaders, to become an Adventist. Kubi now functions as an ordained minister in the Seventh-day Adventist Church and has been appointed director of the church's youth work for Zaire. He is stationed in Lubumbashi at the church's headquarters for Zaire.

Kitawala

Kitawala is an independent Church which splintered off the Jehovah Witnesses in 1926. The Jehovah Witnesses were outlawed in the Belgian Congo in 1931 and subsequently by the Zaire government in 1986.

The church was started by the Prophet Nyirenda, who had come from Malawi, in Southern Zaire among the Balamba. His mission was to free his people from the sorcerers and to expose the European colonizers. He was noted as the "Prophet" and "Savior." Through him people would find a happy future. The church grew rapidly and by 1950 it had expanded to the Kivu and Kasai Oriental.

¹Interview with Mukadi Luaba, Lubumbashi, Zaire, 1 April 1986.

Kitawala played an active role in the 1950s along with the Kimbanguists in the fight for independence, even though as an independent church they had no legal status under the Belgians. They were officially recognized after independence in June 1960 and have been ever since. The Kitawala are both Zionist and Ethiopian.

Eglise du Troisième Testament
au Kasai

The Eglise du Troisième Testament au Kasai¹ has a very interesting beginning. The founder, Mbayi-Kazadi, had three sets of visions in 1928, 1936, and 1945 near Kananga. After the prophet's second vision, his followers claimed that he raised the dead and healed the sick.

Basically the adherents believe there are three testaments that cover the chronological sequence of time. The first, the Old Testament, represents the yellow chosen race. The second, the New Testament, represents the white chosen race. And, finally, the Third Testament represents the black race. The Third Testament is regarded as God's final and special covenant with the black race for the end time.

In the covenant, men are the authentic sons of God who represent the second person of the Godhead. Women are regarded as constituting the third person of the Godhead. Their duty in life is to reproduce men, God's sons. Polygamy is thus easily understood as an accepted practice.

¹Translation: Church of the Third Testament in the Kasai.

They would be classed mainly as a Zionist-type movement with elements of the Ethiopian type.

Eglise Evangelique des Sacrificateurs¹

The Evangelique movement was founded by Kadima Bakenge Musangilayi of the Lulua Tribe in 1965 in Kasai Occidental. After having a series of dreams, he started a loosely knit group and a school of theology. From 1973-1977 Kadima studied at Presbyterian and Methodist pastoral training schools. In 1977 he graduated in theology from the Institute de Theologie Methodiste de Mulunguishi² in Shaba.

In August 1977 the Sacrificateurs were recognized as an official church by the Zaire Government and became the seventy-third community of the ECZ. It was possible for Kadima to become the founder of an independent church since he had fulfilled the requirements of the government in having a degree in theology.

The doctrines of the church came from the revelation the prophet received from God. As a charismatic movement, they see their main function as confirming the return of Christ in spirit. They believe in baptism by immersion, the Lord's Supper, and the sacraments of sacrifices and sanctification.³ A significant number of this group converted to Seventh-day Adventism in the Kasai after 1972. The church is of the Zionist type.

¹Translation: Evangelical Church of the Sacrificers.

²Translation: Methodist Theology Institute of Mulunguishi.

³Heimer, 230-310.

Bapostolo¹

It was in July 1932 when Johane Maranke near Umtali in Southern Rhodesia heard a voice speak to him saying, "You are John the Baptist, an apostle. Now go and do my work! Go to every country and preach and convert people! Tell them not to commit adultery, not to steal, and not to become angry. Baptize people and keep the Sabbath day."² Thus was born the Church of the Apostles or the Vapostori. Maranke claimed he had been having visions since he was five and six years old.

The movement spread through the Belgian Congo in 1952 and reached Kasai Occidental in 1956. In Zaire adherents are known as Bapostolo which is the Tshiluba³ translation of Apostles. The French name is the Eglise des Apotres.⁴ The movement grew fast even though it was outlawed by the colonial authorities. In fact, Maranke was only able to visit Zaire in 1963 just before his death. It was an occasion never to be forgotten. The Zairian Bapostolos would sing, "The Congolese of the Kasai have intoned Hosanna at the arrival of John in Congo Kasai. They have sung Hosanna to glorify God."⁵

In 1967 the Bapostolo split into two groups because of tribal differences between Shaba and the Kasai. There are other divisions of

¹Ibid.

See also M. L. Daneel, Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, vols. 1 and 2 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

²Hastings, p. 77.

³Tshiluba is the official language in the Kasai.

⁴Translation: Church of the Apostles.

⁵Hastings, p. 182.

the church in Kananga. They include the Apostolic Faith Martyrs Church and the Apostolic Faith Church. All arose basically the same way—a disgruntled prophet received "visions" instructing him to start the true church. According to Barrett, there were some forty thousand Bapostolo in 1968 in the Kasai.¹

All members are apostles and their leaders are prophets. The men wear white robes, carry a crooked staff, shave their heads, and usually grow a beard. They oppose medicine and hospitals, stress baptism, and worship in the open air on Saturdays, the "Sabbath." They are charismatic as all followers are expected to have communications from the spirit.

The men are divided into four groups: baptizers, evangelists, prophets, and healers. They believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible as in keeping the Ten Commandments, not eating pork, praying barefooted, not shaving their beards, and in polygamy. They strongly believe in water baptism by immersion. Fire is used in their services as a purifying agent. Leaders walk through the coals. They also recognize healing by prayer and the use of symbolism of water and oil. However, Heimer says these may be a simple replacement of charms and fetishes.²

A number of Bapostolo in the Kasai became Seventh-day Adventists. They held a number of beliefs in common, with the Adventists such as their literal interpretation of the Bible and the Sabbath.

¹Barrett, Schism, p. 294.

²Heimer, 299.

Anima

The Anima¹ Church was started by the Prophet Paul Mwamba between 1960 and 1965. It is a charismatic movement with headquarters at Ntenda in Kasai Oriental. Al Long² reported in 1974 that there were many problems in working with the Anima such as "Charismatic experiences, polygamy, worship practices, misinterpretation of Old Testament customs, and literal interpretation of certain New Testament texts which involved habits and customs of church members."³

Similarities the Anima had with the Seventh-day Adventist Church were belief in the prophetic gift, the soon return of Jesus, and in the remnant, and a common belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures.

The exact membership in the Anima Church is somewhat difficult to ascertain. After Al Long's first contact with Mwamba, he was given to believe they had some 120,000 adherents.⁴ Four months later, he understood they had about 100,000 members in all of Zaire. However, Pastor Mbyirukira, who was the Zaire Union president, said he understood from Mwamba there were some 200,000 members in the Kasai and Shaba.⁵ At any rate, the membership figures appear to have been

¹Information concerning the Anima is from the letter written by Al Long to Robert Pierson, Lulengele Mission, 16 February 1975.

²A. Long functioned as the Kasai Project Director from September 1973 through 1976.

³Long to Pierson, 16 February 1975.

⁴Al Long to Merle Mills, Trans-Africa Division president, 28 October 1974.

⁵Mokotsi Mybyirukira to Duane McKey, 10 January 1986.

exaggerated. This illustrates the tendency of the independents to exaggerate their membership figures. The Anima would be classified as a Zionist Movement.

Mwamba showed great interest in converting to Adventism in 1975 and 1976, but he never did. However, 1,399 of his members joined the Adventist Church.

Miscellaneous Type of Independents

It is very difficult to locate details about beliefs, size, and the origin of some of the independent churches. This is partially because many of them have never written out what they believe, etc. Also the independent movement is growing so rapidly that it is difficult to keep current. By way of illustration, when I was in Mbuji-Mayi in February 1977, Pastor Madandi, a Seventh-day Adventist, stated that there seemed to be a new independent church with their own prophet on every street corner. This occurred five years after the law of 1972 which restricted the churches. The law was no longer enforced in Mbuji-Mayi. This was the trend throughout the Kasai Provinces.

The Jamaa

The Jamaa,¹ which means family, is a charismatic movement begun by Placide Tempels, a Catholic Priest, in 1945 among the Luba of Katanga (Shaba). Despite its somewhat unorthodox features, its twenty thousand adherents have almost entirely remained within the Roman Catholic Church, largely because of kind and sympathetic treatment by

¹Johannes Fabian, Jamaa: A Charismatic Movement in Katanga (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971).

missionaries. This kind treatment can be seen in a letter written by the Archbishop of Luluabourg.¹

Under Tempel's leadership they attempted to incorporate philosophical elements of traditional African religion, such as an understanding of animism, into the Catholic doctrine. This is evident in the interpretation of their many dreams and visions. With Jamaa the concept of familyhood is tied to the roles of Jesus and Mary. Rosette says, "Monogamous marriage became the foundation of Jamaa with the assumption that the partners take on the characteristics of the trinitarian figures."²

Father Tempels was later sent back to Europe on a permanent basis by his superiors. The Jamaa movement, of course, is the best illustration of the third type of independents in Africa.

The Theological Characteristics of Independent Churches

Needless to say, a book could be written (and several have been) on this topic, but I limit this section to a review of factors pertinent to this study.

The theological characteristics which are discussed are: prophetic leadership, miraculous healings, the need for protection, charismatic manifestations, and several doctrinal interpretations based on a literal understanding of the Bible.

¹Ibid, p. 217.

²Bennetta Jules-Rossette, The New Religions of Africa (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979), p. 148.

Probably the most important single identifying factor of all African independent movements of the Zionist type is that of prophetic leadership.¹ They all have a prophet as their founder or an influential leader. Isaiah Shembe, Simon Kimbangu, Johane Maranke, Johane Masowe, Daniel Nkoyane, Paolo Mabilitsa, Ma Nku, Edward Lekganyane, Joshua Nweka, Pierre Mpadi, Andre Matswa, and Joseph Diangienda all had two things in common:² (1) they were prophets or prophetesses and (2) they were founders of independent churches.

In the African context, the independent movements find the idea of prophets to be biblical. However, in contrast to the prophetic symbol, the established Protestant churches had no prophets and saw no need for them. However, the African saw things in a different light, for along with the prophetic office came the benefits of that office to the members of the movement. For the African prophetic movements, the greatest dynamic for the emergence of any meaningful religious movement lies in the new leader's claim to supernatural revelation.³

The second characteristic is that of miraculous healings. In the words of Hastings:

It is probably not too much of an oversimplification to say that the commonest symbol and attraction for the ordinary man of a mission church up and down the continent was a school, of an independent church it was its healing power.⁴

¹Most of the independent churches in the Kasai are of the Zionist type. Most have had or have one or more prophets.

²Few of the names presented are from Zaire. However, they represent a cross section of African prophets pertinent to this section on theological characteristics of independent churches.

³Ndiokwere, p. 239.

⁴Hastings, p. 176.

For the African independent church, if there was no healing mission, "there would be no meaningful independent churches; . . . no healers . . . no prophets in Africa."¹

People followed the prophets and healers of Africa into independent movements because their basic social and emotional needs were met, whereas the mainline established Protestant churches had no way of meeting these needs without healers or prophets. Rather, the Protestant missions came with their faith in a different god--medical science, a phenomenon not often understood by the Africans and which did not fulfill their basic needs.

The third characteristic of independency was the need for protection. The indigenous Africans were very conscious of the world of demons. They strongly believed in witches, black magic, and sorcery. Therefore, they had a deep-felt need of being protected from witchcraft and sorcery.

For example, I have witnessed people die because of a curse placed on them by a witch. It is very common to see the magic string of protection that many mothers put around the stomach of their children to keep away the evil spirits. Also while on a walking safari of 125 miles in 1976 in the Zone of Dekese, I witnessed pregnant women who kept their bodies covered with red mud for the term of their pregnancy in order to protect the unborn infant from demon harassment.

To meet their basic needs for protection against evil powers, several independent churches have a special ministry. The Vanda use a "magical" potent that is sprinkled over the doorpost at night to

¹Ndiokwere, p. 256.

protect the family sleeping inside from any evil. However, other churches such as Pastor Kubi's Saint Emmanuel felt that one function of their ministry was to protect their members from curses of witchcraft and sorcery through the medium of prayer. Therefore, prayer whether for healing or protection was of the utmost importance to them.

The fourth characteristic is that the largest portion of the independent churches are charismatic. They speak in tongues and use traditional African music in their church services. I have witnessed this expression in the Kasai and in churches in Lubumbashi on many occasions during my stay in Africa.

The last characteristic consists of several doctrinal beliefs based on a literal interpretation of the Bible--baptism by immersion is accepted by many independents and the seventh-day Sabbath is practiced by the Bapostolo. Other doctrines consist of the distinction of clean and unclean animals, expulsion of devils, interpretation of dreams, footwashing related to the communion service, and polygamy.¹

The Theological Points of Contact of Independent Churches with the Seventh-day Adventist Church

The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zaire has been a very traditional, conservative church. The national pastors and missionaries have based their teachings upon the Bible and the Bible only. Therefore, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zaire has had several positive points of contact with several independent churches. The SDA Church has had an advantage over some other Protestant churches

¹J. B. Webster, The African Churches among the Yoruba, (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 1-75.

which have not had the same theological points of contact. The major theological points of contact the Adventists in Zaire have had with the independents are considered here.

(1) Probably the most important point of contact that the SDA Church in Zaire has had with the independent movements is the church's concept of modern-day prophets. The SDA Church has had an influential, charismatic, prophetic figure, Ellen G. White.¹ Even though Ellen White is not living and she is not an African, independent churches are still attracted to the Seventh-day Adventist Church because: (a) she was a prophetess and (b) the Adventist theological belief understands spiritual gifts and modern day prophets. Interestingly enough, a few of the Kasaians have a matriarchal society. Consequently, most of them can accept a woman in a prophetic position.

(2) A fundamental theological concept that the Seventh-day Adventist's hold in common with some independent churches relates to the authenticity of the Bible. The Adventist pastors in Zaire believe in a literal interpretation of Scriptures. They believe that the Bible is its own interpreter. As was pointed out in the section under the rise of independent churches in Africa, in the eyes of the independents, seeming inconsistencies exist between the authority of the Old and New Testaments and the teachings of Protestant missions. The Adventist Church was open and willing to dialogue with the independents regarding the concept of prophets, visions, distinction between clean and unclean animals, interpretation of dreams, miraculous

¹SDA Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "White, Ellen Gould (Harmon)."

healings, the expulsion of devils, and footwashing. The Seventh-day Adventists were thus viewed as a church which practiced what is taught in the Book—The Bible.

Pastor Kubi, the leader of the Eglise Saint Emmanuel, an independent church, said recently of his church's experience, "The Spirit of God went to work to show them the church that was closest to the authenticity of the Bible."¹

In Pastor Kubi's search for a church which was as close as possible to the "authenticity of the Bible," he was given the book, The Great Controversy by Ellen White. Pastor Kubi believes the teachings in this book, which made the biggest impression on him, were "authentic evangelistic baptism, the scenes of the secular conflict between the good and the bad, the origin of Sunday, the authenticity of the Sabbath, and the clear doctrine of justification by faith."²

After being convinced himself that the Seventh-day Adventist Church had the "light of truth which they had been searching for," Pastor Kubi and his fellow leaders, after some lengthy studies together, made the following statement:

We have had a firm assurance that the Eglise Saint Emmanuel has been founded on Christ. This is why we adopted the name of Emmanuel, which was attributed to our denomination, and we know that we agitated and preached according to that truth. Then today, you, our legal representative (Pastor Kubi) have brought us truth along with the proof as you have read and became convinced that we were in error.

In effect, we do not find any objections against what you have brought us. Always before the objective of our church has been

¹M. Kubi to Duane McKey, September 1985, p. 2. Translation by D. McKey.

²Ibid, p. 4.

to accept Holy Emmanuel as our Saviour, to practice justice, to live the truth, to keep the commandments of God, and to hope for life eternal. Thus your decision to join the Seventh-day Adventist Church is also ours. You have encouraged us to take and communicate the same truth to all of our members in the Republic of Zaire. Those who will share the same conviction with you will also become Seventh-day Adventists."¹

From this statement, it can readily be ascertained that the unique points of contact the Adventist Church had with the Eglise Saint Emmanuel were: (a) the observance of the commandments of God, (b) the second coming of Christ, and (c) the authority of the Bible. Because of this emphasis, it is easy to see why Pastor Kubi was able to accept the Bible Sabbath, Bible baptism which they had previously believed in, the great controversy between good and evil, justification by faith, and the prophetic gift of Ellen White.

(3) The following observation is made with reservations, but it needs to be stated as indeed it was a contact point with independent churches. The Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai had almost no medical work in that part of Zaire. The only semblance of such was a small dispensary at Lulengele Mission. Therefore, the church in practically the whole of Kasai was forced to rely on prayer and miraculous healings for the sick. In this way the social and emotional needs of the independents were met in the Adventist belief in healing by prayer, whereas the large established Protestant and Catholic missions relied on their well-equipped medical facilities to bring about needed physical healing.

This is not to bypass the need the Kasaians felt for medical services. I can remember village chiefs requesting that the mission

¹Ibid, pp. 4-5.

send them three things: (a) a teacher for a school, (b) a pastor for a church, and (c) a nurse for a dispensary. It was felt the nurse was needed for basic health care. But when the ailment became serious, the pastor, healer, or sometimes the missionary was called to offer a prayer that God would intercede and heal the afflicted.

The mainline established churches missed their ministry in the eyes of the nationals by relying more on medical science than on prayer. The Africans had a sacral outlook. When their faith at conversion was transferred from the village medicine man to God, then God as their new authority was sought out to be their physical healer as well as their spiritual healer.

As an example, in August 1984 in Northern Zaire in the town of Butembo, a crippled lady having been recently converted was miraculously healed as a result of prayer by the church members during an evangelistic campaign. She had had polio twenty years before and for twenty years had crawled on hands and knees up and down the city of Butembo dragging her shriveled, crippled legs. One can only imagine the impact her miraculous healing had on the people of Butembo when she could not only walk to church but run as well.

Also in 1985 in the Kasai an Adventist church member, who had an obstructed bowel, was taken to the two most prominent mission hospitals in Kananga. The American and European doctors told her nothing could be done and that she would die in a few days. As she grew worse, the elders and pastor of her local church were called and prayer was offered for the intercession of Jesus. She was miraculously healed.

Recently I had a conversation with a Kasaiian professor at the University of Lubumbashi about A. M. Long. He said the reason Pastor Long was loved so much in the Kasai was because he always prayed for the people, pastors and church members alike, when they were ill. He further stated that the Kasaiians had a strong belief in sorcery. They believed that sickness was caused by demoniac powers. Therefore, the only way complete healing could be attained was through the medium of prayer.¹

Other examples could be given, however, the point is that in many parts of Zaire where modern medical facilities are not available, God's people are forced to rely on Him, His pastors, and His healers. Therefore, independents were drawn to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai because prayer fulfilled the void created when Africans rejected their reliance on sorcery for protection and accepted Christ.

There were two main areas in which the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai did not have theological harmony with the independent churches.

The first was the method of worship. The established Seventh-day Adventist church in Zaire experienced difficulty accepting the exuberant Zionist forms of worship. The African Adventist pastors had been taught a certain liturgy by the European missionaries. Any deviations from that form of worship was not acceptable to them. This was especially noticeable in the Kasai. When African pastors were transferred to the Kasai in 1972 and 1973 from Eastern Zaire, they brought with them fixed ideas of worship which disqualified them from

¹Interview with Mukadi Luaba, Lubumbashi, Zaire, 1 April 1986.

acceptance of the independent churches' forms of worship which included clapping, traditional African singing, and authentic African music. This later proved to be a major reason for the rejection of the Adventist Church by some independents.

Second, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zaire was diametrically opposed to the understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit taught by the charismatic churches which included the pentecostal type of speaking in tongues, shouting, and prophesying aloud in church. Again this factor proved to be a reason for rejection of the Adventists by some independents.

Summary

Briefly stated, the African independent movement developed in three types: the Ethiopian type, which was a move toward independency because of the colonial powers and was thus stimulated by political motivation; the Zionist type, which involved the following of a charismatic prophetic-type leader; and reform movements within the organized church.

We have had a brief look at the many independent movements that flourished mainly in the two Kasai Provinces, most of which were of the Zionist type but also with Ethiopian elements.

The main theological characteristics of the independents were: (1) prophetic leadership, (2) miraculous healing, (3) the need for protection, (4) charismatic manifestations, and (5) several doctrines based on a literal understanding of the Bible. These particular characteristics are important because they demonstrate several basic differences the independents had with the established churches.

However, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zaire did have certain points of theological contact with some independent churches. These were: (1) a concept of modern day prophets, (2) Bible authority and the literal interpretation of the Scriptures, and (3) prayer and healing. These positive contacts served as theological bridges between the independents and the Adventists. The theological differences between the independents and the Adventists were: (1) the traditional form of worship of the independents and (2) the charismatic nature of the independents. These differences proved to be cause for rejection of the Adventists by the independents and vice versa.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH IN THE KASAI

Historical Overview of the Establishment of the Adventist Church in Zaire

The country of Zaire has had an interesting and somewhat tumultuous history. The same can be said of the development of the work of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in that country as the work developed slowly with much opposition. This is true not only because of the tension-filled political situation which has arisen in the last thirty years in the old Belgian Congo but also because of the way the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zaire has developed and grown.¹

The work of the SDA Church first began in Zaire in 1920 when Christopher Robinson and Gilbert Willmore arrived in the Congo. The first mission station was Songa Mission four hundred miles northwest of Lubumbashi, which was begun among the Baluba Shaba people.²

The pioneer missionaries in their method of missions gave constant attention to a somewhat literalistic teaching of the Bible and appealed to the Bible as their only source of authority. This mind set was transmitted to the national workers for years to come. It was to

¹See appendix C and C1 for maps of Zaire whereon the major missions of the SDA Church are designated.

²SDA Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Zaire, Republic of."

prove to have both a positive and negative effect on the Kasai experience. It was positive in that the independents who sought affiliation with the Adventists in the Kasai saw the Adventists as a Bible-based and Bible-believing people. It was negative in that along with and outside of this emphasis came an unchanging rigidity in standards such as forms of worship, prayers, questions on polygamy, etc.

In spite of the turmoil of independence from Belgium in the 1960s and difficult economical development in the 1970s, the work of the church in Zaire grew rapidly during this period. In 1974 there were 32,483 baptized members and 66,018 Sabbath School members with 457 active workers, 206 churches, and 84 schools. In the same year there were six organized fields and the Kasai Project. By December of 1985 the Zaire church membership had increased to 142,499 members. According to the Zaire Union Statistical Report¹ there were 550 active workers, 685 organized churches, 40 primary schools, and 208,789 Sabbath School members.

Development of Adventist Work in the Kasai

Slow Beginnings, 1949-1971

Adventist work in the Kasai began in 1949 when Paul Delhove and Bert Wendell opened Lulengele Mission. Paul Delhove was from Belgium and a son of a missionary family. Delhove's father, thirty years before, had been instrumental in pioneering the work in Rwanda. Wendell had come from America. He arrived in the Kasai on 1 January

¹See appendix D, Zaire Union Statistical Report.

1949, and Delhove arrived in April of the same year. According to a conversation with Wendell, requests by the Adventist Church for permission to establish mission stations at Talla, Nebasa, and Lulengele lodged with the colonial governor had gone unanswered for months. They were being blocked by authorities in Brussels. Finally P. Delhove's father, who had been in the Belgian military, contacted the Belgian governor in Leopoldville, and permission was granted authorizing the establishment of all three stations.¹

Delhove and Wendell spent their first two years at Lulengele constructing their homes and the dispensary. Wendell left after two years and did not see the Kasai again until 1958.

Protestant mission work was begun in the Kasai in 1891 by the American Presbyterians who founded their first mission at Luebo. Sixty years later, when the Adventist missionaries arrived, the Presbyterians were well established. The Presbyterian missionaries are credited with having translated the Bible into Tshiluba, the official language of the Kasai. The translation was completed in 1927.² However, some problems with the translation effected the Adventist work in the Kasai. Wendell and Delhove discovered that the translators substituted the word Sunday for Sabbath in translating the Bible from French to Tshiluba.³ This became a point of contention within the Presbyterian Church during the Kasai experience. In the 1970s many Presbyterian pastors and young

¹Interview with Bert Wendell, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 4 July 1986.

²Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa, 309.

³Interview, Wendell, 4 July 1986.

seminarians learned French, saw the mistake, and lost confidence in their church and became Adventists. They felt they had been deceived by their church leadership.

The early Adventist pioneers in the Kasai were opposed by the Catholics who had moral, political, and financial support from the state. They, like other Protestants at the time, experienced discrimination from the government. Yet, under the leadership of L. E. Robinson from 1951 to 1953, village schools were started and Lulengele Training School was developed.

Several years later during the administration of Gordon Ellstrom (1954-1959) an interesting development took place.¹ The government confused Seventh-day Adventists in the Kasai with the Kimbanguists, an outlawed independent church. Upon investigation, Ellstrom found that a number of those who claimed to be Adventists were actually Kimbanguists. When Ellstrom and several African workers confronted these Kimbanguists about their mixed beliefs, they refused to leave "their bad behavior and deny their Kimbanguist belief."² They were, therefore, disfellowshipped from the SDA Church. This experience was not forgotten by the SDA members and workers in the Kasai. It became the root of distrust by the old established Seventh-day Adventist Kasai members of the Kimbanguists who sought acceptance in the Adventist Church during the Kasai experience of the 1970s.

¹Gordon Ellstrom served as Zaire Union Mission president from 1954 to 1959.

²Gordon Ellstrom to Duane McKey, 21 April 1986.

Also during Ellstrom's administration, there were a number of villages around Lulengele Mission that had requested schools and dispensaries from the Adventists but these requests never materialized. Tentative plans were made to add a training school at Lulengele, the Zaire Union secondary boarding school, and to develop the medical church work there further. However, these plans were transferred to Songa and thereafter the work at Lulengele diminished and came almost to a standstill during the troubled revolutionary years, 1961-1971.¹ The only institution established at Lulengele was a dispensary and one elementary school.

During the tribal problems between the Luba and Lulua in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the Kasai, many Luba left the Kasai Province and settled north of Lubumbashi in Luba-Katanga (or Luba-Shaba) country, an area where a similar language was spoken. These new settlers were held in refugee camps by the local authorities. The strong Adventist mission work in the area attracted the refugees and a large number of them joined the church.

When Moise Tshombe made his unilateral declaration of independence on 14 July 1960 and the Province of Katanga was established, the Kasaians were no longer wanted in Katanga and were repatriated to the Mbuji-Mayi area. They, of course, took their new-found faith with them, but when they sought to contact the Adventists at Lulengele, for some unknown reason they failed to make contact and established their own independent church.² They had a flourishing

¹Ibid.

