

MARYKNOLL HISTORY IN AFRICA
PART FOUR
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KENYA REGION

Establishment of Kenya Region

On a Monday afternoon in mid-June, 1978, the residents of Musoma, Tanzania, were startled and excited to see three planes suddenly swoop into the dusty, seldom-used airport a half-mile from the town's center. Each plane was carrying American passengers, the fifteen to twenty Maryknoll priests and Brothers working in Kenya and Sudan, coming for the African Regional Assembly. As the border had been closed to automobiles, the decision was made to fly to Tanzania – with special permission granted by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere himself. The need to take extraordinary measures to attend a regional assembly symbolized its crucial nature for Maryknoll in East Africa.

In 1977 the Tanzania government closed the border with Kenya, an act that had great implications for the Maryknollers working in both of those countries. It meant that they could not easily travel from Tanzania to Kenya, except for one or two who received special permission from the President of Tanzania. Likewise, Maryknollers in Kenya could not travel to Tanzania except by air – and then only indirectly, via Burundi – although they had little need to do so.

The two countries were becoming very different in other ways. Kenya had solid economic growth in both the 1960s and 1970s, and was seen as possibly soon becoming a mid-level developing country (understanding how wrong everyone was is key to understanding the contemporary history of Africa and of developing nations in general). The sudden but not unexpected death of President Jomo Kenyatta in August, 1978, had little political impact on the country, as there was a smooth transition to Daniel Arap Moi, the former Vice-President. Kenya was seen as economically and politically stable. Tanzania, although very stable and peaceful, had seen its economic output drastically decline due in part to the strict socialist policies of the government. Its 1979 war with Uganda to remove Idi Amin bankrupted Tanzania completely. It became increasingly difficult to buy anything in shops anywhere in the country, including such basics as sugar, salt and bread. Subsistence farmers survived, though, by means of their traditional subsistence economy.

Maryknoll realities in each country were also diverging rapidly. In Tanzania, as Africanization of the local church was becoming a full reality, the issue was how to reduce Maryknoll power and control of the two dioceses of Musoma and Shinyanga. This was not an issue for Maryknollers in Kenya, who had only three parishes scattered among three geographically distant dioceses, all under African bishops. They did not have power, and were seeking ministerial space to form a Vatican II Church, as they perceived it. They also felt that Maryknoll discussions in Africa revolved around Tanzanian issues alone.

This was the context leading up to the 1978 Assembly, a pivotal turning point in Maryknoll's history in Africa. Although some had strong feelings against dividing the region, the assembly overwhelmingly approved the establishment of two regions, one in Kenya that would include those working in Sudan and Ethiopia, and the other in Tanzania (which would later include those working in Zambia and Mozambique). Bill

Daley, the Africa Regional Superior, became the Tanzania superior, and Bill Madden, the Assistant Regional, was elected the Kenya superior. Deciding who should be superiors of the respective countries elicited the odd observation from one member, who was seeking an administrative obstacle to dividing the region, that if the membership wished it could elect Daley, who resided in Tanzania, to be Kenya Superior, and elect Madden, who resided in Kenya, to be Tanzania Superior. Madden responded, “Yes we can choose this, should we be so foolish!”

A corresponding decision, of equal import, permitted Maryknollers in East Africa to choose in which region they wished to reside. Several who had been in Tanzania for many years formally requested to move to Kenya, requests which were granted. Each had his own reason, but the opportunity to try a different type of ministry after many years of rural parish work was a common rationale. Also, for those nearing old age (in 1978, Maryknollers in East Africa over the age of fifty considered themselves old) the ease of getting food and supplies in Kenya was a welcome prospect, especially compared with the constant struggle in rural Tanzania just to survive.

The Kenya Region began to grow, and diversify. A new phrase came into use, ‘specialized ministries,’ referring to those doing non-parochial ministries, primarily in Nairobi. (As was noted in Part Two, the Units started by the General Council were envisioned as engaging in specialized ministries rather than traditional parochial ministries. In East Africa, this term was used primarily to describe many of the ministries being done by Maryknollers in Nairobi.) In addition, leadership of the Kenya Region continued to look for parish ministries in Nairobi and in places where Maryknoll never had worked, particularly in the Diocese of Mombasa and later in Garissa Diocese.