²W. R. Vail to Duane McKey, 22 January 1986.

independent group by 1972. When Mobutu's law¹ restricting the independent churches was enacted, they readily sought affiliation with the Adventists at Lulengele.²

Development of the Eglise du Christ au Zaire³
and the Organization of the Kasai Project

It must be remembered here that in the first seven years of its independence, Zaire suffered one full-scale rebellion, two "coup d'etats," three military mutinies, and two abortive secessions. Zairians attributed their troubles to irresponsible political factions.

In 1966 Emmanuel Bamba, leader of an African independent church by the name of Eglise Congolaise,⁴ became involved in an attempted coup d'etat. He was arrested and hanged with other members of the "Easter Plot" against the president's life. Because of this, and similar incidents in which religious leaders were involved in anti-government disputes, the African independent church movement in the Congo became "a political one, overshadowing the question of religious independence from the missions."⁵

From 1960 on, the whole of Zaire became a breeding ground for a swarm of prophetic movements, secret cults, and splinter churches. With the entrance of the African independent churches into the

¹See appendix B explaining Mobutu's law.

²Mobutu's law referred to is discussed on pages 63-65.

³Translation: Church of Christ in Zaire.

⁴Translation: Church of the Congo.

⁵Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa, 199.

political arena, the epidemic stirred public criticism. "A daily newspaper in the capital city of Kinshasa expressed the disgust of many citizens. Citing the practice of one group of sleeping in the cemetery at night, it condemned such irresponsible movements as a threat to public order, if not the security of the nation."¹ Thus Zairians had reason to feel uneasy and suspicious about African independent churches.

Early in 1971 President Mobutu Sese Seko went on an overland trip to Matadi. As he traveled he noticed church after church made of mud and stick along the road. "But they all had a name, address, etc., posted, and they all seemed to be different."² Upon investigation it was discovered that there were several hundred different independent churches. His immediate response was "to force these people to form into one central organization, or at least return to their former organizations, especially those that had splintered off from the different Protestant groups."³

Therefore, on 31 December 1971, President Mobutu Sese Seko signed into law the requirement that all but three main churches apply for permission to function. The three exempted from this requirement were the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Christ in Zaire (former Congo Protestant Council), and the Kimbanguist Church.

¹Robert L. Niklaus, "Politics Goes to Church in Zaire," Christianity Today, 24 November 1972, p. 9.

²P. Lemon to Duane McKey, July 1986.

³Ibid.

On 27 March 1972 the President signed three other applications authorizing the existence of the Jewish Community, the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Islamic Community. Later the Baha'i Assembly was given legal status.¹

The administration of the Zaire Union of Seventh-day Adventists (ex-Congo Union) had to make some crucial decisions. Nowhere in the world had the Seventh-day Adventist Church joined an ecumenical body. The administrators struggled for a solution.

D. S. Williams, president of the West Zaire Field in Kinshasa, made initial contacts with the government. He wrote to Lemon and Tom Staples in Lubumbashi on 12 January 1972 about the possibility of obtaining Personalite Civile, thus giving the Adventists legal status outside of the ECZ.²

M. L. Mills, president of the Trans-Africa Division of Seventh-day Adventists located at Salisbury, Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe) as well as the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington, D.C. was contacted concerning the serious situation. B. E. Seton of the General Conference secretariat wrote on 27 January 1972 that "the General Conference officers were praying that the request for legal existence outside the ECZ would be granted."³

P. Lemon traveled from the union headquarters in Elisabethville (Lubumbashi), to Leopoldville (Kinshasa). Here he spoke to the minister of justice. Lemon later said of the experience:

¹Ibid.

²Translation: Juridical Personality.

³B. E. Seton to M. L. Mills, 27 January 1972.

While we were there in Leopoldville, we found that the leader of the Roman Catholic Church had just been deported, the head of the Pentecostal Church had been given twenty-four hours to leave the country, and the Jehovah's Witnesses had been banned completely. The situation was not encouraging.¹

Lemon assured the minister of justice that the Adventists understood the requirements for receiving legal church status. Lemon returned to Elisabethville and made up the dossier required by the government. The file included: a bank statement stating the church had \$200,000 in their account, a copy of Lemon's diploma proving he graduated from a theological school, a statement showing he had never served time in prison, and a statement that he was of sane mind.

The request was submitted to Mr. Vance, the United States ambassador in Kinshasa, who personally gave the minister of justice and the vice-president copies of the church's request. The union officials had also given the dossier to the minister of justice and had an interview with him. They all felt positive about the situation. Lemon said, "We are leaving it in the hands of the Lord. We have endeavored to comply with all of the requirements and we should be recognized the same as the Catholic Church and the other combined Protestant organizations."²

Some years later recalling the experience, P. Lemon fills us in on the proceedings:

Again I went to see Mr. Vance, the ambassador--this time alone. He had sent me a cable stating that we had been accepted and congratulating us. I had this telegram with me when I went to see him to find out just where things stood, as we had heard so

¹Lemon to McKey, July 1986.

²Lemon to R. Pierson, General Conference president, 23 February 1972.

many different rumors. He said, 'You know, it's gotten to the place where things are so messed up that we hardly know what is going on ourselves. I have an appointment with Mr. Mobutu this very afternoon, and I want to be able to give him some sort of a response as to what the different American organizations, and especially yours, will be willing to do.

He then turned to me and said, 'Would you be willing to join a quasi-government religious organization that would have one legal representative for all of the Protestant Churches, and you would work within this organization?' The alternative seemed to be that we might also be given a 24-hour notice to leave the country. I had no time to get counsel, so I breathed a prayer for guidance and told him, we would far prefer to have our own legal representative status; however, if you see that there is no possibility of that, we could possibly work with such an organization, providing it does not mean that we must lower our standards. I said, 'You understand our standards with regard to the Sabbath, among other things, and these are the problems we often have with government. Someone else acting as our mediator would not be able to understand those in their relationship to government.' So with this understanding, he went to see Mr. Mobutu.¹

Two days later the church received word that their request for separate legal existence was denied. The government published a list of the recognized Protestant churches under the umbrella of the Eglise du Christ au Zaire. The Adventists were listed as the seventy-fifth community. Later the list was revised and the SDA Church was listed as the forty-second community. Further attempts were made to obtain legal status outside the ECZ but to no avail.

However, the SDA Church in Zaire has been able to function freely with almost no limitations. The preamble to the actual list of authorized communities states: "These associations are grouped by executive order within the Church of Christ in Zaire while retaining their own legal status."²

¹Lemon to McKey, July 1986.

²Niklaus, Christianity Today, p. 11.

Even though the new law requiring membership in the ECZ might have seemed like defeat for the Adventists, the independent churches in Zaire were not so fortunate. According to the minister of justice, there were 1,300 independent churches who had declared themselves as African independent churches or groups not to mention those who never bothered to surface.¹

Since most of the 1,300 independents could not fulfill the requirements of the law—a leader with a four-year college degree, \$200,000 in the bank, etc.—they were declared illegal and closed down by the government. By the middle of 1972 a number of these independents had made official contact with the Seventh-day Adventist Church requesting affiliation as they sought a church home. Phil Lemon fills in the details.

What actually followed the proclaiming of the law was that many of these churches could not, or would not, go back to their original groups, such as to the Presbyterians, the Methodists, etc. New groups that had sprung up and had no mother church to go back to—what were they going to do? Their leaders came to the minister of justice and asked him what they should do. The minister said, 'Look, you join a church that is being recognized and that teaches the way you believe or teaches the Bible the way you understand it.' They replied, 'How can we find that out?' He said, 'Well, we have here all of the doctrines of the different organizations that are recognized.

They laid out the papers that had been received from about fourteen or fifteen different organizations. These men then sat down at the tables and read many of these lists of doctrines, including those of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. As they went over the doctrines, they became somewhat confused and finally went to the secretary of the minister of justice and asked him, 'Who does teach the Bible among all of these? Who keeps the Commandments and believes the way the Bible teaches?' And sometimes they explained a little of what they themselves believed. This young man, the secretary to the minister of justice, answered, 'Why, the

¹Lemon to McKey, July 1986.

Seventh-day Adventists teach the Bible, and they are the ones that really know what the Bible teaches and live the way the Bible teaches it.' It so happened that he was the son of a Seventh-day Adventist minister. He had left the church but still knew what was right, and now he was passing it along to others.

These leaders sat down and studied the doctrines of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and very shortly after this, I began to receive registered letters from them. These were in big envelopes. Some of them were from legal counsel, but most were directly from groups that had organized themselves into church organizations. There were twelve altogether that came just within a very short time. As these began to come in, we were flabbergasted as to what we could do. These people were asking now to join the Seventh-day Adventist Church. This is really what the Kasai Project was all about.¹

Leadership in Growth

Introduction

Lulengele seemed to be the logical place for the center of the work among the independent churches inasmuch as most of them were located in the Kasai. Things began to happen quickly. The Trans-Africa Division² in Salisbury, Rhodesia (Harare, Zimbabwe), and the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington, D.C. were both contacted. A survey commission was formed to investigate the real potential for relationships with the independent churches in the Kasai. It was hoped that in the end these independents would become Adventists. The commission included: M. Mills, Trans-Africa Division president; W. Austin and M. Mbyirukira, Trans-Africa Division field secretaries; P. Lemon, Congo Union president; T. W. Staples, Congo Union secretary; M. Pelley, Congo Union pilot and auditor; and from the

¹Ibid.

²Trans-Africa Division was the headquarters of Seventh-day Adventists for Central and Southern Africa.

General Conference, W. R. Vail. Pastor Vail, now retired, had spent many years in Central Africa as a missionary and an administrator. He spoke Swahili and French fluently.

The first obstacle the commission faced in visiting the Kasai for the survey was obtaining permits to visit the area. The Kasai, a large diamond-producing area, was the center of diamond smuggling. In an effort to control the smuggling, the government limited travel into Luluabourg (Kananga).

Upon their arrival in Leopoldville (Kinshasa) where the permits had to be obtained, they found a discouraging situation. Several Protestant missionaries had waited months for their permits. When the Adventist group arrived in the office of the minister of interior where the permits had to be obtained, M. Mbyirukira was surprised to see that the secretary to the minister was a relative from Rwanda. With his intervention they had their permits in hand that afternoon. Lemon said, "It was an unheard of thing! The Lord was with us."¹

Upon their arrival in the Kasai, the commission received an enthusiastic welcome from a number of independent church leaders. One group of 1,360 adult members said, "We are now Seventh-day Adventists. We just need to be taught. Then we can be baptized."²

Vail reported in the Review and Herald in October 1972, that "Eleven groups, comprising of 125,000 people in more than 200 churches

¹Lemon to McKey, July 1986.

²W. R. Vail, "Eleven Religious Groups in Zaire Seek Affiliation with Seventh-day Adventist Church," Review and Herald, 19 October 1972, p. 14.

or companies have officially requested to join our church. Considering infant baptism and other possible reasons that would diminish that number, there is still a potential 75,000 members for the Adventist Church among those churches."¹ Don Thomas wrote that in one area alone (Tshikapa) there were ten thousand people favorably disposed to Adventism.²

One of the churches that requested affiliation, as was stated earlier, was Kubi's Eglise Saint Emmanual of 100,000 members in eighty-six churches. Vail cautioned, "Perhaps the total number from that church that may become members of the Adventist church is only 50,000 for that particular church practices infant baptism."³

Another group which approached the commission consisted of some 5,600 members who had been taught by a Seventh-day Adventist layman. The layman had been one of the Luba-Kasai who was forced to leave Lubumbashi during the Katanga secession. He had returned to the Mbuji-Mayi area and because of isolation he and some others formed an independent Sabbath-keeping church.⁴

The commission was very enthusiastic as they returned to Salisbury. A budget of \$150,000 was drawn up for immediate needs. Vail returned to the General Conference with the request in hand along

¹Ibid.

²D. Thomas, "Kasai Calling," unpublished article written at Lubumbashi, Zaire, April 1973.

³Vail, "Eleven Religious Groups in Zaire seek Affiliation with Seventh-day Adventist Church," Review and Herald.

⁴Ibid.

with the commission's report. R. Pierson, General Conference president, responded enthusiastically.¹

Vail made a stirring appeal in the October Review and Herald article.

Here is an opportunity unparalleled in our history in Africa - unparalleled for our church, we believe, anywhere else in the world at any time. Thousands are waiting, calling for us to come. Groups are ready to be formed into baptismal classes . . . Surely here is one of the finest hours of opportunity for the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and we must grasp it now while the doors are open. If we fail to act quickly, the doors may close.²

The church in North America was moved by the appeals from Zaire. The Zaire Union administration went into action as the independents had to find a home within a few weeks or face litigation. First, the union printed church signs which read "l'Eglise Adventiste,"³ and then at the bottom "Provisoire."⁴ The idea was that when they really became Seventh-day Adventists the word "Provisoire" would be cut off. Second, a Land Rover and truck were purchased. These Lemon delivered to the Kasai himself since his pass was still valid. He drove them both the one thousand-mile trip between Lubumbashi and Kananga over unbelievable roads. Third, fifty thousand tracts entitled "l'Adventism"⁵ were printed in Tshiluba--the language

¹R. Pierson to M. Mills, R. Clifford, and P. Lemon, 17 August 1972.

²Vail, "Eleven Religious Groups in Zaire Seek Affiliation with S.D.A. Church."

³Translation: The Adventist Church.

⁴Translation: Provisionary.

⁵Translation: The Adventism.

of the Kasai. Fourth, ministerial training classes were started at Lulengele Mission.

Ministerial Training Sessions¹

It was decided that the leaders of the various groups seeking affiliation with the Adventists would be brought to Lulengele Mission for a five to six-week period to be taught Seventh-day Adventist doctrines. They would then be sent back to their respective churches to share with their members what they had learned at the classes.

Lulengele was the first problem. It was in a bad state of repair and had had no maintenance for the last ten years. Wendell and his family had been evacuated from Lulengele in 1961. Wentland, Lemon, Ellstrom, and other union personnel had visited Lulengele only a few times in all that ten-year period. During the early 1960s, rebel armies had occupied the school and houses leaving them partially demolished.

Union personnel spent many long days remodeling the houses, putting in a water supply, and constructing the airstrip--all by hand. Building supplies had to be brought from Lubumbashi as none were available at Kananga. In spite of the very challenging logistical problems, the workers were able to get Lulengele in shape in a remarkably short time. Now that I have lived and worked in Zaire for a number of years and know the usual pace at which construction takes place, I have been amazed at how fast the union administration was able

¹The ministerial training sessions were technically known in Zaire as indoctrination classes but because of the pejorative connotation, I have chosen not to use the technical term but rather ministerial training sessions.

to get it all together. In just over a year they had worked out their own legal status within the ECZ, contacted various independent churches, reestablished Lulengele Mission, printed church signs (l'Eglise Adventiste) and evangelistic pamphlets written by Mills, and started their first ministerial training session.

On 13 March 1973 the first ministerial training session got under way. Forty-two leaders representing six different denominations and fifty-two church groups with varying religious backgrounds attended. "Some of them were Sabbath keepers, some of them kept one half of the Sabbath for convenience sake, some were Sunday keepers, and some kept no day at all."¹ They represented ten thousand people who wished to become Seventh-day Adventists.² Classes taught were Bible Doctrines, Denominational History, and Church Organization. Each night TABSA films were presented.³ These were specially developed Bible study automated film strips produced in French. The ministerial training session lasted for four weeks.

Vail returned from the United States in the spring of 1973 and held two more ministerial training sessions, the programs were the same as the first one except that they lasted for five weeks each and a course in health principles was added.

Vail's first session was attended by thirty-three leaders. Thirty of them completed the course and twenty-five requested baptism

¹Lemon to McKey, July 1986.

²Ibid.

³TABSA was a French film strip and cassette evangelistic series on Adventist church doctrines.

into the Adventist Church at the termination of the course. They represented 3,500 possible members.

Vail's second course had forty-one enrolled; thirty-one of them were subsequently baptized. They represented nine different churches with a combined membership of four thousand.¹

The fourth ministerial training session was held by J. Howard and the fifth by A. M. Long. Others followed under Long's administration.

Personnel--National

Up to December 1972, the Kasai Mission was part of the West Zaire Field of the SDA Church. The field president was an American missionary, D. Williams, who left Zaire on permanent return the first quarter of 1972.

The West Zaire Field had appointed Pastor Ditwa to the directorship of Lulengele Mission station early in 1970. He was transferred to Lubumbashi in 1971. With the renewed interest in the Kasai in 1972, Pastor Ruterahagusha from the East Zaire Field was made the director of the Lulengele Mission station.

In December of 1972 the Kasai Mission had 352 baptized church members with one local national worker. It was of the utmost importance that national workers from other areas in Zaire be found to follow up the interests. They were needed to maintain contact with the independent church leaders who: (1) had completed the ministerial training session and (2) were interested in attending such programs.

¹Vail to Duane McKey.

With the establishment of the Kasai Project in December of 1972, the Zaire Union Committee provided salaries for ten local national workers and funds to purchase ten mobylettes (mopeds) for transportation. The Kasai Project was removed from the administration of the West Zaire Field and placed under the direct supervision of the Zaire Union Committee. With the interest that the General Conference and the Trans-Africa Division had in the Kasai, a direct chain of command was established between the General Conference president, the Trans-Africa Division president, the Zaire Union Mission president, and the Kasai director.

Of the ten national workers designated for the Kasai, one worker was called from Shaba, seven from the East Zaire Field, and two from Rwanda. Those from Rwanda had problems obtaining visas and were later replaced by Zairian workers, one from the Kivu and the other from Kinshasa. By April 1973, five national pastors were in the Kasai, two were in the process of moving, one was in Goma waiting for a permit, and two others were on call.¹

These workers spoke their native language, Kinyarwanda or Swahili--and French.² They would have to use French in the Kasai until they learned Tshiluba. The national workers, especially those from the East Zaire Field (Kivu), were missionaries in the fullest sense. They moved to a different culture, a different climate (Kivu is mountainous and very cool whereas the Kasai is flat and hot), had a different diet

¹Lemon to McKey, July 1986.

²There was a problem in locating national pastors who spoke French. Most of them spoke only their local languages and Swahili or Kinyarwanda.

(in Kivu beans, potatoes, cabbage, etc. form the main diet but in the Kasai manioc and corn meal were the staples), and spoke a different language. They went to the Kasai for a five-year period. When I arrived at Lulengele in December of 1975, I found them suffering greatly and counting the months when they could return permanently to their homeland sometime in the middle of 1978.

Not only did the Zairian missionaries feel like foreigners in a foreign land, they lacked understanding of the different culture and strange liturgical system of worship of the Kasaians. These differences underlined their unchanging rigidity concerning nonbiblical standards. For example, the Adventist national missionary sought to impose on the Kasaians the European and American liturgy which the SDA national missionaries had adopted and internalized from their expatriate counterparts for the worship service. The lack of qualified national personnel was a continual problem until the mid 1980s when a number of Kasaiian pastors were ordained who could carry on with the Christian rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The performance of these rites is restricted to ordained ministers in the Adventist Church.

It should also be noted that even though the national missionaries were Zairians like the Kasaians, they were from different tribes, and were often severely resented--even for years to come--by the local Kasaians. Also because of the tensions in the Kasai between the longtime tribal enemies, the Luba and Lulua, it was necessary to have an expatriate presence at Lulengele, and this continued to be the case.

Developments Under Kasai Project Directors

There were several reasons for the maintenance of an expatriate missionary presence in the Kasai. First, it was necessary to keep a tribal balance in the Kasai.

The second, was due to the unsettled state of affairs during the troubled nationalistic 1960s. In the 1960s the American (Southern) Presbyterian expatriates left the Kasai except for a skeleton presence at a hospital in Kananga and a mission in Mbuji-Mayi. After the expatriates' departure, rival groups struggled for power in the church. This brought dissatisfaction among the laity—so much so that their membership dwindled from 144,000 in 1966 to 90,000 in 1976.¹ Other factors such as migration to the cities and tribal wars were no doubt also to blame, but a large portion of this loss of adherents can be attributed to tribal in-church fighting. Several ex-Presbyterian workers, in the Kasai told me this in 1976. Therefore, many Presbyterian ministers and lay members welcomed the presence of an expatriate missionary in the Adventist Church.

Third, basic medical and educational services were needed. Before independence the colonial government maintained well-staffed and well-supplied dispensaries located in strategic locations across the Kasai. When I arrived at Lulengele in the mid 1970s, the government dispensaries were unkempt and poorly staffed with little or no medicines. The village leaders continually expressed their hope that since the missionaries had returned, the missions would supply the

¹Donald A. McGavran and Norman Riddle, Zaire Midday in Missions (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1979), p. 90.

villages with dispensaries and medicines. Almost without fail the village chiefs made requests for a school, a church, and a dispensary to be established in their village.

With the return of the expatriates and the reopening of Lulengele Mission came hope--hope for peace in the church, for basic medical care, for schools, and for churches.

On the other hand, throughout the Kasai experience there was always a definite lack of qualified Adventist expatriates who knew French, had the commitment of mission service, and were willing to live on the isolated Lulengele mission station with its seemingly insurmountable logistical problems.

Don Thomas (1972-September, 1973)

Don Thomas, the son of missionaries, had grown up in Africa. He had worked in Zaire for many years and spoke several local languages fluently.

In 1972 Thomas was asked to be acting director of the Kasai Project as well as carry on with his responsibility as vice-president of the newly formed Zaire Union. Thomas was a gifted missionary—a pilot, teacher, preacher, builder, etc. He directed the Kasai Project from Lubumbashi. The need, of course, was to have expatriates living at Lulengele.

Dan Bettie, who was then studying French in Paris, was assigned to Songa as a Bible teacher. The General Conference worked out some assistance with budgets for the Kasai, and Bettie was officially transferred from Songa to Lulengele.

Since Thomas was responsible for the Kasai administration in 1973, Merle Mills, Trans-Africa Division president, requested him to fly the mission plane several times each month to the Kasai. Mills was also concerned that a strong "follow-up program" be initiated to take "maximum advantage in developing this interest."¹

When P. Lemon, Zaire Union president, left the country on permanent return in 1973, he was replaced by Mokotsi Mbyirukira--thus the union presidency was nationalized. Thomas was made field secretary.² Later that year Thomas was moved into the treasury work at the union and T. Staples was put in as vice-president. These changes impeded progress in the Kasai.

In spite of the difficulties and lack of leadership, the year 1973 was full of excitement for church growth in the Kasai. Lemon exclaimed, "This thing is growing bigger and bigger every day."³

Mills reported in the Review and Herald, 11 October 1973 in an article entitled "Diamonds by the Dozen": Report from Zaire (a play on the literal diamonds in the Kasai to the spiritual ones there):⁴

The Kasai is an undeveloped area of Zaire as far as the church organization is concerned. The language spoken there is one that few of our workers speak, and we do not have any literature in this language. So the barriers to be overcome are formidable.

In spite of these frustrations a great interest is being shown in the SDA Church, and the prospects of a rich harvest still stagger the imagination.

¹M. Mills to D. Thomas, 7 August 1973.

²Ibid.

³P. Lemon to A. Long, 21 August 1973.

⁴This article is quoted in full as it will give the reader an over-all picture of the Kasai.

During the past year, workers have reactivated the mission station at Lulengele, which is situated in the heart of the Kasai. This station was abandoned some twelve years ago at the time of the war of independence. Considerable funds have been disbursed for repairing the school building, which provides facilities for the first six grades of education. The houses formerly occupied by the missionaries have been repaired and refurbished. The water system has been restored. An airstrip has been constructed, enabling the mission plane to provide quick, convenient transport to the union office in Lubumbashi some five hundred miles away. (To travel this route by car involves days, and it is questionable whether one could even reach his destination during the rainy season) . . .

Naturally the question is asked: What are the immediate prospects of harvest in this diamond area? We are loath to quote figures, for even now we have not been able fully to survey the area and ascertain the full scope of interest. In a recent report from Elder Don Thomas, he expressed the opinion that we should look beyond the possible 15,000 to 25,000 people, who had previously been estimated as a part of the original number that have given evidence of wanting to join our church. He feels that there are still other groups, about whom we know nothing, waiting to be visited and taught the Adventist message."¹

Notice in the above quote that Mills reported that according to Thomas there were between 15,000 and 25,000 prospective Adventists. What happened to the original 125,000 (75,000 excluding children) that Vail had reported the year before? Vail wrote Mills in July of 1973 that after finishing his two ministerial training sessions at Lulengele there were 23,000 solid prospective members. Thomas's opinion was that there were between 15,000 and 25,000 prospects, a long way from 75,000. Again, why the discrepancy? Thomas gave an explanation at the 1973 Zaire Union year-end meetings in Lubumbashi. The following is Thomas' analysis:

¹pp. 18-19.

1. Adventists were obliged to affiliate with the ECZ and for this reason (as has been stated by certain groups), a large defection took place.¹
2. In the intervening months, other reasons have come to light which help to explain these and other defections.
 - (a) The position of leadership that is at stake when a charismatic leader hands over his flock to another organization. Most independent churches that have been at any former period a part of an established church broke away over the question of authority and leadership. To join the Adventist Church was to lose leadership position for many 'founders' of those independent churches.
 - (b) Loss of leadership also meant loss of income. Some of the leaders benefited significantly from the income they derived in tithes and offerings from their followers. Some used the clerical office to circumvent restrictions against illicit gem trading.
 - (c) Several groups had no real intention of abandoning their position, administratively and doctrinally. They wanted and thought that we would welcome them for their sheer weight of numbers and close our eyes to their religious practices.
 - (d) The obsession with reversion to the authentic added determination to some groups to persist in forms of worship diametrically opposed to ours--the loud rythmical music, dancing, plurality of wives, magic.
 - (e) Many could not understand our view on the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts. Several church groups place extreme emphasis on ecstasy and its attendant manifestations.²

¹Adventists first sought to remain independent of the ECZ and requested governmental permission to have their own legal status. Therefore, certain independent churches sought affiliation with the Adventists which in turn would eliminate the necessity of their being members of the ECZ. When the Adventists failed to obtain separate legal status like the Catholics and Jews and were required to join the ECZ, several independent churches were then no longer interested in joining the Adventists and thus defected.

²Throughout the Kasai experience, there was very little progress made by the Adventists with charismatic-type groups.

(f) In some cases the government had not continued active opposition against these churches.¹

Thomas was also concerned that the church, "should guard against expecting and demanding quick, sensational, and ear-tickling reports of progress. The time calls for solid, sure building. We want to prepare a people ready to do God's work and ready to meet the Lord of the harvest."²

Mills also explained to K. Emmerson, General Conference treasurer, about the difference between the 75,000 figure and the 23,000 figure.

I believe we must be careful hereafter in quoting exact numbers, especially when putting them in print. But this in no wise should be interpreted that we do not have a solid potential of interested people in the Kasai which would warrant the size budget we are requesting in order to follow up this interest. The facts are that we are overwhelmed with this challenge and while the 75,000 figure we talked about a year ago has not materialized, there is no doubt but that we have struck a gold mine which we must exploit quickly for it is evident that the church has been confronted with a challenge such as it has never faced in past history.³

Thomas seemed to have had a good understanding of the actual situation in the Kasai. Had the church leaders stayed with Thomas's assessment even though it did not appear so glamorous, the church would have been saved from some embarrassment. However, the church would

¹Don Thomas, Kasai Project Report, delivered at the Zaire Union Mission Year-End Committee Meeting in Lubumbashi, Zaire, December 1973.

²Ibid.

³M. Mills to K. Emmerson, 23 July 1973.

report two years later in 1975 at the General Conference Session in Vienna, Austria, that there were 300,000 "Asking to join us" in Zaire.¹

Another reason for the discrepancy which neither Mills nor Thomas eluded to is the simple fact that the independent church leaders counted differently than the Adventists. The Adventists counted members from a Western believers' church perspective. Before the Adventists counted a person as a member, the individual had to be an actual baptized warm-bodied adult actively pursuing and believing the Adventist message. In contrast, the independents counted families (babies to grandfathers), clans, and even whole villages when theirs was the only church physically present in that village. With this in mind, I believe Kubi's Eglise Saint Emmanual had approximately 15,000 actual adult members rather than the purported 75,000 to 125,000.

A. M. Long² (September, 1973–February, 1977)

The immediate need in 1973 was to find an expatriate to direct the ministerial training session when Vail left. At first, a Haitian, Desvarieux, living in Kinshasa was asked to do this work. However, before he could move to the Kasai, he contracted malaria and died. Then A. M. Long from the United States was placed under call to take the position. Long arrived on 17 September 1973; and Dan Bettle arrived a few months later in February 1974. It was not clear at the outset who was to be the project director.

¹N. R. Dower, "One Message, One Mission, One Movement", The Ministry, October 1975, pp. 5-6.

²See appendix E for the expatriate staff during Long's administration.

The Trans-Africa Division had changed Bettie's call from Songa to the Kasai as the Kasai Project director. On 3 July 1974 the Zaire Union Mission officers, in accordance with the decision of the Trans-Africa Division, appointed Long to be the secretary; Bettie the director; and Ruterahagusha the assistant director of the Kasai Project.¹ On 23 July, Bettie was asked by the Zaire Union Mission officers to be pastoral training school director. At the same time R. Walin (AVSC worker and Bettie's father-in-law) was to be responsible under the Kasai director for the project finances.²

Further discussion between the Trans-Africa Division and the Zaire Union settled on A. M. Long as director of the Kasai Project, Dan Bettie the pastoral training school director, and Ruterahagusha as assistant director and legal representative of the Kasai Project. He was to be stationed at Kananga. In 1975 Ruterahagusha was transferred to Kisangani to be the Upper Zaire Field president. This constant change of plans on the part of the division and the union created severe inter-personell problems on the Lulengele Mission compound that later proved damaging to the Kasai Project.

The Longs were not new to mission life. They had served at Gitwe College in Rwanda from 1967-1972 where Al had been the pastoral training school director. In 1972 they took an extended furlough at Andrews University where Long completed an M.A. Degree in Religion in 1973. They then received the call to go to the Kasai. The Longs had

¹Zaire Union Committee Minutes (Lubumbashi, Zaire), 3 July 1974.

²Zaire Union Mission Officers' Minutes (Lubumbashi, Zaire), 23 July 1974.

read the articles in the Review and Herald, and were excited about the prospects before them. They shared this enthusiasm with me and my wife.

After receiving their call, the Longs wrote Lemon (21 June 1973) requesting information about the independent movements in the Kasai and suggested Lemon do some research on them. On 13 July 1973 Lemon replied that there was nothing available on independent churches in Zaire. Furthermore, many had not even written out their own doctrines. Lemon said, "we have had to piece together what they believe in talking to their different leaders."¹

Upon the Longs' arrival at Lulengele, they found things in somewhat of a challenging state. They lived in the nurse's house while their own was being constructed. Expatriate housing was a continual logistical hassle at the mission from 1973 to 1977. The climax came in February 1976 when eight expatriate families and two single workers at Lulengele were housed in three houses and two one-room apartments.

When Long first arrived, he lead out in a ministerial training session; later he became extensively involved in field work.

By 1974 Mills had become personally involved in the Kasai Project and was anxious to get the program moving ahead rapidly. In writing to Mbyirukira in May of 1974, he queried, "Is Al Long completely free from his teaching program so that he can get out into the field immediately and visit interested groups . . . so as to get the maximum results from our efforts?"²

¹P. Lemon to A. Long, 13 July 1973.

²M. Mills to M. Mbyirukira, 3 May 1974.

A plane and pilot stationed at Lulengele, though expensive, was a great help since Long could fly to a few places and eliminate some of the road time. His practice was to send a driver in advance with supplies, bedding, etc. A few days later he would fly in and meet the Land Rover. Thus he was able to make more efficient use of his time.

In October 1974 Long wrote Mills that one of the large churches that had originally made contact with the Adventists in 1972 was again making contact. This was a charismatic group known as the Anima with 120,000 members.¹ Long had originally made contact with the Anima in August of 1974. In February 1975 Paul Mwamba, the leader, made a public announcement to the effect that he was turning his church over to the Seventh-day Adventists.

A few weeks later, M. Mills, R. Pierson, and K. Kemmerer (General Conference undertreasurer) visited the Kasai and met Mwamba. Mills conservatively reported that the Anima had 100,000 members;² Mbyirukira, however, said he understood from Mwamba that the number was more like 200,000.³

Mills made the following statement in a private letter concerning their visit to the Kasai: "While there we estimated there are 200,000 people who offer good prospects of becoming Seventh-day Adventists . . . In all my history I have never seen, or read of such a massive interest in our church, which gives promise of a rich harvest

¹A. M. Long to M. Mills, 28 October 1974.

²Mills to Bud Sherman, 24 April 1975.

³Mbyirukira to Duane McKey, January, 1986.

of souls."¹ The 200,000 figure given by Mbyirukira evidently included Mwamba's 100,000 and another 100,000 from other independents. And Long found that the more he was out in the field, the greater the prospects of gaining more adherents appeared. He wrote to Pierson 16 February 1975 stating that he had made contact during a recent safari with twenty-eight church leaders who were interested in Adventism.² They represented about 6,000 people.³

In the same letter to Pierson, Long outlines several of the problems they faced.

(1) Plans would have to be made as to what should be done with the independent church leaders who were seeking affiliation. One case in point was Prophet Paul Mwamba, the leader of the Anima Church, 100,000 strong throughout Zaire. Long asked, "How will he fit into our organization? How will we handle his financial support once he is deprived of his source of income from his believers?"⁴ Long said Mwamba's situation could be repeated many times over in the Kasai. Long raised a very significant question.

(2) Funds were needed to keep the airplanes in the air.

(3) Funds were needed to make contact with leaders--travel, entertainment, literature, etc.

(4) Travel expenses had to be provided for lay leaders. The lay leaders were those who had gone through the ministerial training

¹Mills to Sherman, 24 April 1975.

²Long to R. Pierson, 16 February 1975.

³Long to Mbyirukira, 17 February 1975.

⁴Long to Pierson, 16 February 1975.

session at Lulengele. They were once leaders in their own church. As they traveled for the mission teaching their previous members, they would need some reimbursement for travel expenses.

(5) A medical evangelist worker was needed to travel with Long and hold medical clinics.

(6) Funds were needed to send some of the converted leaders to Solusi for further training.

Long ended his letter by stating that his health was failing. It was becoming too much to be Kasai Project director, treasurer, station director, and construction supervisor all at the same time.¹

Toward the end of 1975, the Zairian government passed a law which forbade the holding of religious meetings in any place other than under a permanent structure. Elder Pierson appealed to the world church for support in the 4 December 1975 issue of the Review and Herald. The appeal in that article raised approximately \$173,000. This amount was much less than what was needed for the construction of twenty-five churches with cement block walls, cement floors, and a sheet metal roof. A single church in Mbuji-Mayi cost about \$20,000.²

Since funds were not available to build churches out of cement blocks, it was decided to build them out of mud blocks with sheet metal roofs--a type of structure which the government would accept. To construct the twenty-five churches, the mission needed \$41,000 according to E. Harcombe's estimates (union treasurer who had replaced

¹Ibid.

²Pierson to M. Mills, 6 April 1976.

D. Thomas).¹ The Zaire Union had \$13,000 on hand and Mills requested special appropriations of \$28,000 from the General Conference treasurer, K. Emmerson.

Under Long's administration the method of incorporation centered around the ministerial training sessions which worked thus: First, the mission representative, usually Long himself, with one or two other workers would contact interested groups. Some were independent churches and others were members of disgruntled mainline church groups. Second, the leaders of these groups were encouraged to attend a five-to six-week ministerial training session. Third, those leaders who accepted the Seventh-day Adventist teachings returned to their home groups and taught them. These group leaders/lay preachers received a travel stipend and thus considered themselves a part of the mission working force. Finally, one of the ordained ministers from Lulengele would schedule a safari in a given area of the Kasai, examine those who had been prepared by the lay preacher for baptism into the Adventist Church, and then baptize those who were deemed to be appropriate candidates.

Long was opposed to the conventional type of evangelism which was supported by the mission treasurer, Gordon Gray. Gray's concept of evangelism was that a preacher/evangelist should be sent into a given area to preach the Gospel to the villages in that locale. The evangelist would then invite all the villagers to attend a series of evangelistic meetings. At the end of the series, the evangelist would appeal to those who had attended the meetings to accept the teachings.

¹Mills to K. Emmerson, 19 July 1976.

However, Long saw Gray's approach as dangerous. Long felt that since the church members in the independent churches in the Kasai were primarily attached to their leaders, it would be best if the leaders would (1) attend the ministerial training session at Lulengele, (2) those who decided to join the Adventist Church would return to their respective church and in turn teach their followers what they had learned at the ministerial training session, and (3) then the Adventist pastors could approach the members of the independent churches for further teaching. Furthermore, according to Long, traditional evangelistic efforts such as Gray had proposed would not provide leadership in the local churches, whereas the ministerial training session method would fulfill needs for leadership.¹

Writing to Mbyirukira 5 December 1976, Long makes a very interesting observation about a recent safari in the Dimbelenge area which illustrated the importance of an expatriate presence in the Kasai. Long contacted some ex-Presbyterians, Kimbanguists, and evangelical groups. He wrote:

The people would, however, not make a final decision until they had seen a missionary. Just about every group said that they were no longer interested in churches under African leadership because of their lack of knowledge of the Bible, their poor organization, and the government constantly harassing them.²

Long showed in his 1976 year-end report given at Lubumbashi that there were 6,596 baptized members and 18,384 keeping the Sabbath in the Kasai as of 30 September 1976. He had hoped for 8,000 baptized members by the end of December and 30,000 Sabbath keepers. According

¹Long to H. Salzman, 5 December 1976.

²Long to Mbyirukira, 5 December 1976.

to the year-end statistical report, there were 7,794 baptized members in the Kasai.¹ However, there was a feeling predominantly among the church administrators that the work in the Kasai had moved much too slowly. It had been four years since the Kasai Project had been initiated and figures of over 100,000 prospective Adventists had been published. Therefore, as I remember, the church administration would have liked to have seen at least 20,000 to 25,000 members by 1976.

Early in 1977 the Al Long family moved to Salisbury, Rhodesia (Harare, Zimbabwe), where Long was to be the assistant ministerial secretary of the Trans-Africa Division.

Gordon Ellstrom² (January, 1977-September, 1978)

On 25 October 1976 the General Conference secretariat asked Gordon Ellstrom to be director of the Kasai Project to replace Al Long. The Ellstroms, who at that time had been retired, had been life-long missionaries. He had served as departmental director in the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and the Congo Union. He had also served as the Congo Union president and as Franco-Haitian Union president.

Several events greeted the Ellstroms on their arrival. First of all, Long gave Ellstrom a verbal outline of the possibilities of the work in the Kasai. This Long followed with a seven-page letter in March outlining to Ellstrom twelve different groups that needed immediate "attention and follow-up."³

¹See appendix F, part I.

²See appendix G for the expatriate staff during Ellstrom's administration.

³Long to Ellstrom, 25 March 1977.

Then after they arrived, the Dan Bettle family fell ill with hepatitis. All were bedfast for several weeks and eventually had to leave the field. The author's family was transferred from the Kasai to Lubumbashi where I served as the Zaire Union departmental director. Robert Dick, a single worker from Mauritius, took my place.

In 1977 soon after the Ellstroms arrived, Gray flew to Lukanga where a special meeting regarding the Kasai Project was held. In attendance were: R. H. Pierson, General Conference president; H. D. Baasch, General Conference secretary; M. L. Mills, Trans-Africa Division president; Mokotsi Mbyirukira, Zaire Union president; G. M. Ellstrom, Kasai Project director; and H. Salzmann, new Zaire Union secretary.

The work in the Kasai was carefully discussed. Actions were taken concerning the Kasai aircraft administration, encouragement to develop job descriptions for Kasai workers, and plans to organize the Kasai into a field, a regional church administrative unit, by December 1978.¹

M. Mills who had been involved in the Kasai Project with Long continued with Ellstrom. He returned to Zaire the early part of 1977 for a visit to Idiofa where a new interest had developed and strongly encouraged Ellstrom to baptize 4,000 in 1977, a goal that made Ellstrom uncomfortable.² (Actually, 3,825 were baptized in 1977).³

¹Special meeting regarding the Kasai Project, Lukanga, 10 December 1977.

²Mills to Ellstrom, 25 March 1977.

³See appendix F, part I for the number of baptisms.

As well as being an able administrator, Ellstrom was also a good organizer. During his two years he, along with Gray's able help, organized the work in the Kasai into districts.¹ By organizing the work into districts, an administrative structure was established whereby the mission could grow and develop. Districts were comprised of approximately six-to eight churches or groups with a district leader as the overseer. Often there were younger pastors who worked under the district leader.

Ellstrom also saw the need to have organized churches in the Kasai. During his term some nineteen churches were organized. By the end of 1978 there were twenty-six churches organized in the Kasai. On 2 February 1978, it was voted "to reaffirm and reemphasize the plan to organize at least one church per district during this year."²

The pastoral training school which began in 1975 under Bettel's direction struggled because of housing and other logistical problems for the first two years. The students of the pastoral training school had been selected from the most promising independent and nonindependent church leaders who had completed the five-to six-week ministerial training session. The students eventually became the church leaders in the Kasai. The situation at the school became desperate with the departure of D. Bettel in November 1977, and the fact that A. Matter, who remained, felt unqualified to teach the second year pastoral students in the Kasai. As a result, the students were

¹See appendix H, Kasai Project Field Territory Organization, 1977.

²Kasai Committee Minutes, Lulengele Mission, Zaire, 2-5 February 1978.

transferred to Lukanga in the Kivu Province where a two-year pastoral training program was in place. Two groups finished their first year at Lulengele and then transferred to spend their second year at Lukanga-- these were the 1978-1979 and the 1979-1980 Lukanga school years.¹

Ellstrom was somewhat despondent about the high expectations for growth in the Kasai and the misunderstanding about who was its administrator. He wrote to M. Mills 20 March 1977:

In your letter to me recently I remember you said that I sounded a bit discouraged and I guess you were right. The project here is not at all what I expected it to be. I do not know how I shall be able to produce what will be expected of me after all of the promises that I should fulfill and all of these thousands almost ready to be baptized that we do not find.²

Mills responded with an interesting statement. He said:

I think we have been misled in the past to believe that people were just falling over themselves to approach us with their desire to join the church. Now that we know the facts, we shall be better prepared to recognize our work and meet the challenge before us.³

Again Ellstrom wrote to his friend, Willis Hackett, in the General Conference.

Things are not as I had heard before coming and I have been a bit discouraged with the conditions as I found them, but we are going to make something of it. People are not standing on the doorstep by the thousands waiting to become members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. We have to take the message to them. For the last couple of weeks, we have been holding evangelistic efforts throughout the field and I hope it has brought in some new members. As in most places, it is just going to be plain hard work that will bring the members to us.⁴

¹Kasai Committee Minutes, Lulengele, Zaire, 2-5 February 1978.

²Ellstrom to Mills, 20 March 1977.

³Mills to Ellstrom, 2 February 1978.

⁴Ellstrom to W. Hackett, 24 October 1977.

A few weeks later, Ellstrom again wrote to Mills after a long safari.

There are many interested, so the possibilities are good for some work, but the people are not well prepared. They seem to want to learn, but we have so few who are able to teach them what they need to know.¹

M. Mills responded by assuring Ellstrom that the division had lots of confidence in him as an administrator. Mills also told him that R. Pierson was involved in the "decision making group who decided that the prospective interests in the Kasai warranted additional financial support and personnel."²

From the above statements, several word pictures which should be well noted become apparent about the Kasai experience during Ellstrom's administration. First, Ellstrom did not see the work in the Kasai as being a great deal different from other places he had worked. People were not standing in line to be baptized, but rather traditional hard work and traditional evangelism were required. Second, Mills also conceived that the church leaders had been misled about the large numbers wishing to become Adventists. This no doubt was in reference to the optimistic picture given during Long's administration. Finally, additional financial support and personnel were desperately needed to accomplish even mediocre traditional evangelistic results.

An area of real concern to Ellstrom was that of losing members. In certain cases lay leaders became disgruntled with the mission for one reason or another; usually they claimed certain

¹Ellstrom to Mills, 12 May 1977.

²Mills to Ellstrom, 24 May 1977.

promises had not been fulfilled, or they took a second wife and then left the church, often leading their previous members out the back door of the church with them.¹

Ellstrom and Gray decided it was too expensive to have the ministerial training sessions at Lulengele. As an alternative, they sent out a team from the mission to different districts to hold the training sessions in the districts. This method lasted about two years. About thirty participants attended each class. Classes for the leaders were held in the daytime; evangelistic meetings were held at night under the direction of Pastor Rwibasira. In this way the ministerial training session was combined with an evangelistic effort. This was basically the program of evangelism that Gray had tried to get Long to implement.

The converts were not baptized immediately. As was the custom, the converts had to prove themselves a number of weeks by paying tithe and attending church.

Another problem Ellstrom had to cope with was the five-year mission service term of a number of the first workers. These were the African missionaries who had been transferred from different parts of Zaire (mainly the Kivu area) in 1973 at the beginning of the Kasai Project experience. Their term of service would end in 1978. Ellstrom asked in December of 1977 who was going to replace these workers.² And, in fact, when they did leave in 1978, there was a lack of ordained

¹G. Ellstrom, "One Year in the Kasai," unpublished report given at the Zaire Union year-end meeting, December 1977.

²Ibid.

workers in the Kasai. At the beginning of 1973 there were thirteen ordained pastors, now in 1978 only seven were left. One was a district leader, two were in the translation department who helped baptize on the weekends, two were national pastors, and two were expatriates (Ellstrom and Dick). Three more African missionaries were transferred to the Kasai by the end of the year.

Because of the lack of workers the ministerial training sessions in the districts held in conjunction with the evangelistic efforts were cancelled. The district leaders were asked to hold small classes for interested leaders. The small classes functioned mainly as Bible study sessions on a one-to-one basis.¹

In spite of the personnel vacuum, fourteen more churches were organized by August of 1978, and 2,500 new believers were baptized during the first six months of that year.²

Probably the greatest contrast between Long's and Ellstrom's approach was in the way they worked with the leaders and groups. Ellstrom believed that one should work with individuals and not with groups. Long worked with groups. Ellstrom wrote to M. Mills, April 1977:

I do not see how I can fulfill what you expect of me here as I can not work this way. We must convert people to Christ by preaching our wonderful message. I am sorry but I do not believe in having one man bring his followers into our church. To me this is only an opportunity to evangelize, to preach the gospel to a large group of people, and let the people decide whether

¹Ellstrom to M. Mbyirukira, September 1978.

²Ibid.

they are joining our church to follow Christ or their previous leader.¹

A few months later Ellstrom wrote again:

Some leaders have come to us wanting to join the church and they have been told that we want them in the church, but that they will have to come in individually after they have accepted our doctrines . . . we have a double work here, to bring in new interests and baptize many new believers; but we must also establish these many new members in the faith, so that they are really well grounded Seventh-day Adventists.²

We note here that Ellstrom came from a school of thought that believed in individual conversion only. Long, on the other hand, believed that a whole church or group could be converted together and be baptized as a unit. It seems that the church in general--the church leadership, etc.--supported Ellstrom's view theologically; however, experientially they were hoping that the idea that Long promoted--that whole independent churches would become Adventists--would happen. With Ellstrom's emphasis on individual conversion, no doubt there were members of some independent churches who were left out since they perhaps did not understand the importance of an individual personal conversion experience. However, this has not been documented.

By September 1978, Ellstrom reported:

We have still a great interest, but we have no whole church groups requesting entrance into the Adventist Church . . . We may not have hundreds who come in from one religious organization, but we do have hundreds who became interested individually from many different church groups as well as from paganism.³

¹Ellstrom to Mills, April 1977.

²Ellstrom to M. Mills, 29 December 1977.

³Ellstrom to Mbyirukira.

Ellstrom had had some difficult experiences in the Kasai. Groups who had been baptized were threatening to leave the church because they claimed that promises to build schools, dispensaries, etc., had not been kept.¹

The expatriate workers had been reduced drastically during Ellstrom's administration.² The McKeys were transferred to the union office and R. Dick, a single worker, replaced them. Both the D. Bettle family and Mr. and Mrs. A. Matter had requested permanent return. Only four expatriate families, one single worker, and two student missionaries remained at Lulengele.

Roy Perrin³ (September, 1978-January, 1984)

Roy and Fern Perrin with their daughter, Valerie, arrived in Zaire 30 August 1978.

Perrin, having served as president of the Martinique Conference in the Caribbean for several years, was fluent in French and an able administrator. Prior to that, Perrin had been the director of the Adventist seminary in Haiti.

One of the major concerns Perrin faced was the situation with the lay preachers. The problem stemmed back to Long's time when the leaders from the groups were asked by the mission, who paid them a travel allowance, to teach their people after completing the lay-orientation classes. Since they received a travel allowance, they

¹Ibid.

²See appendix G.

³See appendix J for the expatriate staff during Perrin's administration.

considered themselves "salaried" workers and on a par with the pastors. To complicate the problem, some lay preachers desired to remain somewhat independent as they were before joining the Adventist Church. It should be remembered that many of the lay preachers had been independent church pastors before they became Seventh-day Adventist Church lay preachers. As independent church pastors, they had received financial support from their local church or group. Because of this, their travel allowance was very important to them. But from the mission's standpoint, if the Zaire government should consider the lay preachers as salaried workers (since they received a travel allowance), the government might also require social security payments. It was felt that this situation could develop into a problem concerning retirement and the payment of retirement benefits. In the Adventist Church in Zaire, retirement benefits are paid to the SDA workers at age sixty-two and after fifteen years or more of service. Therefore, during Ellstrom's administration because of these potential problems, it was voted to reemphasize the fact that the lay preachers were to function under the direction of the district leader and to clarify to the lay preacher that they were not salaried workers. Furthermore, the district leader had the right to remove the lay preacher's credentials, thus nullifying their right to function as a lay preacher.¹

Perrin found that things had gone from bad to worse with the lay preachers, and action was taken to do away with the travel

¹Kasai Project Year-End Committee, Lulengele, 2-5 February 1978.

assistance to the lay preachers unless they were directly involved in active evangelism.¹

Perrin also saw the need to have a chain of organized churches. His emphasis was on pulling things together--organizing churches, developing departments on the local administrative level and in the churches, establishing elementary schools, and basically helping the Kasai Project to mature into a full-fledged field.²

The work Perrin did in the field was to try and hold the groups that were already in the church. He believed that when a whole group came in, they wanted to use the church as an umbrella under which they could hold their own beliefs. He said, "We should have been stricter. In so doing, we would not have lost some of the groups that we did."³

Perrin's evangelistic thrust was traditional. By the time he arrived in the Kasai, most of the group leaders had stopped requesting affiliation with the Adventist Church. This most likely was influenced by the fact that by 1977-1978 the government had relaxed the enforcement of the law requesting them to be members of the ECZ.

In the five-year period during Perrin's administration, twenty-one primary schools were established and ninety-nine churches were organized.

¹Kasai Project Committee, 25 January 1979.

²In Zaire the regional Adventist Church work was divided into seven fields. For example, there was the East Zaire Field, the North Zaire Field, etc. Eventually the Kasai would become the Central Zaire Field.

³R. Perrin to D. McKey, December 1985.

One of Perrin's most difficult challenges was that of tribal tension between the two major tribal groups in the Kasai. This problem stemmed back to the tribal wars of the sixties between the Lubas and the Lululas. Most of the church members came from Kasai Occidental, Lulula country; however, a disproportionate number of workers were from Kasai Oriental, Luba country. In 1985 of the 44,071 members, only 4,342 were from the Kasai Oriental, and the great majority was from the West, 282 were from the Idiofa/Bandundu area. However, approximately twenty percent of the workers were from the East. Perrin described the situation in these words, "Our workers must be converted for there is too much tribalism and politics at the moment."¹

In 1979 the Kasai Project had its status changed from that of a project to a field with its own local governing committee.² The change in status gave more decision-making power to the Kasai Field Committee rather than having major decisions made on the union committee level.

During Perrin's term of service, the working force in the Kasai dwindled for the first few years. In December 1978 there were thirteen ordained pastors; 1979, twelve; 1980, ten. Perrin spent more and more of his time on long safaris trying to keep up with the baptisms. Finally in 1981, fourteen Kasaians were ordained. Twelve of these pastors were from the West Kasai in the Lulengele-Kananga area; two were from the East Kasai or Mbuji-Mayi area. This was a

¹Ibid.

²This was accomplished at the Zaire Union Year-end Committee, December 1979.

great help to the working force in the field and brought the total number of ordained workers to twenty-four. It was difficult to accomplish this increase because Zaire Union national workers believed that a man should have worked close to twenty years before ordination. The fourteen Kasaians that were ordained in 1981 had all worked less than eight years. Also the expatriate staff was greatly reduced with budget cuts, permanent returns, and transfers.¹

In 1981 at the Zaire Union Year-End Committee, Perrin gave a very positive report.

It seems that the only limit which confronts us, is the inability to walk through the doors as rapidly as God opens them. It is truly a thrill to go to a village where the message has recently penetrated and have the people 'swarm' over you as they demonstrate their love, appreciation, and thankfulness for your coming with the message of a crucified, risen, and soon-coming Saviour.²

With these words from Perrin, we will leave this section. A summary will be given at the end of the chapter.

Logistics

In this section I attempt to lay out the many logistical difficulties that faced the workers in the Kasai Project from its inception to the present. This section in no way intends to give any negative impression of Zaire or the Kasai; the purpose is simply to report circumstances as seen through the eyes of those who served in the Kasai.

¹See appendix J for the expatriate staff during Perrin's Administration.

²Perrin, unpublished report given at the Zaire Union Mission Year-End Committee, Lubumbashi, Zaire.

Building Supplies for Lulengele

The funds to purchase building supplies were requested over a three-year period. Difficulties arose when it came time to spend the funds. The original plan was to rehabilitate Lulengele Mission and later to build a local administrative headquarters at Kananga.

To obtain the building supplies, Lemon personally trucked the first loads from Lubumbashi. In 1972 when Lulengele was reopened, no building supplies were available in Kananga. They had to be purchased in Lubumbashi and transported to Kananga. In the early stage of development of the Kasai Project, the goods were sent by the mission truck but later by train. Some lighter goods were brought in the airplane.

Housing at Lulengele was an acute problem. In 1976 there were three houses and two one-room apartments for five expatriate families and two student missionaries. A few weeks later another family and two volunteer couples arrived compounding the problem. Later two houses and one duplex were constructed. This problem would have been lessened had the Kasai headquarters been located in Kananga where houses could have been rented or bought.

When Lulengele reopened in 1972, the plan was to relocate the Kasai headquarter's office in Kananga. But lack of finances and because some of the original missionaries preferred living in a country setting, the idea of the Kananga headquarter relocation never materialized. This mistake cost the Kasai Project dearly not only in dollars but in efficiency as well. Numerous vehicles have been worn out and countless man hours wasted from traversing the two to five

hours of unbelievable roads from Lulengele to Kananga. Weekly contact with the regional capital at Kananga was necessary for the procurement of supplies, post, etc. The Kasai workers are still paying for this mistake today.

Roads

The bad state of the Kasai roads cannot be overemphasized. There has been almost no maintenance on the roads since independence. The only exception to this is when in the mid 1970s an American company built a highline electrical system from Inga in Bas Zaire to Lubumbashi in Shaba Province. They maintained the roads as they passed through the Kasai. Some of the American company's officials told me in 1976 that it would have been more cost efficient for them to have built a highway across the country first.

Church Construction

Another challenge was church construction. Wood used for building material was very expensive and hard to find. It often had to be sent by train from Lubumbashi. Once the supplies arrived where they were needed, it was another chore to find capable builders.

The cost of construction materials was astronomical. In 1976 glass cost \$90 per square meter, paint cost \$30 a gallon, cement \$10 to \$15 per bag, and an eight-foot sheet of iron of the thinnest gauge cost \$18.¹

¹Mills to Pierson, 29 April 1976.

Fuel

To my knowledge, since 1972, diesel fuel or aviation gas have never been readily available in the Kasai. Tom Staples said that in 1975 diesel fuel which should have cost \$50 a barrel had shot up to \$170 a barrel and was unobtainable.¹ This was due to the open market prices due to the non-availability of the fuel.

Many times Ellstrom experienced the frustration of not having aviation gas or diesel fuel available.²

Food

In addition to the problem of housing, both missionaries and nationals faced the problem of food. Food was expensive. One expatriate family announced before arriving at Lulengele that they were not bringing in a shipment of freeze dried foods as had been suggested because they planned to eat like the local people.³ Upon arrival, they found the local nationals had very little to eat. The local diet consisted of manioc (casava flour mixed with corn meal), manioc greens, and peanuts or small beans when available. Imported foods were too expensive to buy. Some items were imported from South Africa by train, but they arrived in poor condition. Later goods were trucked from Zambia and South Africa to Lubumbashi by road and then flown by plane to the Kasai.

¹T. Staples to J. E. Edwards, 13 October 1975.

²Ellstrom to Mills, 27 October 1977.

³Interview with G. Gray, Collonges, France, 1975.

Climate and Location

Probably the most challenging aspects of mission life at Lulengele for the expatriates and national missionaries alike were the climate and isolation. Most of the expatriates suffered illnesses such as malaria, filaria, hepatitis, dysentery, and other unknown fevers.

None of the expatriates, except Bettles for a short time, had their own transportation on the mission. This meant, for the wives especially, that when the mission plane flew them the four hours from Lubumbashi to Lulengele, they remained at Lulengele until they were flown out for vacation. The only exception would be a trip to Kananga in a Land Rover bouncing over treacherous roads for two to five hours each way.

These above mentioned difficulties are a few of the reasons for the transitory nature of expatriate tenure in the Kasai. The average stay was about two and a half years, excluding the student missionaries who came for a year.¹ These are no doubt also the reasons why most of the original national workers elected to return to their regional homelands in 1978.

Publications

It was anticipated that with the establishment of the translation department at Lulengele, the publications needed in the Tshiluba dialect would be readily available. This was not the case. Translation of books and pamphlets was slow and laborious. Several times, a translated work would have to be completely redone. None of

¹See appendix K, Kasai Missionaries, 1972-1983.

the translators really understood English well enough to adequately translate literature into Tshiluba.

Once the material was translated, proofread, and accepted, it had to be typed. For this the mission purchased an IBM Selectric typewriter which was run on a small generator. Peggy Williams did the typing, but she found it somewhat difficult as she did not speak Tshiluba.

Once the material was typed, it had to be printed. The Kasai paper, Mununishi,¹ was to be printed in Lubumbashi on the Kasai press where they had electricity twenty-four hours a day. However, the union lacked a technician printer. Finally, a student missionary came to do the work. He stayed only a year, after that the press was shut down. No doubt it would have been more efficient to have used commercial printers in Lubumbashi rather than our own.

Eventually Steps to Christ, a small part of Great Controversy, and some other small books were printed in Tshiluba outside of Zaire. A song book was also translated and printed in Tshiluba after many challenges were overcome.

Government

Several of the problems in working with government authorities have already been mentioned. They were: the requirement to join the ECZ, the government takeover of the schools, nationalization, the move toward authenticity, Salongo (requirement for all citizens to work on Saturday morning), Shaba I and Shaba II (Katangese rebellions in Shaba

¹Mununishi was a missionary journal printed in Tshiluba, the local Kasai language.

in 1977 and 1978, respectively), and passes to travel in and out of the Kasai Province because of diamond smuggling.

In December 1978, the country had too much currency in circulation, so the color of the notes was changed and only a portion of what was in circulation was reprinted. Since almost everyone operated on a cash basis and not through bank accounts because of irregularities in the banking system, a large amount of cash was in circulation. The same was true for the mission. Words cannot explain the chaos that occurred when only a three-day notice was given for the cash to arrive at the bank and be changed. Each person was allotted only a small amount to change.

Because of constant unpredictable uncertainties in government policies, the church administration both in the Kasai and the Zaire Union office operated on a crisis-management basis more often than not.

Financial

Just a brief note needs to be added about the financial difficulties. The funds came slowly as they were appropriated from the General Conference to the division, to the union, and finally, on down to the Kasai. There was a continual challenge in the balancing of the budget as more funds were always needed. Appropriations ranged from \$188,000 in 1976 to \$330,000 in 1977 excluding expatriate salaries and monies for church construction. Operating the plane in the Kasai cost \$24,000 year.

Summary

This section presents a brief survey of the historical development of the work in Zaire with specific emphasis on the growth of the church work we have seen in the Kasai. The Kasai experience from 1971 through the early 1980s is developed with particular reference to the administrations of successive Kasai Project leaders. From personal experience as well as from the experience of others, I have portrayed the difficulties and challenges created by the many logistical problems in the Kasai. Because of these problems, the initial contact and follow-up with independent groups was much too slow. For example, I baptized a group of people in 1977 who had waited two years to be baptized.

The development of the Kasai experience was like a pendulum that swung from optimism to pessimism, back and forth until it finally took on a more realistic understanding. When the Kasai experience first broke in 1972, Vail, Mills, Lemon, and others were very enthusiastic¹ about the possibilities of growth in the Kasai. However as they studied it more closely, Thomas and then Mills became more realistic. Later when Long came on the scene, he was at first very optimistic (almost overly), but by 1975 he had become somewhat pessimistic concerning the possibilities of church growth in the Kasai. This was demonstrated in Joyce Griffith's Review and Herald article, 27 February 1975.² Griffith, a personal friend of the Longs, visited them

¹Vail had used terms like "unparalleled" and "finest hour in the Adventist Church".

²Joyce Griffith, "The Advent Hope Reaches the Kasai", Review and Herald, 27 February, 1975, pp. 16-19.

in the Kasai. She found them somewhat discouraged about their situation. He was ill, and they faced seemingly insurmountable problems in housing, transportation, and communication. At the same time, tremendous pressure was placed on Long to produce baptisms in relationship to the figures he himself had promoted a few months earlier. Griffith indicated that between 85,000 and 90,000 people had been lost because the church was too slow mobilizing itself. She mentions a church of 75,000 who left the Adventists and went with another denomination. I have not been able to document any such falling away. Perhaps she was referring to Kubi's Eglise Saint Emmanuel. Kubi, along with a number of his leaders, was baptized. Concerning the 75,000 figure, we must study that further in the following chapter. Suffice it to say for now that the African independent churches counted members differently than Adventists did.

The reactions that followed, first from the members at large and then from the General Conference administration, were understandable.¹ They sought to give plausible answers to the questions Griffith's article raised.

Probably the most optimistic position was expressed by Dower in an October 1975 article that there were 300,000 in the Kasai asking to join the Adventists.² No doubt these estimates were overly optimistic as also were Paul Mwamba's, Kubi's, and those of other independent churches. I am not sure where Dower got his information,

¹See appendix L for a summary of the church's reaction in the church publications.

²Dower, "One Message," pp. 5-6.

but it is a classic illustration of the inability of the Adventist church to understand the statistics of the African independent churches. This fact becomes more apparent in chapter five.

A factor which was consistently in evidence throughout the development of the Kasai Project was the key role played by the independent and non-independent church leaders who had become Seventh-day Adventists. These leaders were extremely important inasmuch as they were the link via the ministerial training sessions between the Adventist Church and the members of the independent churches. All of them went through the five-to six-week ministerial training session at Lulengele. Then they were sent back to their churches to teach their members what they had learned at Lulengele. Some of them were handpicked and placed in the two-year pastoral training course. These then became the ordained Kasai pastors.

This process was set into action by Long and then somewhat altered by Ellstrom and Gray when they took the ministerial training session into the local villages and churches and combined them with evangelistic meetings. In so doing, the people learned directly from the Lulengele pastors and missionaries rather than from their traditional religious leader. Thus the allegiance of the members was established with the Adventist pastors at Lulengele. However, this created some tension between a few of the leaders and the Adventist pastors. No doubt, some independent groups lost interest because of this change in the program.

CHAPTER V

WORKING WITH INDEPENDENT LEADERS IN THE KASAI

Introduction

This chapter briefly reviews the independent churches and church leaders who sought affiliation with the Adventists. First considered are the ten independent church leaders who requested affiliation with the Adventists, along with their churches, and follow developments to the point at which they joined or rejected the Adventists. The figures given for the membership are those given by the leaders themselves and in many cases are wildly inflated. Second, the two leaders and several groups who did not seek affiliation with the Adventists but who had some members who did are presented. Finally, the more prominent leaders and the way the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai worked with them are discussed. The reader should refer back to chapter three for details concerning the structure and belief of the churches dealt with here.¹

¹See appendix A for a complete list of independent churches in the Kasai including those who sought affiliation.

Leaders Who Sought AffiliationKubi--Eglise Saint Emmanual

Location:¹ Western Kasai

Size: 75,000-300,000

Date: 1965

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Vandaisme

Pastor Kubi, president of the Eglise Saint Emmanual² in Zaire, first sought affiliation with the Seventh-day Adventists 24 February 1972. At this time he made official contact with the SDA headquarters in Lubumbashi, Zaire.³

The following events lead to Kubi's decision. After President Mobutu signed into law the restrictions for independent churches toward the end of 1971, Kubi found himself in a difficult situation. He could not meet the government criteria for an official church. His options were: (1) disband the Eglise Saint Emmanual or (2) affiliate the Eglise Saint Emmanual with an officially recognized religious organization. Kubi chose the second option. He began to research the doctrines and teachings of several different churches.

¹Demographics. The location has to do with the area in the Kasai. There were deep-seated tribal tensions between the Eastern (Lubas) and Western (Lulus) Kasaians. The size is the membership, usually inflated and including children, reported by the leader. The date is that of the inception in the Kasai. The type is either Zionist or Ethiopian. From refers to the major church from which they separated.

²Translation: Saint Emmanuel Church.

³Kubi to D. McKey, February 1986.

The headquarters for Kubi's church, like a number of other independents, was at Kinshasa, even though the bulk of his members were in the Kasai with a few in Shaba. Estimates of the membership of the Eglise Saint Emmanual ranged from 75,000¹ to 300,000². Kubi's church was somewhat loosely organized, which is quite characteristic of the independents.

While Kubi was going through this difficult experience, a friend gave him the book The Great Controversy by Ellen G. White. In this Kubi found a number of similarities between his Eglise Saint Emmanual and the Seventh-day Adventists. Also while reading Ellen White's book, he was convinced that he had found a church for his people with which he could affiliate comfortably.³

Tshitata Fuamba--Eglise Saint Emmanual

Location: Western Kasai

Size: 75,000-300,000

Date: 1965

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Vandaism

Pastor Tshitata functioned under Kubi as vice-director of the Eglise Saint Emmanual. Tshitata's local church at Tshimbulu⁴ was nearly

¹Ibid.

²Myrna Long to D. McKey, 28 June 1974.

³Kubi to D. McKey, February 1986.

⁴Tshimbulu is a village about half-way between Mbuji-Mayi and Kananga.

autonomous (somewhat independent of the organization of the wider movement), also nearly typical of most of the independents. On their own, but with some encouragement from Kubi, they made the decision to affiliate with the Seventh-day Adventists.

Tshitala wrote P. Lemon, president of the Zaire Union Mission of Seventh-day Adventists, on 25 September 1972 confirming the desire of his local church to become affiliated with the Adventists. He also sent a tabulation of the membership of the church at Tshimbulu—total membership, 1,341, of which 728 were children.¹

Kubi and Tshitala had both joined the Adventists by 1974. As of 1986, 6,015 members of the Eglise Saint Emmanuel had officially affiliated with the Seventh-day Adventists, largely due to Kubi's and Tshitala's influence.

Beya Hubert--Eglise Spirituelle
de Kamombela

Location: Western Kasai

Size: 63

Date: Not Known

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Not Known

The Eglise Spirituelle de Kamombela² first contacted Lulengele Mission in 1972 regarding affiliation with the Adventists. They supplied a list of their members totaling sixty-three, including adults

¹Tshitala to P. Lemon, 25 September 1972.

²Translation: Spiritual Church of Kamombela.

and children.¹ The church was located in Kananga. The church at Luluabourg claimed also to represent churches in both of the Kasai provinces, and in Shaba, Mbandaka, Kivu, and Kinshasa. No further information is available as to whether or not they affiliated with the Adventists.

S. Kantole--Eglise de l'Amour de Dieu²

Location: Western Kasai

Size: Not Known

Date: Not Known

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Not Known

From their headquarters in Kinshasa, Kantole contacted P. Lemon 14 September 1972. The request was that the Adventists "evangelize" the Eglise de l'Amour de Dieu in Kananga and all across Zaire. They also requested to be affiliated with the Adventists and asked that the conditions of such an affiliation be explained and clarified. The membership of the church was not given.³ A number of the members in Kananga joined the Adventists.

¹Official declaration of members, 25 September 1969. The contact was verbal in 1972.

²Translation: Church of the Love of God.

³S. Kantole to P. Lemon, 14 September 1972.

Ilunga Kabeyamuambi--Eglise de Jesus
Christ sur la Terre par le Saint Esprit

Location: Eastern/Western Kasai

Size: 110,000

Date: 1951

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Luba, Lulua

From: Various

The Eglise de Jesus Christ sur la Terre par le Saint Esprit¹ had received from the government provisional legal recognition 6 June 1972, thus allowing it to function for a limited amount of time under the name of the Seventh-day Adventists. Since this was provisional, the government began to pressure them through their leader, Pastor Ilunga, to either join the Adventists or disband in February 1973.

The headquarters of the church was in Kinshasa, but the bulk of the 110,000 church members were located in Western Kasai. Pastor Ilunga was not happy to work with or under Pastor Ruterahagusha² at Lulengele in Eastern Kasai. He requested to legally function under the "cover" of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He also wanted to work directly with the national church headquarters at Lubumbashi, thus circumventing the local Lulengele administration. This attitude of "independence" was somewhat typical of most of the independent churches.

¹Translation: Church of Jesus Christ on the Earth by the Holy Spirit.

²Pastor Ruterahagusha functioned as the national leader at Lulengele until 1974.

Finally, on 26 February 1973 he requested legal recognition under the umbrella of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, thus eliminating their provisional recognition with the Adventists. Nowhere did he indicate a need to learn what Seventh-day Adventists believe.¹ The Eglise de Jesus never did join the Adventists, but continued to function illegally in Western Kasai.

Mutshipaie Banseke Tshishi--
Sabbatique de Matete

Location: Western Kasai

Size: Not Known

Date: Not Known

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Not Known

The Sabbatique de Matete² group sought affiliation with the Adventists and considered themselves Seventh-day Adventists/Section Sabbatique de Matete. A few months after they had joined the Seventh-day Adventists, Tshishi wrote on 25 February 1973 to the national church headquarters in Lubumbashi requesting that since they had now become Adventists, they should receive some of the benefits of that association. This would include a school, a dispensary, and the construction of a church. They wrote that they had already acquired the ground for the church. The only item lacking was the money for the church construction (the same would apply for the school and

¹Ilunga Kabeyamuambi to P. Lemon, 26 February 1973.

²Translation: Sabbath of Matete.

dispensary). The last request was for a vehicle to meet their transportation needs.¹ The request from this group was typical of most of the groups. For them it was only natural that they should look for material benefits from an affiliation with the Adventists. As far as I know, the Sabbatique de Matete joined the Adventists.

Baki Samuel--Eglise de Jesus Christ
des Saints du Derniere Jour

Location: West Kasai

Size: Not Known

Date: Not Known

Type: Not Known

Tribe: Lulua

From: Not Known

On 15 March 1973 and again on 16 August 1973, the Eglise de Jesus Christ des Saints du Derniere Jour made an official request to affiliate with the Seventh-day Adventists. They indicated that their "whole community," which appeared to have been very small, sought affiliation. In return they requested a letter of guarantee certifying that the Eglise de Jesus Christ des Saints du Derniere Jour² is a part of the Seventh-day Adventist Church." Their desire was to function as Mormons under the legal cover of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The SDAs were not able to work with them under those conditions and, therefore, the Mormons did not affiliate with the Adventists.

¹M. B. Tshishi to Zaire Union officials and Zaire Union Committee, 25 February 1973.

²Translation: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormon Church).

Ndaye Manatshitu--Eglise Spirituelle
Kimbanguist de Kamombela¹

Location: West Kasai

Size: Not Known

Date: Not Known

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Various

Ndaye wrote to Lulengele Mission 31 July 1974. He stated that since the law was passed concerning the regulation of churches, most of the Spirituelle Kimbanguists had chosen to rejoin the mainline Kimbanguist Church. However, this particular group decided to "accept with all their heart" the principles and rules indicated in the statutes of the Adventist Church.² This group decided to become members of the Adventist Church.

Paul Mwamba--Eglise de Anima³

Location: West Kasai

Size: 200,000

Date: 1960

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Not Known

¹Translation: The Spiritual Kimbanguist Church of Kamombela.

²Ndaye Manatshitu to the Adventist director at Lulengele and Luebo, 31 July 1974.

³Translation: Church of the Soul.

Paul Mwamba made numerous contacts with the Adventists and vice versa from 1972 through 1975. Mwamba had between 100,000 and 200,000 members throughout Zaire. Toward the beginning of 1975, he stated publicly that he was turning his church over to the Adventists.¹

The Anima were basically charismatic. They had sought affiliation with other churches but had been "driven" from them and had not been accepted by the other churches with whom they had sought affiliation, according to Mwamba himself.² Neither Mwamba nor did his church officially join the Adventists. However, 1,399 of the Anima did join.

Ntande Bomba Buanga--
Spirituelle Kimbanguist

Location: West

Size: 5,000

Date: Not Known

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Kimbanguist

The Spirituelle Kimbanguists³ requested affiliation of their local area churches along with some 5,000 members. By 1977, they felt a tremendous need to have a church constructed in their local area. Ntande, their spiritual leader, had a number of doctrinal questions

¹Long to Mills, 16 February 1975.

²The meditation of Pastor Paul Mwamba, April 1975.

³Translation: Spiritual Kimbanguist.

concerning the teachings of the Adventists.¹ Information is not available as to the number who joined the Adventists.

Churches Which Did Not Request SDA Affiliation

Two churches which did not request affiliation with the Seventh-day Adventists were the Eglise Apostolique² and the Eglise Evangelique des Sacrificateurs.³ They are listed in this section since a number of their small groups did join the Adventists.

Johane Maranke--Eglise Apostolique Africaine de J. M. (Bapostolo)

Location: West

Size: 40,000-100,000

Date: 1953

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Various

The Rhodesian-based Bapostolo, which was founded by the prophet Johane Maranke, is known in the Kasai as the "Eglise Apostolique." A splinter group of the church in the Kasai is known as the Eglise Apostolique de Foi. After Mobutu's law which required independents to reorganize or disband, the Eglise Apostolique continued to function illegally, meeting in open door "cathedrals" under the trees with some harassment from the government.

¹Ntande B. Buanga to Long, 16 January 1977.

²Translation: The Apostolic Church.

³Translation: The Church of the Evangelistic Sacrificers.

The church made no official request to join the Adventists, but some 2,700 members, including some whole congregations, did become SDAs. The large number which transferred their membership to the Adventist Church was due to the beliefs held in common with the Adventists, such as the literal interpretation of the Bible and the Sabbath. The understanding the Adventists gave to the Sabbath was a special attraction to the Apostolics. The Adventist pastors and expatriates worked with a number of Apostolic groups near Lulengele and Kananga. Some whole groups eventually joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Kadima Bakenge Musangilayi--
Eglise Evangelique des Sacrificateurs

Location: Western Kasai

Size: 28 churches

Date: 1965

Type: Zionist

Tribe: Lulua

From: Various

The Eglise Evangelique des Sacrificateurs¹ was a fairly large charismatic church in the Kasai with small churches loosely organized and scattered throughout Western Kasai. They made no official request to join the Adventists, but rather sought governmental legalization on their own, which they received in 1977. However, some of their members split from the group over doctrinal questions and a few whole groups joined the Adventists. By 1984 over 1,100 had become Seventh-day Adventists.

¹Translation: Evangelical Church of the Sacrificers.

Miscellaneous Independent Churches

A number of other churches¹ in addition to those listed above made contact with the Adventists in the Kasai and sought affiliation. No other details are available with reference to these contacts. They are:

<u>Churches</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Leader</u>
Eglise Presbyterien	Bakatombe/Mweka	
Eglise Presbyterien	Dimbelenge	Bakambulakanya
Evangeliques de la Lulonga	Luke Mukamba	Mulumba
Lumiere	Lusambo	
Eglise Pentecostal du Shaba	Lusambo	
Eglise Presbyterien	Kazumba	
Kimbanguiste	Kamiji	
Eglise Baptiste	Dekese	
Eglise Baptiste	Idiofa	
Evangelique de Haut Zaire		
Evangelique de la Lulanga		
Westcatts		
Bantu ba Simon		
Septieme Eglise Evangelique		
Kamombena		
Biblique Independant		
Bapostolo		

¹For a complete list of the independent churches in the Kasai including those who sought affiliation with the Adventists, see appendix A.

Eglise Baptiste Libre

Martyre

Troisieme Alliance

Eglise de Grace

Armee du Salue

Mennonites

Catholique

Working with Leaders Who Sought Affiliation

This section considers the most prominent independent church leaders and endeavors to understand how they were approached and how their interest was developed by the Seventh-day Adventist Church leaders in Zaire. An effort is also made to understand how and why the independent leaders became interested in affiliation with the SDA Church in Zaire.

It seemed to the Adventists that the most difficult problem with the independent churches had to do with the independent church leaders. More specifically, what should be done with the independent church leaders once their church became Seventh-day Adventist? From these leaders' perspective, they were responsible for their group--their flock. Many of them had raised up and organized their local group or independent church; therefore, their independent church was a source of livelihood to them personally. To lose the leadership would mean to lose their personal income. From the Adventist's point of view, the people were more loyal to their local pastor than to the Adventist Church. If the leader should continue as the local pastor while not being thoroughly acquainted with the Adventist teaching and church

policy, it was easy to see that potential problems could develop. So, the ministerial training program was developed whereby the independent church pastors could study the teachings of the Adventists at Lulengele. They were then allocated a travel stipend. This allowed the independent church pastors to continue with a small source of income from their local group in return for their leadership.

The leader who received the most publicity and was the most prominent was, no doubt, Pastor Kubi. He and his church, Eglise Saint Emmanual, are often referred to in the Review and Herald, the Zaire Union Committee Minutes, the Kasai Project Minutes, and in Kasai correspondence.

This was true for several reasons:

1. Kubi was one of the first to make contact with the Zaire Union seeking affiliation. He did so in 1972.
2. He was the director of one of the largest independent churches with a membership of between 75,000 and 300,000.¹
3. Kubi himself had received a deeper religious experience after reading The Great Controversy and seemed sincere in sharing his experience with his fellow believers.

About the time Kubi joined the Adventist Church, or shortly thereafter, contact was made by Ruterahagusha and Ditwa, the national Adventist leaders stationed at Lulengele in the Kasai, with Pastor Tshitala at Tshimbulu (one of Kubi's vice-directors). Tshitala was receptive to the message of Adventism and diligently started studying

¹The 75,000 figure came from Kubi in February 1986 in a letter to D. McKey. The 300,000 figure came from Long in June of 1974 in a letter to McKey. The figure presumably originated with Kubi.

the Adventist teachings as well as leading his people in that direction. By 1986, 1,341 villagers (633 adults and 728 children) in Tshimbulu had become SDAs. However, Kubi was not able to convince all of his leaders to follow his example. By 1986, only 6,017 of Kubi's Eglise Saint Emmanual members had become Seventh-day Adventists.

In 1974 and 1975, Kubi was sponsored by the Kasai Project on a number of safaris in an effort to contact and study with his Eglise Saint Emmanual members. Most of them had joined the Adventists by 1986. A difficulty arose toward the end of 1977 when Kubi entered politics. Pastor Mbyirukira, Zaire Union president, decided Kubi's itinerant ministry should be terminated because of his political activities. As a result, the safaris were discontinued. The next year Kubi, along with three ex-Presbyterian pastors, was sent by the Zaire Union to an Adventist college in Haiti to work on a degree in theology. Upon Kubi's return in 1981, he worked in the Kasai as youth director for the Adventist Church. In 1985, he was transferred to the SDA union office in Lubumbashi as Zaire Union youth director. A year later, he was ordained to the ministry of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Tshitala, after attending a ministerial training session in 1973, was retained at Lulengele Mission to help with construction at the mission. In 1975 he was appointed to work at Lulengele Mission to teach the independent church leaders about Christian stewardship. He held this position until 1985 at which time he was transferred back to his home area at Tshimbulu to be the head pastor for that area.

Another important person who had an interest in the Adventist Church in the Kasai was Paul Mwamba. Mwamba grew up in the Catholic

Church. In 1960 he founded his own church, the Anima, which was an endeavor to fulfill the spiritual and emotional needs of the people. In 1974, Al Long contacted Mwamba and invited him to attend an Adventist Sabbath morning service. Mwamba was very impressed with the Seventh-day Adventist Church from this original contact.

In April of 1975, Mwamba spent a week at Lulengele studying the Adventist Church doctrines. He told R. H. Pierson, president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, and M. Mills, president of the Trans-Africa Division of SDAs, who were visiting the Kasai at the time, that: (1) he had 120,000 adult members in Zaire, (2) the greatest desire of his heart before he died was that his people would have the opportunity to become Seventh-day Adventists, (3) he was in the process of writing to his church leaders urging them to accept the Advent message, and (4) his church was Old Testament oriented. He added that he and his members accepted the second coming of Christ and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, including the gift of prophecy. However, his interest lagged and his wishes never came to fruition. The main reason for the waning interest was the charismatic emphasis of Mwamba's church. Their worship services were emotional and led to experiences of ecstasy. The Adventists were not able to accept that form of worship.

As of 1986, Paul Mwamba was still functioning as the leader of the Anima in the Kasai. He lost interest in the Adventist Church because of differences over polygamy and the work of the Holy Spirit. His own prospective loss of leadership should he become an Adventist also seems to have been an important factor.

The Adventists had not developed a workable solution to this problem of dealing with powerful, independent church leaders such as Mwamba. National Adventist leaders especially had difficulty trusting the independent church leaders. They believed the independent church leaders were desirous of becoming Adventists for what they personally could gain from that relationship. The problem of distrust was due also to tribalism as well as a general suspicion that the independent leaders tended to be dishonest.

One proof that the Adventist national leaders gave as a reason for distrust of the independent pastors, and was probably justified, was highly inflated membership figures cited by the independent pastors. For example, in my estimation, Paul Mwamba probably had some 12,000 to 20,000 adult members in Zaire rather than his reported 120,000 to 200,000. On the other hand, the expatriate Adventist missionaries who had not grown up with the tribalistic bias and the general attitude of distrust as is characteristic of some societies were more apt to trust the independent church leaders and to believe their membership figures.

Polygamy was another issue the expatriates could accept and work with, but the nationals could not. However, the expatriates and national Adventist workers alike struggled with the charismatic forms of worship typical of the independents.

Another reason for the Anima's loss of interest can be attributed to the loose organization of Mwamba's church. Even though Mwamba was ready to accept most of the SDA doctrines, his other church leaders were not. They, too, were autonomous and independent, as seen in the fact that they had their own independent church.

The Lulengele administration lost contact with Mwamba by 1977, in spite of the fact that a special effort was made to contact every Anima in 1975. By 1986, 1,399 Anima had become Seventh-day Adventists. Most apparently became members on an individual basis rather than collectively in church groups.

Since some of Mwamba's Anima resided outside of the Kasai, other Adventist missions in Zaire were requested to make local contact with them. Statistics are not available from these missions; but I expect that few, if any, were ever contacted or baptized, mainly because of the Anima's charismatic emphasis and the lack of understanding of their form of worship by the Adventist leaders in other parts of Zaire.

Often at the beginning of the Kasai experience, other independent church leaders representing a single congregation of a few hundred members or several churches of up to several thousand members would show up at the Lulengele Mission requesting church membership. Frequently, leaders requested a church building, a school, and a dispensary. When the missionaries were not able to produce any of these three items, the interest usually lagged and the independents sought help elsewhere.

Another large number of church leaders that entered into dialogue with the Adventists at Lulengele were those from mainline churches such as Presbyterians, Catholics, Mennonites, and Baptists. One whole village sixty kilometers north of Lulengele, Batwatombo, followed their Presbyterian pastor into the Adventist Church.

A number of young Presbyterian pastors became Adventists for two main reasons: (1) After having been educated in the Presbyterian

Seminary in the Kasai where they learned to read French, they were convicted of the doctrines of the SDA Church, especially the Sabbath. They were distressed to learn, as mentioned above, that "Sunday" was substituted for "Sabbath" (for example: Exod 20:8-11; Mark 2:27, 28; Acts 1:12; Acts 15:21) in the early Tshiluba translations of the Bible.

(2) Political infighting in the Presbyterian Church erupted when the Presbyterian missionaries left leadership in the hands of the nationals in the late 1960s. The power struggle for leadership which ensued among the indigenous leaders upset the laity. When Lulengele Mission was reopened in 1972, the Presbyterians were again interested in expatriate missionary leadership which had no tribalistic bent and, therefore, were more easily trusted by the nationals. By 1986, almost 10,000 Presbyterians had joined the Adventist Church in the Kasai along with a number of their pastors. Other members and leaders of congregations of denominations that contacted the Adventists in their search for affiliation included Baptists in Dekese and Mennonites near Lulengele-- their expatriate missionaries had returned to their homelands. Some Catholics also sought membership in Adventist Churches, but this was usually on an individual basis rather than collectively as a whole congregation.

Summary

In conclusion, it should be noted that the work with the independent leaders was both rewarding and frustrating.

Pastor Kubi was the most prominent of all independent leaders who sought affiliation with the Adventists because he joined the SDA

Church and represented a large independent church, many of whom followed him into the Adventist Church.

Pastor Mwamba was another prominent, independent church leader. He also had a large following (larger than Kubi); however, he never joined the Adventist Church even though many of his people did.

The Adventists were not as successful as they might have been in working with the independent leaders. This was mainly because many of the African Adventist pastors were distrustful of the independent leaders--perhaps with reason. All in all, it should be noted again that church membership numbers given by the independent church leaders was almost always highly inflated. This fact was recognized by the Adventist African pastors but not by the Adventist expatriate missionaries. A number of small, independent church groups requested affiliation with the Adventists at Lulengele and also requested benefits such as a dispensary, a church, and a school for their village. Often the Adventists were not able to meet these requests because of financial limitations; thus, many of the independents lost interest.

The independents were not the only ones who joined the Adventists in the Kasai, a number joined from other missionary churches. The largest group was from the Presbyterian Church; and in this case, the transfer seemed to have been precipitated by political infighting among the African leaders.

The challenges during these years were great, and so were the rewards even though there were disappointments as with Paul Mwamba. The church strove hard to work with the independent churches; however, some areas could have been improved. These are noted in chapter six.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE ADVENTIST EXPERIENCE WITH THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE KASAI

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the experience that the Seventh-day Adventist Church had with the independent churches in the Kasai.

In January of 1986, a questionnaire¹ was sent to six national pastors² and six expatriates³ who had worked in and had been intimately associated with the Kasai. The results of these questionnaires and interviews are considered in this analysis. To do so, one must begin with the background of the Adventist experience in the Kasai. After that, an analytical survey of the groups and individuals who became Adventist Church members out of the independent churches is given.

¹See appendix M. The responses to the questionnaires are drawn upon in the following text. Note the footnotes with reference to the questionnaires. The actual questionnaires with the responses can be seen at the Heritage Room at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

²Questionnaires were sent and received from the following: N. Nzambamwita, Kasai translator; M. Mbyirukira, Zaire Union president; R. Ruterahagusha, Lulengele Mission director; R. Rwibasira, Kasai area pastor; R. Madandi, Kasai area pastor; and M. Ndinga, Kasai translator.

³Questionnaires were sent to: D. Thomas, first Kasai director; A. Long, second Kasai director; G. Ellstrom, third Kasai director; R. Perrin, fourth Kasai director; P. Lemon, former Zaire Union president; and M. Mills, Trans-Africa Division president. All responded except Long. I spoke with Long via telephone several times while working on this project, however, he did not find time to respond.

Next, an evaluation will be attempted of the independent churches with which the Adventists worked in the Kasai along with the areas of challenge that were faced and over which the Adventists had no control. Also considered are those areas of challenge in which they could have effected a change.

Finally, a synthesis of the Adventist experience is presented as several issues which need to be raised in this analysis are considered.

Background

By way of background and before we turn to analysis and evaluation, the milieu of the Kasai experience needs to be restated.

In 1971 and 1972, the Zairian government passed laws regulating churches in the country with the intention of eliminating several hundred independent churches mainly because of the negative political atmosphere that was created by many of the independent churches. After the law was first initiated, three churches were legalized: the Eglise du Christ au Zaire (ECZ), the Kimbanguist and Catholic Churches. All of the Protestant churches were required to become members of the ECZ (the Adventists being the forty-second communaute), and a few of the independents were admitted in as much as they were able to meet the requirements of the law. However, most of the independents had to affiliate with a recognized church body, disband, or function illegally and suffer the consequences.

This created the situation in which the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai found itself in 1972. There were two reasons for this: (1) most of the independent churches in Zaire were located in

the Kasai, and (2) a number of the independents found that they had several doctrinal beliefs in common with the Adventists. Being forced to affiliate in order to survive, some of the movements felt that the Adventist Church was the most favorable option and sought affiliation with it. One of the problems the Adventists faced was that they had a very small work in the Kasai with three hundred plus members after twenty years of work in that region of Zaire.

The doctrinal beliefs some of the independents held in common with the Adventists included a belief in: the gifts of the Holy Spirit (specifically the gift of prophecy), the authenticity of the Bible, baptism by immersion, clean and unclean meats, the second coming of Christ, and in some cases the Seventh-day Sabbath, and healing through intercessory prayer. They were strongly inclined toward a literal interpretation of the Bible.

According to reports in Adventist church journals between 1972 and 1975, between 75,000 and 300,000 members of independent and other churches requested affiliation with the Adventist Church in the Kasai. By 1985, some 44,000 had joined the SDA Church in the Kasai. This paper has been a serious attempt to analyze the Adventist experience in the Kasai. At the beginning of this study, it appeared that the Adventists did not maximize the opportunity of incorporating several independent churches into the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai. I believe this study demonstrates that this premise remains true.

An Analytical Look at the Groups and Individuals
Who Became Church Members

I took a survey¹ of Adventist congregations in the Kasai in 1986 to determine (1) from what churches/independent movements the Adventist members had come, (2) how they were taught Adventist beliefs, and (3) what influence, if any, their spiritual leader had on them in their decision to join the Adventist Church. The following summary of the survey reveals the members' perceptions:

1. A total of 18,112 became SDAs strictly on an individual basis. They indicated that they were not influenced by their leader.

2. Another 9,137 said that they had become SDAs on an individual basis but also joined with a group along with their leader.

3. Some 9,771 said they had become SDAs collectively in a group while following a group leader.

4. According to the local Adventist pastors, in the period from 1972-1986, 4,420 had disunited from the Seventh-day Adventist Church.²

From 1972 to 1985, 49,034 people were added through baptism and profession of faith to the Adventist Church in the Kasai. The church grew from a membership of 352 in 1972 to 44,071 in 1985³. The growth in 1973 and 1974 was relatively small with 460 and 799

¹See appendix O for a copy of the survey given to Adventist congregations in the Kasai.

²The Kasai Statistical Report shows that 3,825 were disfellowshipped. Evidentially the pastors had neglected to report all of their apostasies.

³See appendix F, Kasai Annual Statistical Report.

accessions, respectively, for those years. From 1975 to 1983, the accessions varied between 2,619 and 3,859 per year. During the years 1984 and 1985, over 7,700 members were added each year.

Of 37,020 people included in the survey, almost half of them indicated that they were not influenced by their leader in their decision to become Seventh-day Adventists. It is my opinion that the majority of those were converted through conventional evangelism after the departure of A. Long. Ellstrom wrote to Willis Hackett, General Conference vice-president in 1977, that thousands were not standing at the door waiting to become Seventh-day Adventists, but that evangelistic efforts had to be held throughout the Kasai to find converts.¹ (See table 1.)

The 9,771 who became Seventh-day Adventists collectively with their leader and church group probably did so during the beginning of the Kasai Project experience when whole churches were requesting affiliation. (See table 2.)

The 9,137 who said they became Seventh-day Adventists on an individual basis along with a group most likely became SDAs throughout the Kasai experience. (See table 3.)

¹G. Ellstrom to W. Hackett, 24 October 1977

TABLE 1

THOSE WHO JOINED THE SDA CHURCH
FROM INDEPENDENT GROUPS

Church	Number
Saint Emmanuel	6,017
Church of Sacrificers	1,125
Apostolic	2,795
Anima	1,399
Kimbanguist	2,325
Miscellaneous independents	<u>6,000</u>
Total	19,661

TABLE 2

ANALYSIS OF TOTALS
(Based on December 1985)

Original Region of Members	Number
Bandundu Region	1,509
Missionary Churches	17,036
Independent Churches	19,661
African Traditional Religions	<u>5,865</u>
Total	44,071

TABLE 3

THOSE WHO JOINED THE SDA CHURCH
FROM MISSIONARY CHURCHES

Church	Number
Presbyterian	9,460
Mennonite	3,285
Baptist	400
Catholic	<u>3,891</u>
Total	17,036

Evaluation

On 27 June 1973, P. Lemon, Zaire Union president, wrote A. Long concerning the actual number of potential Adventists in the Kasai. He said:

As you know, this is perhaps one of the biggest things that has ever hit the organization. The original number quoted was, of course, much larger, and there was considerable falling away, as was to be expected, but the leaders . . . represent about 15,000-16,000 adult people who are definitely committed to becoming Seventh-day Adventists. . . .The brethren working there now feel that we will doubtless have other churches that will be joining us as time goes on.

Lemon indicated that the 15,000-16,000 was considerably smaller than the original 75,000;¹ but he does not give the reason why, only that "there was considerable falling away, as was to be expected."

It was not until December of that year when Thomas, Kasai Project director, gave his annual report that the reasons for the loss of interest were better understood by the Adventists. He said in brief that the independents left because:

(1) the Adventists had joined the ECZ, the Adventist administration originally had hoped that they would eventually get legal status outside the Eglise du Christ au Zaire, and when they joined, some independents thought the Seventh-day Adventists were becoming like all the other Protestants; (2) there was a loss of leadership by the charismatics, (3) the leaders experienced a loss of income, (4) some groups had no intentions of changing their doctrines, (5) some maintained unacceptable forms of worship, (6) spiritual gifts and the work of the Holy Spirit were not accepted, and (7) the government allowed some groups to continue to function."²

¹Mills to K. Emmersen, General Conference treasurer, 23 July 1973.

²D. Thomas, "Kasai Project Report," delivered at the Zaire Union Mission year-end meeting, Lubumbashi, Zaire, December, 1973, pp. 4-5.

Thomas added, "There is still a large interest." It was not indicated by Thomas or Lemon that the reason the numbers were not as great as originally stated was because the church was too slow in "getting its act together."

R. H. Pierson, General Conference president, in answering the question, "What Went Wrong in Zaire?" in the Review and Herald said that one of the reasons why more people had not been baptized was because "Seventh-day Adventists are brought into the message one-by-one, not en masse."¹

Ellstrom also reflected the same viewpoint two years later when he emphasized, "Some leaders have come to us wanting to join the church and they have been told that we want them in the church, but that they will have to come in individually after they have accepted our doctrines."² Therefore, with this emphasis and direction from the world and local administrations of the church, at least during Ellstrom's administration, no doubt those who came in collectively with their leader appear to have had some type of individual experience.

Seventh-day Adventists have traditionally believed in believers'--church believers'--baptism. That is to say, entering the church is a one-by-one process as R. H. Pierson pointed out above. However, in working with charismatic groups in the Kasai who had a corporate form of religious expression, maybe the Adventist Church itself needed to have a look at the corporate religious experience.

¹R. H. Pierson, "What Went Wrong in Zaire," Review and Herald, 28 August 1975, p. 6.

²Ellstrom to Mills, 29 December 1977.

The question that needs to be addressed here is, "What if a group approach had been taken?" Perhaps a number of the charismatic groups could have been worked with more effectively if they had been accepted as associate members and baptized, and over a period of a decade or so reshaped into a more typically Adventist congregation. It appears this is one approach the Adventists should have taken in the Kasai, but they did not!

Another area of concern has to do with logistics and areas of challenge. First, it would be well to briefly summarize the areas of challenge in which the church or its personnel had no control and could not have changed. These would include: (1) the necessity of joining the ECZ and, therefore, the inability of the church to attain its own legal status outside the ECZ; (2) the logistical problems which would include the impassable roads, the unavailability of fuel and food, the expensive cost of food, fuel, and building supplies, and the isolation of Lulengele; (3) the ever-changing government policies such as salongo, currency devaluation, nationalization, tribal problems between the East and West Kasaians, the move toward authenticity, the two Katanga rebellions of 1977 and 1978, and the total change of the color of the currency with a reduction in the quantity of bills in circulation; (4) the ever-present communication difficulties with the union office and the outside world, including postal and telephone services; and finally, (5) the 1976 Zaire government law which forbade congregations from meeting in temporary buildings such as those constructed of mud and tnat. The law stated that buildings had to be built of durable material such as cement block walls and metal roofs.

Because of these difficulties, immeasurable time and energy were expended for survival. For example, it was a full-time job for one expatriate person to just get supplies for the mission and missionaries. Many more man hours had to be expended just in the upkeep of the vehicles, plane, and mission compound.

The areas in which it appears changes could have been implemented to maximize the Kasai Project efforts of outreach are as follows:

1. A number of the logistical problems were out of the control of the mission at Lulengele; however, these could have been managed more efficiently had the Kasai headquarters been at Kananga, the regional capital, instead of Lulengele. According to R. H. Roderick, Trans-Africa Division treasurer, the plan in 1972 was not only to rehabilitate Lulengele Mission but also to create a new Kasai headquarters at Kananga.¹ Unfortunately, this concept never materialized. In January 1976, seven missionary families and two student missionaries at Lulengele had only three houses. The two new houses and a new duplex had not been completed. (Only the shells were up). Had homes and an office building been purchased at Kananga, this problem would not have arisen. Supplies (food, fuel, etc.) would have been easier to locate had the workers been stationed in Kananga where some supplies were available. Communication and transportation were much better at Kananga, the regional capital, where the major airport and post office for the region were located.

¹R. H. Roderick to K. H. Emmerson, 2 August 1972.

Once or twice a week, for several years, the long, treacherous eighty-kilometer trip from Lulengele to Kananga had to be made by road to procure supplies. This required three and a half to four hours of travel time. Countless dollars were expended on wear and tear of vehicles, not counting the wasted man hours.

In short, the funds that were expended on rehabilitating Lulengele could have been used to set up offices in Kananga, thus making the work easier to control. Robert Kloosterhuis,¹ president of the newly created Africa-Indian Ocean Division, recognized this in 1980 on a trip to the Kasai.

2. There was a reluctant and hesitant attitude on the part of the union administration to give recognition and responsibility to the leaders of these people groups. "To accord recognition may have carried risks, but the people respected and revered their leaders. When their leadership was overlooked, we lost the group," says Thomas.² Mills attested to the same problem.³

The cold facts of the matter are that many of the SDA African pastors simply did not have enough faith in the newly converted

¹Interview with Robert Kloosterhuis, Africa-Indian Ocean Division president, October 1980, in Lubumbashi, Zaire.

From the beginning of the Kasai experience in 1972 until 1980, the Zaire Union was part of the Trans-Africa Division with headquarters in Harare, Zimbabwe, which included most of the countries in southern Africa. The African territorial boundaries were reorganized for the Adventist Church in Africa. Zaire became a part of the newly created African-Indian Ocean Division with headquarters in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, which included most of West and Central Africa and Mauritius and Madagascar.

²Questionnaire from D. Thomas, 14 January 1986.

³Questionnaire from M. Mills, August 1986.

independent leaders to allow them to continue to lead. The fact that Kubi was not ordained until 1986 after twelve years of service illustrates this point.

3. The Adventist leaders simply did not understand independent churches and independent church leaders. The very fact that most of the independent leaders had broken off from another established church demonstrates they were independent by nature. The churches were loosely organized with each local church being almost autonomous. When a leader such as Kubi became an SDA, Adventists learned that it did not necessarily mean that many of his parishioners would be converted to Adventism. Even the Eglise Saint Emmanual was an offshoot from another independent church.

Second, the membership figures received from the heads of the independent churches were very unreliable. When Kubi was baptized, he first reported that he had 300,000 members in his church. Later the figure was adjusted to 100,000, and finally to 75,000. However, this 75,000 number was still an estimate which included children.¹ I personally believe that there were approximately 25,000 adult members in his church.

When one considers the unreliable membership figures along with the fact that many of Kubi's pastors did not become SDAs, one should not be surprised that only 6,017 members of the Eglise Saint Emmanual were eventually baptized into the Adventist Church by 1985.

¹Kubi, interview by author, Zaire Union Mission, Lubumbashi, Zaire, February 1986.

Third, some groups merely wanted a loose affiliation with Adventists--an umbrella under which they would be sheltered from the central national government. This would allow them to function legally without changing their commitment.

4. The church lacked qualified workers. Mills observes, "Had the church moved more quickly and found the needed personnel, we could have doubled" the number baptized.¹ Case in point is that of the Kasai treasurer. No one was appointed to care for the large Kasai financial appropriations at Lulengele until four years after the project began when G. Gray arrived in 1976. Too few expatriate workers were called. Al Long, Gordon Gray, Gordon Ellstrom, and Roy Perrin were all hopelessly overworked.

The provincial missions in the Zaire Union church organization were reluctant to give up their most promising African pastors. The national workers themselves from other parts of Zaire were not anxious to move to an area where the climate was bad, food was difficult to find and unaffordable on their salaries, and the people were culturally different.

Also, a number of the African pastors and some expatriates were unable to break out of the "straight-jacket mentality" of a fixed creed--a certain way of life. For them, there was only one way of doing things--one liturgy. The charismatic nature of new members shocked them, and the situation may have overwhelmed some. No doubt their rigidity turned many away.²

¹Questionnaire from Mills.

²Questionnaire from Thomas.

It must also be admitted that many workers were no doubt too rigid to want to understand independency and people movements as such. Perhaps something like a "Missions Institute"¹ should have been held in Zaire for all potential workers (both national and expatriate) in the Kasai. In so doing, their world view would have broadened, thus allowing them to have been more understanding of other people culturally different from themselves. One must not forget that the national workers coming from Kivu, much like the expatriates, were plunged into a different culture from their own.

5. The plan established in 1972 by P. Lemon to allow the groups to be called provisional Seventh-day Adventist Churches was not long lasting. The Eglise du Christ au Zaire informed Lemon that this process was not acceptable. The ECZ insisted that people be taken in on an individual basis and not simply for a whole denomination or movement to change its name.² The individuals in the groups were then accepted as SDAs on a temporary basis when they became members of a baptismal class. They were given provisional membership cards. This procedure could have been changed by allowing the people in the groups and not only those in the baptismal class to be associate Seventh-day Adventist members with certain restrictions.³ Thus the groups could have functioned and been kept intact under the umbrella of the name

¹Missions Institute is a missionary training session (sponsored by the Seventh-day Adventist Church at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan), which endeavors to prepare prospective missionaries for mission service.

²Lemon to Pierson, 7 January 1973.

³Questionnaire from Mills.

"Associate Seventh-day Adventist" while they were studying the Adventist beliefs. This is an option to the aforementioned possibility of baptizing an entire group and then setting about shaping and giving formation to the group through a long process of nurture and education.

6. In 1976, the Zaire government passed a law which forbade church congregations from meeting in temporary buildings. At that time, only two SDA church buildings in the Kasai were constructed of durable materials with metal roofs and cement block walls.¹ These two churches were located at Lulengele and Kananga. Later that year, Mbuji-Mayi built a church of durable materials. This presented tremendous problems because when building supplies could be found, they were very expensive and of poor quality. Granted, many of these problems were logistical and out of the control of the church, but the Adventists could have managed the situation more efficiently by: (1) having more volunteer builders available (only Henry and Dorothy Little stayed in the Kasai as volunteer builders, two other couples were there a short time) and (2) having funds available whereby building materials could be purchased when found or could be imported from South Africa. The 1976 law was eventually forgotten, as was typical of a number of other laws which created crises in Zaire. Church members in the Kasai, ten years later in 1986, were still meeting in mud and thatch churches in some of the same villages.

¹See appendix I, Kasai Church Properties Report.

A Synthesis of the Adventist Experience
in the Kasai

First of all, a number of questions need to be raised for discussion reference. Did the Adventist Church really understand what they were up against in dealing with the movements which requested affiliation with them? Did they understand the impulses that drove the movements--departure of missionaries, the vitality of the experiences of the movements, and the change in the legal standing of the independent movements? Did the SDAs have an overview of the dimensions of the whole thing--the geographical extensity, the logistical problems, and the actual size of the movements? Did they formulate a realistic plan with down-to-earth kinds of expectations of what could be achieved? And finally, did the Adventists have a basic understanding of independent churches?

I believe this study demonstrates that the Adventist Church did not really understand what it was getting into at the outset of the Kasai experience. It simply had no basic comprehension of the make-up of independent churches in specific or in general. Adventists did not understand why the independent churches existed, how they functioned, or from where they had come. However, as D. Thomas, A. Long, and M. Mbyirukira got into the work of the project, they realized the magnitude and scope of the Kasai experience and were overwhelmed by it.

As far as having an understanding of the impulses which drove the Kasai movement, the Adventist administrators in Zaire and W. Vail did have a small degree of understanding. At times they were so close to the experience that it was difficult for them to ascertain which direction the movement was taking. One should remember that because of

the continual possibility of change in governmental policies, the future was always a challenge. For example, there was the move toward authenticity, nationalization, and Zairianization, Salongo, the currency changes, the Katangese rebellions, the continual devaluation of the currency, etc. The Adventist administration did understand to some degree the vitality of the experience of the movements and the change in the legal standing of the independent movements; however, none of them had even had an experience so large and they were literally swept off their feet.

The Adventist Church, apparently, did not have an overview of the dimensions of the whole experience. This is especially true when one considers the geographical extensity and logistical problems. For example, had the Adventist Church in the beginning, had a good overview of the Kasai experience and exercised foresight, they surely would have established their headquarters at Kananga rather than reopening Lulengele. This is especially true when one considers the aforementioned logistical problems created by trying to administer the program from Lulengele.

In addition, the expatriate missionary leadership in Africa did not comprehend the size of the movement. They appeared to have put too much confidence in the prophet leaders' statements of membership, as they tended to have accepted the statements of size at face value; the national/African leaders, on the other hand, were more cautious and skeptical. The reported numbers of 200,000 to 300,000 individuals from independent movements and other churches requesting affiliation with the Adventists in the Kasai did not exist. Perhaps the church in North

America was almost too anxious to believe the inflated numbers reported by the independents. They should have been speaking in terms of 40,000 to 80,000 rather than 300,000. It is true that in the beginning the Adventist Church leaders discounted for children, but they did not discount for the over-enthusiastic statements of membership given by the prophetic leaders, probably because they lacked understanding of the independent mentality.

Another area of miscalculation had to do with the unrealistic expectations regarding what could be done with the available staff. The manpower to fulfill the great expectations of the church was not available. From Don Thomas's time in 1972, through Roy Perrin's Kasai administration in 1985, there was a shortage of ordained ministers.

Most of the Zairian missionaries who were moved from the Kivu area of Zaire were neither ordained nor prepared theologically or culturally to work with independents;¹ the expatriate missionaries were not prepared theologically, culturally, or anthropologically for the task. To my knowledge, only one family had attended a Missions Institute at Andrews University in Berrien Springs, Michigan. Only Long had endeavored to learn something about the independents before arriving in Zaire, but almost nothing was available. What was learned about the independents by both expatriate and African Adventist missionaries was done, by and large, "sur place" in the Kasai by trial and error.

Finally, the area in which the Adventists lacked the most was a basic understanding or comprehension of independent churches. The

¹See appendix N for the Kasai Workers Statistical Report.

members of the independent churches had joined them because their basic social and emotional needs were not being met by the missionary churches; these needs were met by the healing, praying ministries of the prophetic independent church leaders. The Adventist expatriate and African missionaries did not understand this basic need of the independents; thus, they were unable to capitalize upon it as they might have.

In spite of the unrealistic expectations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the lack of the overview of the dimensions of the movement, the misunderstandings of the impulses that drove the movement, the Adventists' lack of knowing what they were getting into, and their inability to understand the independent churches, the end result was not all that bad. Some 41,000 accessions to the Adventist Church were recorded in the Kasai from 1972 to 1985, 19,661 of which came out of independent churches. However, I believe this study demonstrates that these numbers could have been doubled had the Adventists been prepared organizationally, theologically, sociologically, and anthropologically to deal with the Kasai experience.

Another area that is addressed in this synthesis concerns three major tensions that evolved between the Adventist Church and the independents in the Kasai.

The first of these was the widely differing nature of religious experiences within the Adventist Church in contrast to that of the independent movements.

Many authorities agree that there are at least three major dimensions in the religious experience: (1) those things which are believed, (2) the expectations regarding the moral life, and (3) that element which is simply called "experience" from an affective point of view. It seems, by-and-large, that the dominant factor in the practice of the Adventist religion has to do first of all with the doctrinal side; second, would come expectations regarding the moral life, and experiential or affective dimensions would be a distant third. With the independent movements, the experience, the affect, and the effervescence of the feelings dominate the religious experience. Belief and the moral life remain somewhat in the distant background because the religious experience fills the soul and gives meaning to life.

This somewhat opposite approach to their religion inevitably created tension between the Adventist missionaries (African and expatriate) and the independent movements. This gap was not bridged successfully by the Adventists.

I think that it is not too bold to say that the Adventist missionaries were not capable of bridging the gap of feeling versus doctrine. This is the main reason why the Adventist missionaries simply were not prepared or educated for the task. They had had no previous exposure to the African independent-religion church experience. It was not because the independents were African, per se, because the African missionaries tended to be much more rigid than the expatriates. Had the Adventist missionaries been prepared and educated for the task, they could have had a more realistic idea as to how they

could have worked with independents whose religious experience filled their soul and gave meaning to their lives. The Adventist missionaries then could have better understood who the independents were, what could be expected, and now quickly or slowly things would change. Again, this preparation was needed not only for the expatriate missionary but for the African missionary as well, since most were from the Kivu (Rwanda nationals) and had been routinized in the European pattern of Adventist ministry. Therefore, both groups of missionaries needed preparation, education, an expansion of ideas, and some possibility thinking.

The second point of tension between the Adventists and the independent groups in the Kasai had to do with the individual approach to religion as opposed to the group approach. Adventist Christianity has been powerfully individualistic, laying tremendous stress upon personal decision, personal baptism (i.e., believers'-church believers'-baptism--), entering the church one-by-one, and personal devotional life. But many of these independent groups stressed corporate experience.

Because of these differences, the Adventist Church did not manage to make its way into baptizing an entire group and then setting about shaping and giving formation to the group through a process of nurture and education.

Again this gap could only have been bridged by the retraining of the Adventist missionary and the broadening of Adventist liturgy and theology--not only of the missionaries but of the world church leaders as well. Had this happened, the Adventist Church in the Kasai could

perhaps have accepted some of these groups, baptized them, and over a period of a decade or so reshaped them into typically Adventist congregations.

The third part of tension would deal with the style of leadership. The Adventists had a formal ministry as compared to the charismatic style of leadership of the independent movements. A number of times throughout the Kasai experience, the independent leaders sort of bolted and sought alternative means to legalize their church as soon as they felt the Adventists were going to strip them of their flock. The Adventists constantly struggled with the question of what to do with the independent church leaders. Some they appointed as lay preachers which, at times, resulted in a loss of income and authority for them. Some the Adventists moved to other areas resulting in transferred tensions. Perhaps they should have not tried to move so fast with the leaders. The Adventists could have simply recognized certain independent groups as somewhat irregular Adventists until eventually replacing the charismatic leader with a more routinized and typical Adventist minister. This would have been a slow process, but by means of education and training, new leaders could eventually take the place of the older, retiring ones, and the reshaping of congregational worship could have continued until the independents became more typically Adventist. This was tried to a degree but it was done much too fast. Before a group was baptized and accepted as church members, they and their leader had to demonstrate by their beliefs, their forms of worship, and their contributions of financial support by tithes and offerings that they were indeed "Adventist."

Summary

In this section, I have attempted to analyze and synthesize the Adventist experience with the independent churches in the Kasai.

The background was presented to demonstrate why a number of independent churches requested affiliation with the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the early 1970s.

An analytical study of the groups who sought affiliation clearly indicates that the Adventists did not maximize the opportunity to incorporate a number of independent churches and church leaders into the SDA Church in the Kasai. The reasons for this are complicated and sometimes difficult to ascertain. They include: (1) the logistical problems and geographical extensity with poor roads, lack of fuel, lack of personnel, nonexistent communication systems, undependable transportation systems, and governmental challenges. Because of these difficulties, it took years to accomplish in the Kasai what in other parts of the world could have been done in only a few months. After initial contact was made with some group leaders, it was months and even years before further contact was made and an interest developed.

(2) The misunderstanding of independent churches on the part of African and expatriate missionaries was apparent in the following ways:

a. The reluctance on the part of the Adventists to use and trust independent leaders.

b. The way independents were organized, the method they used to count the members resulted in inflated membership figures.

c. The lack of understanding ordained pastors to evangelize and baptize the independents who sought affiliation with the SDA Church. The Adventists were not trained to deal with the independents.

d. The inability of the Adventist missionaries to deal with the tension that arose between the Adventists and the independents in areas of worship and religious experience, personal experience as opposed to corporate expression, and the handling of the charismatic leaders.

There were indeed successes in the experience in the Kasai along with challenges and seemingly insurmountable difficulties. But with better preparation in training and education, better organization with personnel, finances, etc., the story could probably have had a much brighter ending.

There were some ways in which the Adventist Church in Zaire could have maximized their efforts of outreach in the Kasai. They were:

1. The Kasai headquarters established at Kananga rather than Lulengele, thus allowing for a more efficient operation.

2. Recognition and responsibility given to the leaders of the people groups.

3. A better understanding of independent churches, independent church leaders, and people movements on the part of the Adventist pastors and missionaries.

4. A better qualified and more readily available (both African and expatriate) staff.

5. The allowance of a special membership status for certain whole groups or churches who sought affiliation.

However, it should be noted that in spite of these above-mentioned areas of failure, the church in Zaire and the world church did work hard in the face of difficult circumstances as they endeavored to deal effectively with the Kasai experience. The Adventist world church did encourage the development of the Kasai Project with financial support over an extended period through expatriate budgets, operating budgets, and funds for capital improvement in the Kasai. It goes without saying that without this support, there would be no Kasai story to be told or recorded in the pages of Adventist mission history. The Kasai Project would never have been started or developed.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

This chapter is a summary of the entire study. The section entitled "Conclusions" gives a brief summary about the proliferation of independent churches, the crises that came upon them with Mobutu's law, a solution via the Adventist church, the Adventist experience with the independent churches in the Kasai from 1972 to 1985, and an analysis of that experience. The second section deals with reflections pertinent to the Adventist Church pertaining to Adventist missions and is followed by the concluding section, reflections pertinent to the student.

Conclusions

There were two main waves in the African independent-church movement. The first occurred around the turn of the century and is termed the "Ethiopian type." Basically a reaction against colonialism and racism and a move toward nationalism, it was usually a break-away movement from a mainline Protestant mission church. The second wave began some forty years later and is called the "Zionist type." It usually centered around a prophet leader and normally was not an offshoot from an established mission church. Rather, it was an effort by the Africans to understand their own faith in their own setting. The Africans felt their basic social and emotional needs were met by the

healing ministry of the prophetic leader; needs that were not met by the Europeanized and Americanized missionary churches.

The proliferation of African independent churches in Zaire was mainly in the two Kasai provinces in Central Zaire in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of these were "Zionist" but a few had some "Ethiopian" elements. These movements often were charismatic and always centered around a prophetic ministry. Most of these independent churches believed in: (1) miraculous healing through answered prayer, (2) the felt need for protection, and (3) a literal understanding of the Bible.

In 1971-1972, President Mobutu, after becoming frustrated with independent churches in general, and with those who had become involved in politics especially, signed a law which restricted the legal churches to three (Eglise du Christ au Zaire, ECZ; the Catholic; and the Kimbanguist). Later others were added. All of the missionary Protestant churches who could meet the requirements became members of the ECZ, and a few of the larger independents joined later as they fulfilled government requirements--e.g., \$200,000 in the bank, not a splinter group from another church, a leader with a four-year college degree in theology, etc.

Most of the independents, however, had to decide whether they would disband or affiliate with another government recognized church. Several of these, some large and some small, sought affiliation with the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Kasai. They sought Adventist affiliation because: (1) they had several points of contact with Adventist doctrines, (2) the Adventists had not joined the ECZ but were seeking governmental recognition (they later joined the ECZ as the

forty-second community), (3) Adventists had a presence in the Kasai, and (4) Adventists had an expatriate missionary presence in Zaire. The Adventist presence in the Kasai was small, with one mission station, Lulengele, and just over 350 members after some twenty years of service in the two Kasai provinces. Adventists had better-established mission work in others parts of the country with some 30,000 members, several mission stations, dispensaries, a hospital, and an expatriate missionary presence.

It was first believed that the membership of the independents who requested affiliation was between 75,000 and 100,000. It was later thought that there were about 300,000; however, in reality there were probably between 40,000 and 80,000 in all.

The Adventists, in response to the movement, reopened Lulengele Mission and transferred African and expatriate missionaries to the Kasai to follow-up the numerous requests for affiliation made by the independent churches and some other isolated Protestant missionary churches.

With the reopening of Lulengele, a series of ministerial training courses of five to six-week duration were operated at Lulengele for the prophetic-type church leaders who were requesting affiliation with the Adventists. The leaders were then sent back to their local groups to educate their followers. The plan was to place an African Adventist pastor/missionary in charge of the group and other surrounding groups in an arrangement whereby the local prophetic leader would become a "lay leader" under the African Adventist pastor. The Adventist pastor would have several such "lay leaders" under him. The

Adventist pastor's job was to be the director in the education process and the one in charge of preparation for church membership of the group. It was expected that the group would eventually take the shape of a typical Adventist congregation.

This process worked well in some instances, as witnessed by the fact that by 1985, the Adventist Church membership in the Kasai had increased to 45,000 with some 19,600 coming from independent churches. However, a number of independent leaders, especially, separated from the Adventists when they sensed a loss of income, authority, and the Adventists' inability to supply their request for a school, a church, and a dispensary.

The Adventists, on the other hand, were hampered by numerous logistical problems which included tribalism between the two Kasais; governmental policies such as a move toward authenticity, nationalism, Zairianization of expatriate-owned businesses, and currency changes and devaluations. Some other unmanageable logistical problems were: two Katangese rebellions, undependable transportation systems, impassable roads, unreliable sources of supplies such as basic food items, construction materials, fuel (aviation fuel, gasoline, proper kerosene, diesel, etc.), and a non-existent communication system.

The Adventist Church could have been more efficient in their efforts to meet the requests for affiliation by the independent churches had they: (1) established their headquarters at Kananga instead of Lulengele; (2) educated and trained a missionary staff (expatriate and African) who could understand the independent church movement--their mentality, their world views, their religious

expression and experience, and their forms of worship; (3) developed a missionary staff that could be open to other methods of outreach rather than the traditional, personal experience, and personal conversion approach--this would have involved some possibility thinking in the direction of the acceptance of whole groups into a special form of church membership, including baptism, and then over a period of a decade or so, reshaping the movement and the congregational worship styles into a more typical Adventist congregation; and (4) initiated a slow process in the education of the charismatic prophetic leaders and trained new leaders who would eventually take the place of the older, retiring ones.

The above points are an analytical summation of some possible ways in which Adventists could have been more effective in the Kasai experience.

Reflections Pertinent to the Church

What has the project contributed to the church in Zaire and also to the world church? This section reflects upon the contributions the project has given to the church in Zaire and also the world church.

First, it is hoped that this study will help the Adventist Church in Zaire in its understanding of independent churches. With the analytical historical account given about the Kasai Project, I deeply desire that Adventists as a church broaden their understanding of independency and independent church leaders. Only when one is able to understand the world view of another is that person able to demonstrate the truth about Jesus effectively.

Second, should a situation or opportunity such as that which took place in the Kasai arise again, the following suggestions may prove helpful:

1. One of the major problems at the very beginning of the Kasai Project was lack of available sufficient funds.¹ The General Conference should investigate, therefore, the possibility of establishing an "emergency missions outreach fund." A small committee competent in world missions outreach and understanding of people movements, etc., should be set up to disperse the monies when and where needed.

2. Another factor that plagued the Kasai Project from its outset was lack of qualified personnel.² Perhaps the world church in consultation with the Andrews University World Mission Department could establish a "task force hit team." This should include a director, evangelists, a treasurer, a linguist, builders, medical personnel, and mechanics. Some would need to be knowledgeable in cultural anthropology, independent churches, people movements, world religions, world languages, geography, etc. However, they would need to be able to become operative within thirty days and be willing to spend from one to two years in establishing the new interest.

3. Some mission movements employ competent anthropologists who are capable of understanding and mapping out a program to direct a church in a situation such as the experience of the SDAs in the Kasai. For instance, Marvin Mayers performed that role for the Mennonite

¹Roderick to Emmerson.

²Questionnaire from Thomas.

Mission Societies. Perhaps the Adventists could employ some of the expertise that exists in the SDA Church who have a working knowledge of anthropology and also have considerable experience with independent movements. They would need to assess the size, shape, and assistance involved in a program that would be realistic in dealing with a people movement such as happened in the Kasai.

Reflections Pertinent to the Student

How has the project contributed to my personal skills? This project has contributed to my personal growth in these ways:

1. I have been able to develop my pastoral and mission skills in working with people of a different culture. I feel that I have become more understanding and tolerant of people who have a different world view from my own.

2. Because of this understanding, I feel that my evangelistic and mission skills have been developed and sharpened. It is my opinion that before a missionary or evangelist is able to communicate to others the truth about Jesus, that person must not only have had a personal experience with his Lord but must also understand the culture and world view of those with whom he/she seeks to communicate. Because of my experience with this study, I feel I am better able to evangelize people who are culturally different from me.

3. I have developed spiritually in that I have learned patience. While contacting European businessmen in Kinshasa for donations in 1978, one European man said, "Zaire is one big school of patience." Having worked as a missionary in Zaire, I can attest that

the experience has taught me patience. For that spiritual development, I am grateful.

Summary

It is my hope that as the above conclusion and reflections are considered, the Seventh-day Adventist Church will be better equipped to handle a similar situation in a more efficient and effective manner should it arise elsewhere in Africa or within the world church. In so doing, the church will have learned from its successes and failures and thus be better equipped to fulfill the Lord's commission when He said, "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I will be with you always, to the very end of the age" (Matt 28:19, 20 NIV).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE KASAI

<u>Independent Church</u>	<u>Prophet/ Founder</u>	<u>Kasai Location</u>	<u>Estimated Size Including Children in Zaire (1970)</u>	<u>Kasai Date of Inception</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Main Tribal Body</u>	<u>Separated From Which Church</u>
Eglise Apostolique Africaine de Johane Maranke (Bapostolo)	Maranke	West	40,000-100,000	1953	Zionist	Lulua	Various
Eglise de Dieu de Nos Ancêtres	Luhemba	West	—	1956	Zionist	Lulua	Various
Eglise Don de Dieu	—	West	20,000	1945	Zionist	Lulua	—
Eglise de Saint Emmanuel	Kubi	West	75,000-300,000	1965	Zionist	Lulua	Vandalisme
Vandalisme (Eglise de Digne)	Vanda	East/West	—	1940	Zionist	Luba/Lulua	Roman Catholic
Eglise de Kitawala	Nyirenda	East	50,000	1950	Zionist/Ethiopian	Luba	Jehovah Witnesses
Eglise de Troisième Testament au Kasai	Kazadi Mbayi	East	—	1945	Zionist/Ethiopian	Luba	Roman Catholic
Eglise des Evangélique Sacrificateurs	Musangilayi	West	28 Churches	1965	Zionist	Lulua	Various
Eglise de Anima	Mwamba	West	100,000-200,000	1960	Zionist	Lulua	—
Kimbanguism	Kimbangu	East	11,600	1950	Zionist	Luba	Various
Kimbanguism	N. Munatahitu	West	—	1944	Zionist	Lulua	Various
Eglise Spirituelle de Kimbanguist	N. B. Buangu	West	5,000	—	Zionist	Lulua	Kimbanguist
Eglise de Jesus Christ dans le Monde	Kimbangu	West	10,000	1962	Zionist	Lulua	Kimbanguist
Eglise des Noirs	Kimbangu	West	1,000	—	Zionist	Lulua	Kimbanguist
Kintwadi de Kananga	Kimbangu	West	2,000	—	Zionist	Lulua	Kimbanguist
Eglise du Salut de Jesus Christ par le Prophet Simon Kimbangu	E. Bamba	West	—	1960	Zionist	Lulua	Kimbanguist
Eglise sur la Terre par le Saint-Esprit	—	East/West	110,000	1951	Zionist	Luba	Various
Eglise des Noirs en Afrique Centrale	Simon Mpadi	East/West	20,000	1939	Zionist/Ethiopian	Kongo	Various
Eglise Unie du Saint-Esprit	Kimbangu	East/West	50,000	1965	Zionist	Luba/Lulua	Kimbanguist
Eglise Spirituelle de Kamombela	Beya Hubert	West	63	1960	Zionist	Lulua	—
Eglise de l'Amour de Dieu	S. Kantole	West	—	—	Zionist	Lulua	—
Eglise de Christ Lumière de Saint-Esprit	—	East	10,000	—	—	Luba	—
Religion de Mary West	—	—	—	—	—	Lulua	—
Eglise de Christ le Roi Ba-Morta	—	East/West	300	—	—	Lulua	Roman Catholic
Eglise de Protection	M. Adolph	West	150	—	—	Lulua	Roman Catholic
Eglise Universel	G. Roux	West	60	1965	Zionist	Lulua	—
Eglise Evangelique	Kukebakeba	West	300	1965	Zionist	Lulua	Presbyterian

<u>Independent Church</u>	<u>Prophet/Founder</u>	<u>Kasaï Location</u>	<u>Estimated Size Including Children in Zaïre (1970)</u>	<u>Kasaï Date of Inception</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Main Tribal Body</u>	<u>Separated From Which Church</u>
Eglise Pentecôte	--	East	--	--	--	Luba	Evangelistic
Branche Evangelique Indigène	--	East	--	--	--	Luba	Garanganze
Eglise Apostolique unie en Afrique	--	East/West	80,000	1971	Zionist	--	Several
Eglise de la foi par Messie Jesus Christ	--	East/West	9,000	1954	Zionist	Luba/Lulua	Catholic
Eglise du Zaïre	--	East	1,500	1936	Zionist	Luba	Pilgrims
Eglise Sabbatique du Sankuru a Kandji	--	East	7,000	1954	Zionist	Luba	Pentecostal
Eglise Sabbatique du Saint-Esprit	--	East	3,000	1961	Zionist	Luba	SDA
Eglise du Septieme Jour	--	East	--	1942	Zionist	Lulua	--
Eglise Malembe	--	West	--	--	Zionist	Lulua	--
Eglise Sabbatique	M. B. Tshishi Mulumba	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise Evangelique de la Luïlonga	--	Dekeze	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise Baptiste de Dekeze	Placide Tempels	East/West	--	--	Third Type	Luba/Lulua	Catholic
Jamaa	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise Bantu ba Simon	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Evangelique Septieme Eglise	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise Kanembena	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise Biblique Independent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise de Martyre	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise de Troisième Alliance	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Eglise de Grâce	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Religion de Moïse	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

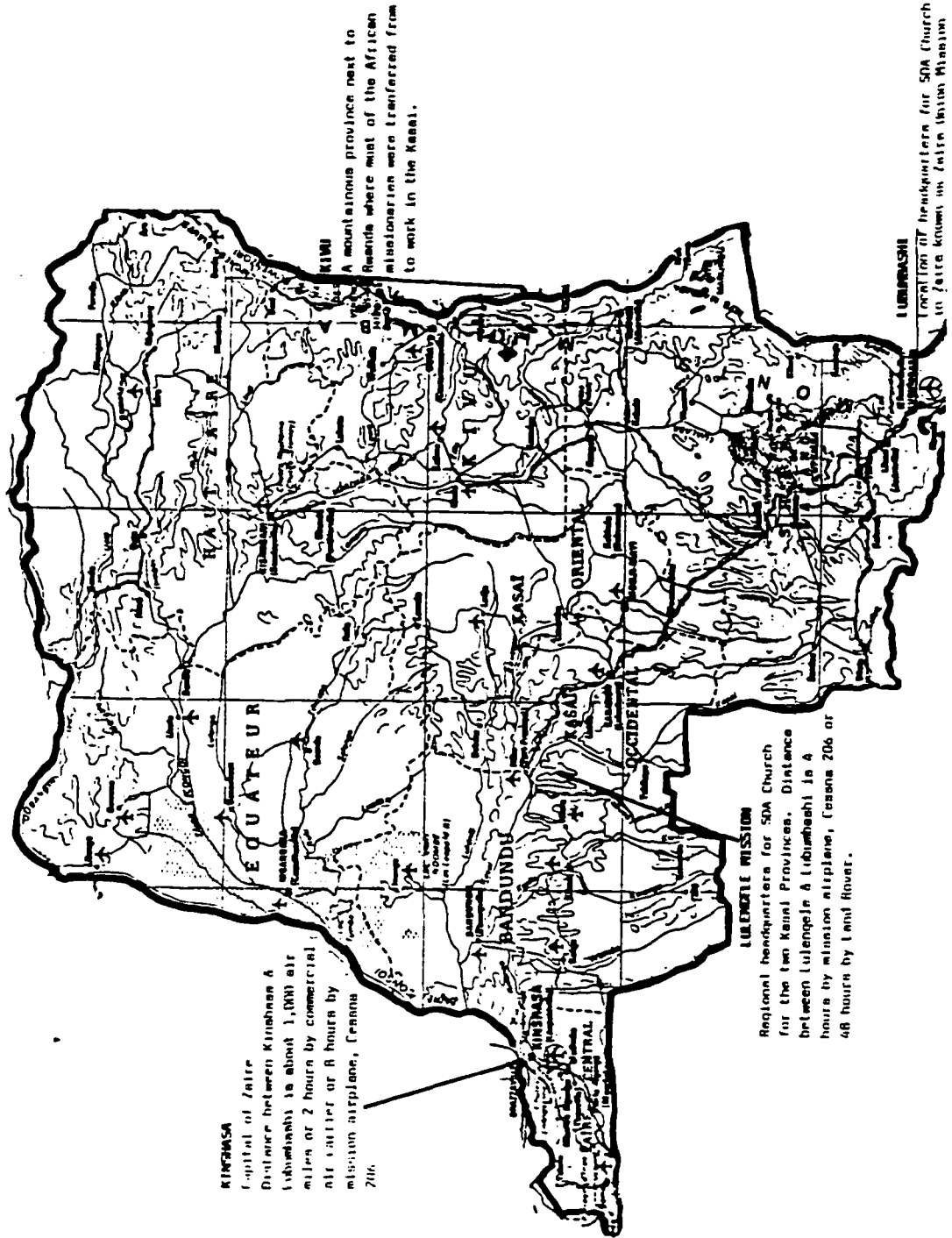
APPENDIX B

MOBUTU'S LAW REGULATING CHURCHES¹

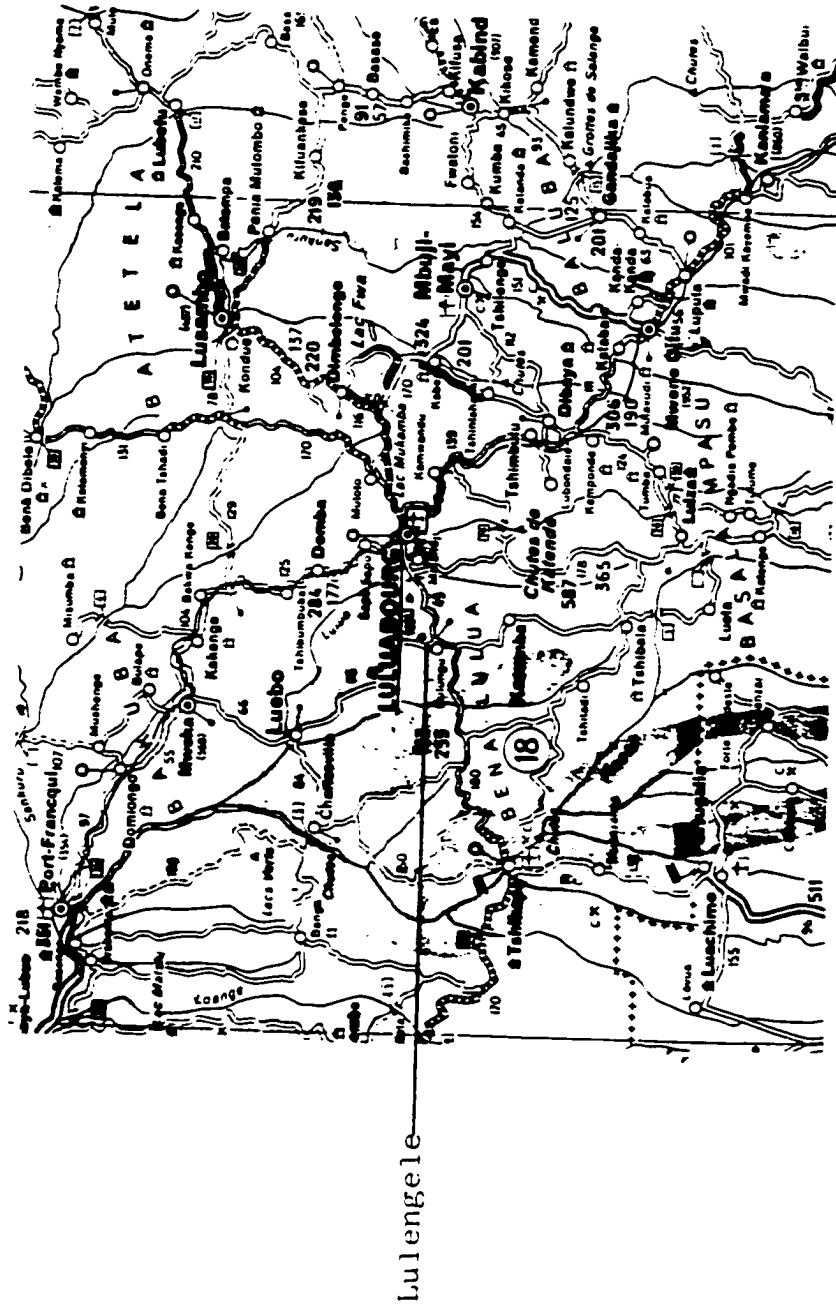
The practice of religion is regulated by Law 71-012 of 31 December 1971 which stipulates that 'No church or religious sect may be constituted except in the form of a non-profit association with juridical personality. No one may preach any religion publicly unless he is a member of a church or religious sect having juridical personality (Article 2). Only citizens may found new churches; expatriates may only represent their bodies whilst in Zaire. No one is permitted to be a 'founder' of a church or religious sect, or a 'representative' of a foreign church or sect, unless he fulfils the following conditions: to be of sane mind, of irreproachable conduct, of at least forty years of age, to have had no prison sentence of over five-months duration, to have a licenciate or doctoral degree in theology or another document attesting that he has completed a four-year theological course in a local or foreign tneological school, and to possess funds held in a Zairian bank account totalling not less than 100,000 zaires (\$200,000). Moreover, any would-be founder, who must be a citizen, must not previously have exercised the functions of pastor or priest in any other church nor have left another church as a dissident. Any representative of a foreign church must have already exercised his functions for at least ten years (Articles 4 and 5). Requests for the granting of juridical personality must be presented to the Ministry of Justice (Article 7).

¹Robert L. Niklaus, "Politics Goes to Church in Zaire," Christianity Today, 24 November 1972, 9.

APPENDIX C



APPENDIX C-1



Lulengele

APPENDIX D

ZAIRE UNION STATISTICAL REPORT¹1972-1985

<u>Year</u>	<u>Churches</u>	<u>Church Membership</u>	<u>Sab. Sch. Membership</u>	<u>Elementary Schools</u>	<u>Active Workers</u>
1972	185	27,578	58,772	125	367
1973	197	30,287	62,622	109	435
1974	206	32,483	70,917	84	457
1975	239	38,205	76,158	70	552
1976	244	45,004	98,577	--	513
1977	262	52,176	113,223	47	474
1978	296	58,355	121,644	23	548
1979	330	66,483	129,886	90	537
1980	418	74,404	131,789	90	519
1981	463	84,911	167,614	--	510
1982	507	84,911	155,036	78	490
1983	560	106,655	161,678	54	517
1984	617	125,575	175,764	41	515
1985	685	142,499	208,789	40	550
Increase	270%	425%			50%

¹Annual Statistical Report of Seventh-day Adventists, Takoma Park, Washington, 1972-1985.

1972-1974 - J. O. Gibson, Secretary

1974-1985 - F. D. Yost, Director, Office of Archives and Statistics

APPENDIX E

Long Administration--Expatriate Staff

(September, 1973-February, 1977)

Kasai Director: Al Long

Assistant Project Director: Duane McKey

Treasurer: Gordon Gray

Pastoral Training School Director: Dan Bettle

Ministerial Training School Director: Alfred Matter

Pilot: Don Williams

Nurse/Secretary: Myrna Long

Builder (AVSC): Paul Zabloutney

Builder (SOS): Henry Nelson

Two Student Missionaries

..

APPENDIX F
 KASAI ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORT¹
 OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH
 1972-1985

Year	No. of Churches	Church Membership at Beginning of Year	Members Added		Members Dropped			Church Membership at Year-End	No. of Sabbath Schools	Sabbath School Membership	No. of Elementary Schools	Elementary School Enrollment
			Baptism & Profession of Faith	By Letter	By Letter	By Death	By Apostasy & Missing					
1972*	1	--	--	--	--	--	352	--	544	--	--	--
1973	2	--	460	534	29	17	21	927	15	1,200	--	--
1974	3	927	799	41	45	9	37	1,676	94	5,396	1	78
1975	6	1,676	2619	620	664	44	63	4,144	209	9,603	1	156
1976	9	4,144	3883	1832	1781	37	247	7,794	160	17,035	1	--**
1977	12	7,794	3825	880	881	105	306	11,207	358	27,489	1	--**
1978	26	11,207	2634	940	918	79	290	13,494	406	29,750	1	176
1979	45	13,494	3997	986	703	282	486	17,006	416	32,993	22	4252
1980	76	17,006	3859	1982	2008	417	377	20,045	495	33,984	22	4252
1981	92	20,045	4429	947	776	399	342	23,904	521	50,999	15	2857
1982	110	23,904	3627	106	93	316	864	26,550	521	39,105	16	2857
1983	125	26,550	3358	293	295	431	652	28,823	568	35,254	17	3000
1984	125	28,823	7764	147	133	76	68	36,457	510	36,175	16	2754
1985	132	36,457	7780	257	248	103	72	44,071	589	54,718	15	2425

*Report of 4th Quarter from West Zaire Field

**Government controlled schools for these two years

¹Information gotten from the Zaire Union Year-End Statistical Reports (unpublished reports).

APPENDIX G

Ellstrom Administration--Expatriate Staff

(January, 1977-September, 1978)

Kasai Director: Gordon Ellstrom (Wife, Velma, stayed one year)

Assistant Project Director: Robert Dick

Treasurer: Gordon Gray (Wife, Inge, helped in the office)

Pilot: Don Williams (Wife, Peggy, helped with typing)

Builder/Maintenance (AVSC): Henry Little (Wife, Dorothy,
housewife)

Student Missionaries

APPENDIX H

Kasai Project Field Territory Organization

(Voted 2 November 1977)

<u>Name of Worker/District</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Area of District</u>
<u>Lulengele Church</u>		
Ndinga Mbote	Pastor	Lulengele
<u>Dekese District</u>		
Kabasele Kalamba	District Leader	Dekese
Tsasi Bokele	Evangelist	Esanga
Kimbulu Besambi	Evangelist	Bolombo
<u>Demba District</u>		
Kayeye Ndjoke	District Leader	Demba
Tshimuanga Nkese	Evangelist	Ndumba Kakese
<u>Dimbelenge District</u>		
Tshitala Mulumba	District Leader	Dimbelenge
Batundinga Tshitenge	Evangelist	Mashala
<u>Gandajika District</u>		
Gaferege Ngabo	District Leader	Gandajika
<u>Ilebo Nord District</u>		
Tshiya Tshisuye	District Leader	Ilebo
Lubadi Nsokongombe	Evangelist	Shamashange
Bope Minga	Evangelist	Bena Mulumba
<u>Ilebo Sud District</u>		
Mboyi Biasuma	District Leader	Ndjokopunda
<u>Kananga District</u>		
Kanumbi Tshimanga	District Leader	Kananga
Makangu Tshiloba	Evangelist	Nganza

<u>Name of Worker/District</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Area of District</u>
<u>Kazumba Cent. District</u>		
Kadiadia Tshimanga Kayembe Utena	District Leader Evangelist	Kazumba Kasalu
<u>Kazumba Nord District</u>		
Kini Nianga	District Leader	Tshimanga
<u>Kazumba Occ. District</u>		
Ndaya Tshibanga	District Leader	Dibatayi
<u>Kazumba Or. District</u>		
Mande Wetu	District Leader	Bilomba
<u>Konyi District</u>		
Kayend Omughamay	District Leader	Konyi
<u>Luebo District</u>		
Majambere Mangaya Dimukai Tshipamba	District Leader Evangelist	Luebo Kampungu
<u>Matamba District</u>		
Mulamba Mukulu	District Leader	Matamba
<u>Mbuji-Mayi District</u>		
Sebatunzi Muvunyi Nganza Tshisenge Ngalamulume Ntumba	District Leader Evangelist Evangelist	Mbuji-Mayi Lac Munkamba Lubi-Sub
<u>Mweka District</u>		
Mwirane Lukanika Tshimanga Muamba Kabunde Buse	District Leader Evangelist Evangelist	Mweka Bueta-Mbenge Kakenge
<u>Mwena Ditu District</u>		
Pwele Mukuta Shamba Kwete	District Leader Evangelist	Mwena Ditu Mudembo

<u>Name of Worker/District</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Area of District</u>
<u>Tshikapa Cent. District</u>		
Tshibondo A. Katshiona	District Leader	Tshikapa
<u>Tshikapa Or. District</u>		
Tshiwala Kwete	District Leader	Katalayi
<u>Tshikapa Sud District</u>		
Ntumba Konyunyu	District Leader	Diboko
<u>Tshimbulu Nord District</u>		
Mutatayi Bakatuamba Kabeya Mafuta	District Leader Evangelist	Mbuanya Ntenda
<u>Tshimbulu Occ. District</u>		
Mbala Nkashama	District Leader	Dibanda
<u>Tshimbulu Or. District</u>		
Mbayo Muyumba	District Leader	Tshimbulu
<u>Idiofa Area</u>		
Mulamba Badibanga	Evangelist	Idiofa
<u>Kabinda Area</u>		
Kapuku Mutekela	Evangelist	Kabinda
<u>Luiza Area</u>		
Musafiri Basebya	Evangelist	Luiza
<u>Lusambo Area</u>		
Kabeya Nsaka	Evangelist	Lusambo

APPENDIX I

Kasai Church Properties Report¹1972-1985

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Church Buildings</u>	<u>Approximate Seating Capacity of Church Buildings</u>	<u>Estimated Value of Church Properties</u>
1972	--	--	--
1973	--	--	--
1974	1	100	\$15,000
1975	2	1000	\$23,220
1976	2	1000	\$29,000
1977	3	1400	\$45,000
1978	4	2000	\$84,750
1979	8	2200	\$49,020
1980	8	2200	\$49,020
1981	8	2200	\$49,020
1982	8	2500	\$54,545
1983	8	2500	\$54,545
1984	8	2500	\$54,545
1985	8	2500	\$54,600

¹Note: This report gives a running total of church buildings constructed of durable material. Thus, the total number constructed is eight. These were specifically built to accommodate the new members.

APPENDIX J

Perrin Administration--Expatriate Staff

(September, 1978-January, 1984)

Kasai Director: Roy Perrin

Treasurer: Gordon Gray
(Permanent Return 1980)Treasurer: Lyung Tong
(Stayed only three months)

Field Secretary: Jean Daphnis

Accountant: Mrs. Jean Daphnis

Pilot: Don Williams
(Transferred to Zaire Union Mission in 1979)Pilot: Eldon Bauer
(Replaced Williams but was soon grounded.
Became the maintenance director.)AVSC: Henry Little
(Transferred to Nyamitaba in Northern Zaire)

Student missionaries came for nine months to one year.

APPENDIX K

Kasai Missionaries1972-1983

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Missionary Status</u>
Bauer, Eldon	Pilot/Maintenance	Regular
Bettle, Dan	Pastoral Training School Dir.	Regular
Daphnis, J.	Asst. Director	Regular
Daphnis, Mrs. J.	Accountant	Regular
Dick, R.	Evangelist/Asst. Dir.	Regular
Ellstrom, G.	Director	Regular
Gray, Mrs. G.	Accountant	Part Time/Reg.
Gray, G.	Treasurer	Regular
Hamer, J.	Maintenance	AVSC/Regular
Little, Henry	Builder	AVSC
Lockard, P.	Pilot	AVSC
Long, Mrs. A.	Nurse/Secretary	Part Time/Reg.
Long, A.	Director	Regular
Matter, A.	Lay Training School Dir.	Regular
McKey, D.	Asst. Director	Regular
Nelson, H.	Builder	AVSC
Perrin, R.	Director	Regular
Peterson, M. B.		AVSC
Petersen, T.	Builder	AVSC
Sumner, Norbert	Builder	AVSC

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Missionary Status</u>
Tong, Lyung	Treasurer	Regular
Vail, R.	Director	AVSC
Walin R.	Accountant/Builder	AVSC
Williams, P.	Secretary	Part Time/Reg.
Williams, D	Pilot/Mechanic	Regular
Zablotney, P.	Builder	AVSC

APPENDIX L

CHURCH'S REACTION IN PRINT

Church Reaction

Perhaps the best way to present this section is to give the reader an overall view of the published material about the Kasai Project in church journals. In so doing, one can get a feel of the world church's reaction at a glimpse. The articles were printed in the Review and Herald, the general paper of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and Ministry, the international journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Ministerial Association

Review and Herald

1. "Eleven Religious Groups in Zaire Seek Affiliation with SDA Church," by W. R. Vail, 19 October 1972. Vail's initial report, after the first study commission, stated that there were eleven religious groups comprised approximately of 125,000 in more than 200 churches that had officially requested to join the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He believed there was a potential of 75,000 members when children were excluded, as the churches practiced infant baptism. He concluded by saying that the opportunity was unparalleled in the world field. The church must not fail to act quickly.

2. "Thousands Look to Bible: Leaders Attend SDA Course," by D. H. Thomas, 23 August 1973, "News Notes," p. 18. Thomas reported on the success of the first ministerial training course held at Lulengele. The leaders who attended represented 9,000 people. In one area 10,000 people were "favorably disposed to Adventism."

3. "Diamonds by the Dozen--Report from Zaire," by Merle L. Mills, 11 October 1973, pp. 17-19. Mills gives the background which brought about the contact with the ECZ, the independents who contacted the church seeking affiliation, the logistical problems faced in reopening Lulengele, and of getting materials printed for the Kasai. He laid the plans for the future with Don Thomas and Al Long. He also pointed out the urgent need to build churches, as required by the government, and the need for funding. Mills quoted Thomas in estimating there was a potential of 15,000-25,000 members.

4. "Conference President Visits God's Family in Africa," by Philip Moores, 31 January 1974, p. 18. Moores briefly told how thousands were waiting for an Adventist minister to come and prepare them for baptism as reported to him by M. Mbyirukira, Zaire Union president.

5. "Trans-Africa," by Desmond Hills, 6 June 1974, p. 26. Under "News Notes" Hills wrote that both Long and Bettie were in the Kasai--Long as director and Bettie as an evangelist.

6. "Trans-Africa News Notes," by Desmond Hills, 18 April 1974, p. 20. He reported that Merle Mills and Richard Roderick had visited the Kasai where tens of thousands had requested to become Seventh-day Adventists. Also that Mills' tract, "Questions You Must Answer," would be printed in Tshiluba.

7. "The Back Page," 12 September 1974, p. 24, announced that new Kasai members would receive a year's free subscription to the Revue Adventiste (Review and Herald in French).

8. "Trans-Africa Nears Baptism Goal Set in 1970," by Desmond

Hills, 7 November 1974, p. 28. Hills stated that to-date in the Kasai, 4,000 had been baptized, including twenty ministers.

9. "The Advent Hope Reaches the Kasai," by Joyce Griffith, 27 February 1975, pp. 16-19. Griffith gave a recent history of the Kasai Project in Zaire. She said: "Since 1972 when 100,000 Africans were reported to be interested in joining the Seventh-day Adventist Church, between 1,600 and 1,800 have been baptized." And again, "When Elder Long arrived in Lulengele to assume full-time leadership in the Kasai, he met high hopes and disappointments headlong. By the time the church had mobilized itself to study appropriate methods for meeting the evangelistic needs of the area, many of the groups had grown tired of waiting." One group of 75,000 people went with another denomination because they could not wait any longer. Long found 10,000 to 15,000 prospects instead of the original 100,000. The article ends on a positive note with the idea that "the Kasai may well be the most productive evangelistic effort undertaken by the remnant church."

10. "Church Members Invited to Adventure in Faith," by C. O. Franz, 3 April 1975, p. 18, pictured Long with baptismal candidates indicating a large number of baptisms.

11. "The Back Page," 3 April 1975, p. 31. A note indicated that a branch of the Zaire Union Voice of Prophecy was opened at Lulengele offering courses in French and Tshiluba.

12. "Letters," 22 May 1975, p. 3. Three letters were written in response to J. Griffith's article, "The Advent Hope Reaches the Kasai." All three were negative because it appeared from Griffith's report that because the church did not mobilize itself fast enough, the

whole Kasai Project was a failure. One person wrote in exasperation, "Why could we not have mobilized a force of ministers and sent them to Africa for six months? The various divisions should have sent their strongest ministers, allowing the laymen and local elders to run the home churches if necessary."

13. "I Saw the Kasai," by M. S. Nigri, 29 May 1975, p. 16. Nigri gave a positive report about his visit to the Kasai and some conversion experiences.

14. "Kasai Reply," in the Letters Section, 19 June 1975, p. 3, by B. E. Seton. Dr. Seton answered questions raised earlier in the Letter Section of the Review. He briefly outlined the Kasai situation. He said: (1) The 100,000 persons inquired about our church's teaching, not to say they were necessarily eager to become Seventh-day Adventists; (2) the Zaire Union Mission and the Trans-Africa Division did everything in their immediate power to meet the opportunity; (3) the General Conference responded liberally; (4) the number of suitable missionaries is limited as they must speak French and must have housing; (5) building materials are hard to find and are expensive; (6) one can only expect to be granted a modest number of visas for expatriates, not an invasion; and finally, (7) many workers and supplies are being channeled in the right direction. "The church is on the job."

15. "News Notes--Trans-Africa," 26 June 1975, p. 23. R. Pierson reported that plans have been laid in the Kasai for literature publications in Tshiluba, for new buildings to be erected, and for the present ministerial and lay preachers' course to be strengthened.

16. "Kasai's Challenge to a Finished Work," by Robert Pierson, 10 July 1975, p. 2. Pierson writing from Lulengele, told of a baptism he witnessed there: four were ordained Presbyterian ministers, one was a leader of the Seventh Church which claimed to have 6,000 members, another was an evangelist of the Anima Church of 100,000 members, and Mwamba, the leader, was at Lulengele studying. Pierson then led into a plea for the world church to become energized and galvanized to a finished work with the power of the Holy Spirit.

17. "Doors Open Wide in Africa," by M. L. Mills, 24 July 1975, p. 10, is a copy of Mills' report as presented at the 1975 General Conference. In the section on the Kasai, Mills wrote of the different churches represented there. After saying there were approximately 8,000 in the baptismal class and that 6,000 had already been baptized, he said: "It is truly harvest time for souls in the Kasai Province."

18. "What Went Wrong in Zaire?" by Robert H. Pierson, 28 August 1975, pp. 6-7. Here Pierson answered questions people raised in the readers' section as to what went wrong in the Kasai? In answering that question, Pierson outlined the difficulties faced by the church: (1) difficulty in finding a director (Thomas's daughter's death, Desvarieur's death); (2) language barriers--need to know French and/or Tshiluba; (3) immigration problems; (4) lack of African workers who spoke Tshiluba; (5) Adventists to be baptized one by one, not en masse (as a group); (6) no literature available in Tshiluba; (7) some leaders, like Kubi, were not followed into the Adventist Church by all of their church members and subordinate leaders (however, Kubi said

50,000 of his people call themselves Seventh-day Adventists; not all 75,000 were lost); (8) scarcity of building materials, etc., and (9) lack of funds . . . needed for workers, Land Rovers, airplanes, motorcycles, bicycles, building materials, literature, etc.

Finally Pierson said: "Perhaps we as leaders have made some mistakes in seeking to reach such a large number of people quickly. . . . We believe the best days of the harvest are ahead. . . . Things have not gone wrong. They are just taking time, but the pace is accelerating."

19. "Reaching 100,000 People with the Message, Part 2" by R. H. Pierson, 4 September 1975, p. 6. Pierson outlined what had been done and what would be done in the endeavor to reach as many as possible: 200 to 300 laymen had been trained; twenty pastoral students were studying; eleven colporteurs were selling French books; a monthly Tshiluba journal was to be printed; twenty-two more ministerial candidates would be admitted immediately into the pastoral training school; one to two hundred more lay preachers would be trained in the next year; other missionaries were on call as well as student missionaries and AVSC workers (Adventist volunteers). Also radio possibilities were being explored; funds were needed to accomplish these tasks.

Again, nothing went wrong but "they need our prayers. We believe a thrilling twentieth-century book of Acts is being written in this great country. . . . We are making no predictions, but we believe future reports will thrill your hearts."

20. "Newsfront," "General Conference President Visits Kasai," by M. L. Mills, 18 September 1975, p. 16. Mills reported about his, Pierson's, and Kemmerer's recent visit to the Kasai. The highlight of the trip was their visit with Paul Mwamba, leader of the Anima of some 120,000 members who recently declared his intentions of becoming a Seventh-day Adventist. "The one desire of his heart before he dies is that his people have the opportunity of becoming Seventh-day Adventists." They also visited with the leader of the Eglise Saint Emmanual, Kubi, who had been baptized recently.

Mills ended by recounting the same plans for outreach in the Kasai that Pierson had talked about.

21. "The Kasai Appeals to You," by R. H. Pierson, 4 December 1975, p. 2. Pierson gave a backdrop of the cost involved. Some \$500,000 was needed to get things moving the first year. He outlined the costs of cycles, workers, tracts, etc., and then asked for special gifts to support the Kasai in "Kasai Project, Operation Extra-Lift."

22. "Zaire Membership Grows Faster than Churches Are Built," by R. H. Pierson, 2 September 1976, p. 22. Pierson reported that there were 18,500 Sabbath keepers in the Kasai and 6,000 baptized members.

23. "Three New Planes Ferried to Africa," by B. E. Seton, 9 September 1976, p. 24. Seton wrote that two Cessna 206s were ferried to Zaire "where they will be used to supply food to villagers in the Kasai Province." (This was an erroneous report as airplanes were never used to supply food to villagers in the Kasai).

24. "Trans-Africa Gains 500 Members Weekly," by Alf Lohne, 27 January 1977, p. 15. Lohne reported unusual interest in the message continued in the Kasai.

25. "Adventists Penetrate Unentered Area of Zaire," A. Long as told to Alice Fahrback, 10 February 1977, p. 1. Long told about the conversion of Atop and the beginning of the work at Idiofu in the Bandundu region under the leadership of Kini.

26. "Kasai Project Holds Retreat," by Alice Fahrback, 24 March 1977, pp. 16-17, was a report of the Kasai workers' retreat along with some organizational changes.

27. "Kasai Project Leader Gives Impressions," by G. M. Ellstrom, 26 May 1977, p. 19. The Ellstroms told of their arrival at Lulengele and of meeting the Matters, Bettles, McKeys, Williams, Littles, Bob Lang, Longs, Grays, and Cheryl Drake. They set up housekeeping and were soon settled.

28. "Church Opens New Dispensary," by D. R. Bettle, 27 October 1977, p. 25, was a report given by D. Bettle about the opening of a new dispensary at Bakwa-Tombe.

29. "News Notes from Trans-Africa," 17 November 1977, was a report on the workers' meeting at Lulengele assisted by General Conference, Trans-Africa Division, and Zaire Union departmental men.

30. "Kasai Project Update," by A. M. Long, 25 May 1978. Long wrote about the Kasai. He first gave an account of the beginnings in the Kasai along with the role they played there. He told how many of the groups were similar to each other in doctrine, etc. He said: "Our affinity with these churches was mainly because of their belief in

spiritual gifts, though wrongly interpreted; the keeping of the Sabbath, the acceptance of the Old Testament as an integral part of the Bible, and the general expectation of the soon return of Christ."

31. "Pastors Aim for 1,000 Baptisms," by G. Ellstrom, 28 December 1978, p. 22. Ellstrom told how ten pastors baptized 803 people on 17 June 1978.

32. "One Hundred Eighteen Baptized on the Sankuru River Safari," G. Ellstrom, February 1, 1979. Ellstrom recounted how on a recent river safari 118 were baptized.

33. "Diary Entries Illuminate Work among Kasai," by G. Ellstrom, 14 May 1979, p. 20. Ellstrom gave the experiences of a week while on safari with a fellow missionary, R. Dick.

The Ministry

"One Message, One Mission, One Movement," by N. R. Dower, Secretary of the General Conference Ministerial Association, October 1975, pp. 5-6. The article was condensed from Dower's presentation at the General Conference pre-session in Vienna, Austria. Dower, while talking about a repeated pentecost in the Seventh-day Adventist Church today, asked, "Are we beginning to see this happening in Zaire--where nearly 300,000 have come to us asking to join us?"

APPENDIX M

QUESTIONNAIRE¹

1. How successful do you think our church was in winning and converting members of independent churches in the Kasai from 1972-1980?
 2. Do you think there was anything else we should have done to win a greater number from independent churches in the Kasai than we did?
 3. Why do you think we have 40,000 members in the Kasai today rather than the projected 200,000 that some people said wanted to join our church back in the early 1970s?
 4. When you were in the Kasai, kindly recount your own experience in seeking to evangelize members of independent churches.
 5. When you were in the Kasai, were independents coming to Lulengele requesting to become Seventh-day Adventists?
 - a. If so, how many as you remember, were there? Were they in groups, whole churches, or individuals?
 - b. What churches were they from?
 6. Kindly recount whatever personal insight you might have had concerning your work with the independent churches in the Kasai?
 7. What do you think was the real reason why independents sought membership or affiliation with the SDA Church in the Kasai?
 8. Other comments or insights?
-

¹This questionnaire was sent to six national and six expatriate Adventist workers in January, 1986.

APPENDIX N

KASAI WORKERS STATISTICAL REPORT

1972-1985

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ordained Ministers</u>	<u>Credentialed Missionaries</u>	<u>Licensed Ministers</u>	<u>Licensed Missionaries</u>	<u>Lit. Evang.</u>	<u>All other Reg. Workers</u>	<u>Total Workers</u>
1972	2	--	1	6	--	--	9
1973	6	1	7	16	1	--	31
1974	10	1	9	7	2	--	29
1975	6	--	13	10	11	24	64
1976	10	--	9	40	9	(145)*	68
1977	13	--	6	41	13	(204)*	73
1978	13	--	6	41	13	--	73
1979	12	1	5	53	8	--	79
1980	10	5	5	69	8	--	97
1981	24	2	33	35	2	--	96
1982	24	3	53	8	4	--	92
1983	27	--	31	30	5	4	97
1984	27	--	57	4	2	--	90
1985	41	--	49	9	63	--	162

*These were lay preachers and not included in the total of workers for the statistical reports.

APPENDIX O

KASAI CHURCH MEMBERS' SURVEY*

1. What is your total station membership? _____
2. Please fill in the blanks below to indicate how long your members have been Seventh-day Adventists.

How many have been SDAs for 1-5 years? _____

How many have been SDAs for 5-10 years? _____

How many have been SDAs for 10-15 years? _____

How many have been SDAs for more than 15 years? _____
3. Please fill in the blanks below to indicate what religious affiliation your members had before they became SDAs?

How many came from the Catholic Church? _____

How many came from the Presbyterian Church? _____

How many came from the Saint Emmanuel Church? _____

How many came from the Mennonite Church? _____

How many came from the Sacrificateur Church? _____

How many came from the Apostolic Church? _____

How many came from the Anima Church? _____

How many came from the Kimbanguist Church? _____

How many came from other churches? _____

How many were pagan? _____
4. Please fill in the blanks below to indicate how your members became Seventh-day Adventists and were converted.

How many became Seventh-day Adventists strictly on an individual basis? _____

How many became Seventh-day Adventists on an individual basis but with a group? _____

How many became Seventh-day Adventists collectively in a group while following a group leader? _____
5. How many of your members have apostatized? _____

What churches had the apostatized members belonged to before becoming Seventh-day Adventists?

<u>Church</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____

*Note: This survey was taken by the Kasai station directors. They asked their members for the information.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

“

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Books

- Africa South of the Sahara: Index to Periodical Literature, 1900-1970.
4 vols. Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1971.
- Andersson, Efraim. Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo.
London: Kegan Paul, 1958.
- Anstey, Roger. King Leopold's Legacy. London: Oxford University
Press, 1966.
- Archer, Jules. Congo. New York: Julian Messner, 1970.
- Ayandele, E. A., et al., eds. The Growth of African Civilization--The
Making of Modern Africa. Vol. 2. The Late Nineteenth Century
to the Present Day. New York: Humanities Press, 1971.
- Barrett, David. African Initiatives in Religion. Nairobi: East
African Publishing House, 1971.
- _____. Schism and Renewal in Africa. Nairobi: Oxford
University Press, 1968.
- Bascom, William Russell. Continuity and Change in African Cultures.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Batchelor, Peter G., and Harry R. Boer. Theology and Rural Development
in Africa. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.,
1967.
- Bentley, W. Holman. Life on the Congo. London: Religious Tract
Society. (No date).
- Blanc, Rene, Jacques Blocher, and Etienne Kruger. Histoire Des
Missions Protestantes Francaises. Flavion, Belgium:
Librairie Des Eclaireurs Unionistes, 1970.
- Bohannon, Paul and Philip Curtin. Africa and Africans. Garden City,
NY: Natural History Press, 1971.
- Boone, Olga. Carte Ethnique du Congo, Quant Sud-Est. Bruxelles:
Tervuren, MRAC, 1961.

- Boyd, A., and P. van Rensburg. An Atlas of African Affairs. New York: F. A. Praeger, 1966.
- Brackman, Emile M. Histoire du Protestantisme au Congo. Brussels: Librairie Des Eclaireurs Unionistes, 1961.
- Buhlmann, W. The Coming of the Third Church. Mayknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1977.
- Cervin, Russell A. Mission in Ferment. Chicago: Covenant Press, 1977.
- Cuvelier, J. Relations sur le Congo du Pere Laurent de Lucques, 1700-1717. Brussels: Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1953.
- Daneel, M. L. Zionism and Faith Healing in Rhodesia: Aspects of African Independent Churches. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1970.
- _____. Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches. 2 vols. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971.
- Danker, William J. Profit for the Lord. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971.
- Davidson, Basil. The African Awakening. New York: MacMillan Co., 1955.
- Dayal, Rajeshwar. Mission for Hammarskjold. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Dayton, Edward R., and David S. Fraser. Planning Strategies for World Evangelism. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1980.
- De Jager, E. J., ed. Man: Anthropological Essays Presented to O. F. Raam. Cape Town, South Africa: C. Struick (PTY), 1971.
- Deschamp, H. Les Religions de l'Afrique Noire. Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 1954.
- Dickson, Kwesi, and Paul Ellingworth. Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs. London: Lutterworth Press, 1969.
- Dudley, Roger L., and Des Cummings, Jr. Adventures in Church Growth. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assoc., 1983.
- Fabian, Johannes. Jamaa: A Charismatic Movement in Katanga. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971.
- Fernandez, James W. Bwiti--an Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982.

- Fetter, Bruce. The Creation of Elizabethville. Stanford: Hoover Colonial Studies, 1976.
- Forde, Daryll. Ethnographic Survey of Africa Series. London: Oxford University Press.
- Forde, Daryll and G. Dieterlen, eds. African Systems of Thought. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Fuller, Millard. Bokotola. New York: Association Press, 1977.
- Gelfand, Michael. The African Witch. Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone, 1967.
- _____. An African's Religion. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta & Company, 1966.
- Gibbs, J. L. Peoples of Africa. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966.
- Gill, Sam D. Beyond "The Primitive." Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- Graham, R. H. Carson. Under Seven Congo Kings. London: Carey Press, 1968.
- Griffiths, Michael. The Church and World Mission: Arousing the People of God to Witness. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1982.
- Groves, C. P. The Planting of Christianity in Africa. 4 vols. London: Lutterworth Press, 1964.
- Haliburton, Gordon M. The Prophet Harris. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Hammond-Tooke, W. D., ed. The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Hastings, Adrian. African Christianity. London: Geoffrey Chapman (an affiliate of New York: MacMillan Publishing Co.), 1976.
- _____. Christian Marriage in Africa. London: SPCK, 1973.
- _____. Church and Mission in Modern Africa. London: Burns & Oates, 1967.
- _____. A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975. Cambridge: University Press, 1979.
- Hayward, Victor E. W., ed. Introduction in African Independent Church Movements. London: Edinburg House Press, 1963.

- Heimer, Haldor Eugene. "The Church Suited to Home Needs: A Look at the People of Two Churches in Luluabourg, Congo." In R. T. Parsons' Windows on Africa: A Symposium. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971.
- Heintze-Flad, Wilfred. L'Eglise Kimbanguist une Eglise qui Chante et Prier. Leiden, the Netherlands: Interuniversitaire Instituut Voor Missiologie En Oecumenica, 1978.
- Hildebrandt, Jonathan. History of the Church in Africa: A Survey. Achimota, Ghana: Africa Christian Press, 1971.
- Hilton-Simpson, M. W. Land and People of the Kasai. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1956.
- Holas, B. Le Separatisme Religieux en Afrique Noire. Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 1965.
- Hollenweger, W. J. Marxist and Kimbanguist Mission: A Comparison. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1973.
- Hoskyns, Catherine. The Congo since Independence. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Jones, A. M. African Hymnody in Christian Worship. Gwelo, Rhodesia: Mambo Press, 1976.
- Jules-Rosette, Bennetta, ed. The New Religions of Africa. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979.
- _____. African Apostles. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Karp, Ivan and Charles S. Bird, eds. Explorations in African Systems of Thought. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.
- Kitchen, Helen, ed. Footnotes to the Congo Story. New York: Walker and Co., 1967.
- Kraus, C. Norman. Missions, Evangelism, and Church Growth. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1980.
- Lawson, E. Thomas Relgions of Africa. San Franciseq: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1984.
- Markowitz, Marvin D. "The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgium Congo, 1908-1960." Cross and Sword. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1973.
- Martelli, George. Leopold to Lumumba. London: Chapman and Hall, 1962.

- Martin, Marie-Louise. Prophetic Christianity in the Congo.
Johannesburg: Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1971.
- _____. Kimbangu. Grand Rapids, MI: William B.
Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975.
- Marvel, Tom. The New Congo. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948.
- Mbiti, John. African Religions and Philosophy. New York: Praeger,
1969.
- McCready, William C. Culture, Ethnicity, and Identity. New York:
Academic Press, 1983.
- McDonald, Gordon C., Donald W. Bernier, Lyle E. Brenneman, et al. Area
Handbook for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo
Kinshasa). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office,
1971.
- McGavran, Donald A. Bridges of God. New York: Friendship Press,
1955.
- _____. Ten Steps for Church Growth. San Francisco:
Harper & Row Publishing, 1977.
- McGavran, Donald A., and Norman Riddle. Zaire, Midday in Missions.
Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1979.
- _____. How Churches Grow. New York: Friendship Press,
1955.
- _____. Understanding Church Growth. Grand Rapids, MI:
William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971.
- Merriam, Alan P. An African World, The Basongye Village of Lupupa Nye.
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974.
- Middleton, John, ed. Black Africa: Its Peoples and Cultures. London:
MacMillan Publishing Co., 1970.
- Mitchell, R. C., and H. W. Turner. A Comprehensive Bibliography of
Modern African Religious Movements. Evanston: Northwestern
University Press, 1967.
- Mortelli, George. Leopold to Lumumba. London: Chapman and Hall,
1962.
- Murdock, George P. Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959.
- Ndiokwere, Nathaniel I. Prophecy and Revolution. London: Camelot
Press, 1981.

- Neill, S., et al. Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission. New York: Abingdon Press, 1971.
- Ofori, Patrick E. Christianity in Tropical Africa--A Selective Annotated Bibliography. Nendelu, Netherlands: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1977.
- _____. Black African Traditional Religions and Philosophy. Nendelu, Netherlands: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1975.
- Omer-Cooper, J. D., et al., eds. The Growth of African Civilization--The Making of Modern Africa. Vol. 1. The Nineteenth Century to the Partition. New York: Humanities Press, 1968.
- Oosterwal, Gottfried. Modern Messianic Movements as a Theological Missionary Challenge. Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1973.
- Parrinder, Edward G. African Traditional Religion. London: S.P.C.K., 1962.
- Pentecost, Edward C. Issues in Missiology: An Introduction. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982.
- _____. Reaching the Unreached: A Preliminary Strategy for World Evangelization. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1974.
- Ranger, T. O., and John Weller, eds. Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- Ray, Benjamin C. African Religions, Symbol, Ritual, and Community. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- Reardon, Ruth Slade. "Catholics and Protestants in the Congo." In Christianity in Tropical Africa. Edited by C. G. Baeta. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Reeck, Darrell. Deep Mende. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1976.
- Reed, David. 111 Days in Stanleyville. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Richards, Lawrence. A New Face for the Church. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970.
- Rotberg, R. I., and Ali A. Mazrui. Protest and Power in Black Africa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Roth, H. M. Zaire, a Country Study. Washington, DC: American University, 1979.

- Salter, Michael A., ed. Anthropological Perspectives. West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1978.
- Scholefield, Alan. The Dark Kingdoms. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1975.
- Shaloff, Stanley. Reform in Leopold's Congo. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1970.
- Shorter, Aylward. African Culture and the Christian Church. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1974.
- Skinner, Elliott P. Peoples and Cultures of Africa. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press, 1973.
- Springer, John M. Pioneering in the Congo. The Methodist Book Concern, 1916.
- Starr, Frederick. The Truth About the Congo. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.
- Stenning, Derrick J. African Systems of Thought. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Sundkler, Bengt. Bantu Prophets in South Africa. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- _____. The Christian Ministry in Africa. London: SCM Press, 1962.
- Taryor, Nya Kwiawon, Sr. Impact of the African Tradition on African Christianity. Chicago, Illinois: The Strugglers Community Press, 1987.
- Taylor, John V. The Primal Vision. London: SCM Press, 1963.
- Temu, A. J. British Protestant Missions. London: Longman Group, 1972.
- Tippet, Alan R. Church Growth and the Word of God. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970.
- Tshitenge-Katanga, Joseph. Grandes Períodes Educatives chez les Baluba. Kinshasa: Éditions Impedico, 1969.
- Turner, Harold Walter. "Bibliography of New Religious Movements." Black Africa. Vol. 1. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1977.
- _____. Religious Innovation in Africa, Collected Essays on New Religious Movements. Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall and Co., 1979.
- Turner, Victor Witter. Lunda Rites and Ceremonies. Livingston: Rhodes-Livingston Museum, 1974.

- _____. The Drums of Affliction. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- _____. The Ritual Process. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970.
- Van Binsbergen, W. M. J. Religious Change in Zambia. London: Kegan Paul International, 1981.
- Vansina, Jan. Kingdoms of the Savanna. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.
- Wagner, Peter. Your Church Can Grow. Glendale, CA: Regal Book, A Division of G/L Publications, 1976 ed.
- Wagoner, Fred E. Dragon Rouge. Washington, DC: National Defense University Research Directorate, 1980.
- Weaver, Edwin and Irene. From Kuku Hill--Among Indigenous Churches in West Africa. Elkhart: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1975.
- Webster, J. B. The African Churches among the Yoruba. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Weiss, Herbert. Congo 1965 Political Documents of a Developing Nation. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Welbourn, F. B. and B. A. Ogot. A Place to Feel at Home. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- West, Martin. Bishops and Prophets in a Black City: African Independent Churches in Soweto, Johannesburg. Cape Town: David Philip, 1975.

2. Encyclopedias

- Barrett, David B. World Christian Encyclopedia. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Encyclopedia Americana, International ed. 1980 ed. S. v. "Zaire, Republic of."
- New Encyclopedia Britannica. 1984 ed. S. v. "Zaire, Republic of."
- Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. 1976 ed. S. v. "SDA Church."
- Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. 1976 ed. S. v. "White, Ellen Gould (Harmon)."
- Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. 1976 ed. S. v. "Zaire, Republic of."

3. Periodicals

- Alden, K. "The Prophetic Movement in Congo." International Review of Missions 25 (1936): 347-353.
- Anstey, Roger T. "Christianity and Bantu Philosophy: Observations on the Thought and Work of Placide Tempels." International Review of Missions 52 (July 1963): 316-22.
- Anyenyola, Welo Jacques. "Le Mouvement Kitawala en Republique du Zaire." Problemes Sociaux Zairois Lubumbashi 96-97 (March-June 1972): 3-26.
- _____. "A Propos du Vandaism et de son Fondateur." Extrait du Bulletin Trimestriel du CEPSE: Programmes Sociaux et Economiques. 94-95 (1972) 57-88.
- Bokeleale, Itofo B. "From Missions to Mission: The Church in Zaire and New Relationships." International Review of Missions 62, no. 248 (October 1973): 433-436.
- Booth, Newell S. "Tradition and Community in African Religion." Journal of Religion in Africa 9 (1978): 81-94.
- Brandel-Syrier, Mia. "The Role of Women in African Independent Churches." Journal of Religion in Africa 12, no. 1, (April 1984): 13-18.
- Cline, Catherine Ann. "The Church and the Movement for Congo Reform." Church History 32, no. 1 (1963): 46-56.
- Comhaire, Jean L. "Sociétés et Mouvements Prophetiques au Congo Belge." Africa 25 (January 1955): 54-59.
- Crawford, John R. "Protestant Missions in Congo, 1960-1965." International Review of Missions 55, no. 217 (January 1966): 86-95.
- Cuypers, L. "A Politique Fonciere de l'etat Independent du Congo a l'egard des Missions Catholiques." Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique 57, no. 1 (1962): 45-65.
- Daneel, M. L. "The Missionary Outreach of African Independent Churches." Missionalia 8 no. 3 (November 1980): 105-20.
- de Craemer, Willy. "The Jamaa Movement in the Katanga and Kasai Regions of the Congo." Review of Religious Research 10, no. 1 (1968): 11-23.
- Dower, N. R. "One Message, One Mission, One Movement." The Ministry, October 1975.

- Droogers, Andre. "Kimbanguism at the Grass Roots." Journal of Religion in Africa 11 (1980): 188-211.
- Fabian, Johannes. "Charisma and Cultural Change: The Case of the Jamaa Movement in Katanga." Comparative Studies in Society and History 11, no. 2 (April 1969): 155-73.
- Fernandez, James W. "African Religious Movements." Annual Review of Anthropology 7 (1978): 195-234.
- Fox, Robert W. "The World's Urban Explosion." National Geographic, August 1984, p. 181.
- Gilliland, Dean S. "The Indigenous Concept in Africa." Missiology: An International Review 1, no. 3 (July 1973): 343-56.
- Gration, John. "Willowbank to Zaire: The Doing of Theology." Missiology: An International Review 12, no. 3 (July 1984): 297-309.
- Griffith, Joyce. "The Advent Hope Reaches the Kasai." Review and Herald, 27 February 1975, 16-19.
- Hayward, Victor E. "African Independent Church Movements." International Review of Missions. (April 1963): 163-72.
- Irvine, Cecelia. "The Birth of the Kimbanguist Movement in the Bas-Zaire 1921." Journal of Religion in Africa 6, no. 1 (1974): 23-76.
- Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. "The Conversion Experience: The Apostles of John Maranke." Journal of Religion in Africa 7, no. 2 (1974): 132-64.
- Kilson, Marion. "Women in African Traditional Religions." Journal of Religion in Africa 8, no. 2 (1976):
- Langworthy, Harry W. "Charles Domingo, Seventh-day Baptists and Independency." Journal of Religion in Africa 15 (1983): 96-121.
- Lerrigo, P. H. J. "The 'Prophet Movement' in Congo." International Review of Missions 42, no. 11 (April 1922): 270-77.
- Makamba, Peter M. "African Independent Churches and TEE." International Review of Missions 71 (January 1982): 204-12.
- McLean, David A. and Ted J. Solomon. "Divination among the Bena Lulua." Journal of Religion in Africa 4 (1971): 25-44.
- Mills, Merle. "Diamonds by the Dozen: Report from Zaire." Review and Herald, 11 October 1973, 18-19.

- Muntu-Monji, Munayi. "Sources Imprimees et Bibliographie Suedoise Commentees Relatives aux Mouvements Prophetiques du Zaire." Journal of Religion in Africa 13, no. 3 (1982): 219-22.
- Murray, Jocelyn. "The Kikuyu Spirit Churches." Journal of Religion in Africa 5, no. 3 (1973): 198-234.
- _____. "A Bibliography on the East African Revival Movement." Journal of Religion in Africa 8 (1976): 92-104.
- _____. "The Kikuyu Spirit Churches." Journal of Religion in Africa 5 (1973): 198-234.
- Niklaus, Robert L. "Politics Goes to Church in Zaire." Christianity Today, 24 November 1972, 9.
- Ose Onibere, S. G. A. "The Phenomenon of African Religious Independency: Blessing or Curse on the Church Universal?" Africa Theological Journal 10, no. 1 (1981): 9-26.
- Pierson, Robert H. "What Went Wrong in Zaire." Review and Herald, 28 August 1975, 6.
- Pretorius, H. L. "Notes on the Catechisms of Two Independent Churches." Missionalia 3, no. 3 (November 1975): 105-110.
- Reynolds, E. Haynes. "The Church in Zaire--A Capsule History of Events that will Influence the Future." World Mission 30, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 43-47.
- Shank, David A. "The Prophet Harris: A Historiographical and Bibliographical Survey." Journal of Religion in Africa 14 (1983): 130-60.
- Sundkler, Bengt. "The Challenge of the Independent Churches." Missionalia 12, no. 1 (April 1984): 3-6.
- Turner, Harold W. "The Place of Independent Religious Movements in the Modernization of Africa." Journal of Religion in Africa, no. 2 (1969): 43-63.
- Vail, W. R. "Eleven Religious Groups in Zaire Seek Affiliation with Seventh-day Adventist Church." Review and Herald, 19 October 1972, 14-15.
4. Unpublished Materials
- Adelman, K. The Influence of Religion on National Interpretation in Zaire. Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975.

- Desmedt, R. J. A. "Kimbanguism au Kasai." A report from the Aimé archives in Luluabourg, File 1782, 1969.
- Ellstrom, Gordon. "One Year in the Kasai" delivered at the Zaire Union Mission Year-end Committee, December 1977.
- Heimer, H. F. "The Kimbanguists and the Bapostolo." Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1971.
- Kasai Project Committee Minutes, 25 January 1979.
- Kasai Project Year-end Committee Minutes, Lulengele Mission, Zaire, 2-5 February 1978.
- Mahaniah, K. "The Background of Prophetic Movements in the Belgian Congo." Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1975.
- Meditation of Paul Mwamba, April 1975
- Perrin, Roy. Report given concerning the Kasai at the Zaire Union Mission Year-end Committee in Lubumbashi, Zaire, December 1981.
- Thomas, Don. "Kasai Project Report" delivered at Zaire Union Mission Year-end Committee, Lubumbashi, Zaire, December 1973.
- _____. "Kasai Calling." An unpublished report written April, 1973.
- Zaire Union Mission Year-end Committee minutes, Lubumbashi, Zaire, 30 November-5 December 1979.
- Zaire Union Mission Committee Minutes, Lubumbashi, Zaire, 3 July 1974.
- Zaire Union Mission Officers Minutes, Lubumbashi, Zaire, 23 July 1974.

Respondents to Questionnaire

- Ellstrom, Gordon. Third Kasai director
- Lemon, Phil. Former Zaire Union Mission president
- Madandi, R. Kasai area pastor from the Kivu Province
- Mbyirukira, Mokotsi. Former Zaire Union Mission president
- Mills, Merle. Former Trans-Africa Division president
- Ndinga, M. Kasai translator
- Nzambamwita, N. Kasai Translator from the Kivu Province

Perrin, Roy. Fourth Kasai director

Ruterahagusha, R. Previous Lulengele Mission Director from the Kivu Province

Rwibasira, R. Kasai area pastor from the Kivu Province

Thomas, Don. First Kasai director

6. Letters

Buanga, Ntande B. to A. Long, 16 January 1977.

Ellstrom, Gordon to Merle Mills, 20 March 1977.

_____ . to Mills, April 1977.

_____ . to Mills, 12 May 1977.

_____ . to W. Hackett, 24 October 1977.

_____ . to Mills, 27 October 1977.

_____ . to Mills, 29 December 1977.

_____ . to M. Mbyirukira, September 1978.

_____ . to Duane McKey, 21 April 1986.

Kabeyamuambi, Ilunga to P. Lemon, 26 February 1973.

Kantole, S. to P. Lemon, 14 September 1972.

Lemon, P. to R. Pierson, 23 February 1972.

_____ . to Pierson, 7 January 1973.

_____ . to A. Long, 13 July 1973

_____ . to D. McKey, July 1986.

_____ . to Long, 21 August 1973.

Long, A. to Mills, 28 October 1974.

_____ . to Mills, 16 February 1975.

_____ . to Pierson, 16 February 1975.

_____ . to M. Mbyirukira, 17 February 1975.

- _____ . to Mbyirukira, 5 December 1976.
- _____ . to H. Salzman, 5 December 1976.
- _____ . to Ellstrom, 26 March 1977
- Long, Myrna to McKey, 28 June 1974.
- Mamba, Kubi to Duane McKey, September 1985.
- _____ . to McKey, February 1986.
- _____ . to McKey, 10 April 1986.
- _____ . to McKey, 15 April 1986.
- Manatshitu, Ndaye to the Lulengele Mission director and the Adventist
director at Luebo.
- Mbyirukira, Mokotsi to Duane McKey, 10 January 1986.
- Mills, M. to K. Emmerson, 23 July 1973.
- _____ . to D. Thomas, 7 August 1973.
- _____ . to Mbyirukira, 3 May 1974.
- _____ . to Bud Sherman, 24 April 1975.
- _____ . to Pierson, 29 April 1976.
- _____ . to Emmerson, 19 July 1976.
- _____ . to G. Ellstrom, 25 March 1977.
- _____ . to Ellstrom, 24 May 1977.
- _____ . to Ellstrom, 2 February 1978.
- Perrin, R. to McKey, December 1985.
- Pierson, R. to Mills, R. Clifford, and P. Lemon 17 August 1972.
- _____ . to Mills, 6 April 1976.
- Roderick, R. H. to K. H. Emmerson, 2 August 1972.
- Samuel, Baki to the Zaire Union Mission legal representative, 16 August
1973.
- Seton, B. E. to Mills, 27 January 1972.

Staples, T. to J. E. Edwards, 13 October 1975.

Tshishi, M. B. to Zaire Union Mission officials and Zaire Union Mission Committee members, 25 February 1973.

Tshitala to P. Lemon, 25 September 1972.

Vail, W. R. to McKey, 22 January 1986.

7. Interviews

Interview with Gordon Gray at Collonges, France, December 1975.

Interview with Kubi Mamba, Lubumbashi, Zaire, February 1986.

Interview with H. Hasaan, a businessman who has resided in Lubumbashi, Zaire, for many years, April 1986.

Interview with Robert Kloosterhuis, Lubumbashi, Zaire, October 1980.

Interview with Mukadi Luaba, Lubumbashi, Zaire, April 1986.

Interview with Burt Wendell, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 4 July 1986.

VITA

Personal

Parents: Louis and Cecelia McKey
 Birth Place: Carney, Oklahoma
 Birth Date: 6 November 1947
 Married: Kathleen Kay Lang, 30 May 1968
 Children: Bracken, Denae

Educational

D.Min.: Scheduled for completion 6 August 1989, Andrews University
 Theological Seminary
 M.Div.: Completed December 1973, Andrews University Theological
 Seminary
 B.A.: Union College, June 1970
 Major in Theology
 Minors in Greek and History

Professional

1986-1989: Pastor of Pendleton, Oregon SDA Church
 1983-1986: Secretary of Zaire Union Mission of SDAs,
 Lubumbashi, Zaire
 1981-1983: Pastor of Columbia, Missouri SDA Church
 1980-1981: Secretary of Zaire Union Mission of SDAs
 1977-1980: Lay Activities, Sabbath School, Youth and Communications
 Departmental Secretary, Zaire Union Mission of SDAs
 1976-1977: Deputy Director of Kasai Project, Zaire Union
 Mission of SDAs
 1975: French language study at Collonges, France
 1974: Personal evangelist for Nebraska Conference of SDAs
 1970-1971: Assistant pastor, College View, Lincoln, Nebraska SDA
 Church