First, we will look at the many diverse non-parochial ministries that developed in Nairobi, and that actually began several years before that fateful regional assembly in Musoma.

Hospital Chaplaincy in Nairobi

Kenyatta National Hospital is Kenya’s enormous, 1000-bed referral hospital, which handles all the nation’s difficult medical cases not treatable in district and provincial hospitals. In addition, it is the district/provincial hospital for residents of Nairobi, which numbered half a million in 1970 and was growing rapidly. In the early 1970s there were three full-time Protestant chaplains, of different denominations, serving the hospital, but no assigned Catholic Chaplain. Priests from the Cathedral parish visited the hospital sporadically or for emergency purposes. The primary hindrances to Catholic hospital chaplaincy were lack of African priests (and priests in general), and a total lack of training in chaplaincy work. In 1973 Fr. John Wymes, who had worked in Musoma Diocese for a number of years as well as at Isibania Parish in Kenya for a short while, and who was a trained psychologist, accepted a fervent request from Cardinal Maurice Otunga to the missionary societies for a full-time Catholic chaplain at Kenyatta Hospital. Wymes served there for three years, and was followed by two other Maryknoll priests, which delighted Cardinal Otunga.

The first was Fr. Edward ‘Eppy’ James, who had spent many years working in several parishes in Shinyanga Diocese in Tanzania. He was always one of the most well-liked Maryknollers, full of ebullient good humor and friendliness, and a frequent emitter

of comical expressions called epigrams (e.g. ‘livestock and barrel’, rather than ‘lock, stock and barrel’), which gave him his nickname. In the early 1970s he went back to the U.S. to seek recovery from alcoholism (he made a full recovery), and became involved in hospital ministry. In 1976 he returned to East Africa, with the request and recommendation that he do hospital chaplaincy at Kenyatta Hospital. He replaced Wymes, who went on to help found Amani Counseling Centre, which we will read about below.

In March, 1977, James was joined by Fr. Maurice ‘Moe’ Zerr, who had also worked in Shinyanga Diocese for over twenty years. Zerr had gone to the U.S. in 1975 for a cataract operation, and then remained in the U.S. through 1976, taking one semester of clinical pastoral education (CPE) at a hospital in Massachusetts, and then did several days of hospital chaplaincy while helping out at a parish in Branford, Connecticut, near New Haven. On return to East Africa he was asked to go to Dar es Salaam, which was considered a priority for the Africa Region that year. This was almost two years before the establishment of the Kenya Region, and the Regional Superior at that time, Fr. James ‘Mo’ Morrissey, was trying to keep personnel in Tanzania and limit what he feared would be a wholesale exodus to Nairobi. Because Zerr wore hard contact lens, and did not want to live in Tanzania’s dusty environment, he appealed to the General Council to assign him to the somewhat cleaner air of Nairobi. This was accepted.

Zerr stayed on as chaplain for almost seven years, till the end of 1983, and worked the last three years alone, after James returned to do Mission Promotion work in the U.S. in 1980. Zerr and James lived together in an apartment not far from the hospital, sharing the workload and complementing each other. It was very tiresome work, about eight hours a day each, not counting the celebration of Mass on Sundays. Zerr gave the following explanation of their work:

The essential work consisted of going around bed to bed, greeting the patients, finding out who was Catholic, and bringing the sacraments, such as the Eucharist and Anointing of the Sick. We also offered evening Mass for all the nurses, both men and women, at the Nurses’ College, plus for any of the doctor trainees from the Medical School who wished to attend. It was not only the huge hospital itself that was visited, but other hospital campuses as well, such as the orthopedic hospital which was near the Maryknoll center house at that time, the infectious disease hospital, and the residence for paraplegics and quadriplegics. The latter was small but one could spend a lot of time with them.

So, yes, it was tiring, but also very interesting. The fundamental quality that a chaplain had to bring to the hospital every day was cheerfulness, whether you were tired or not. I enjoyed my seven years there, and made some good friends at the hospital, such as one nurse who works in Nyeri (eighty miles north of Nairobi) whom I still see from time to time, her and her family.

To help them in their work, James made use of a great opportunity that became available in the mid-1970s, the seminarians from the newly founded Apostles of Jesus located only a mile from the hospital. They would come on Saturdays, visit the patients, and write down the names of Catholics who wanted to be given communion. They would come again on Sunday, and after Mass would go around the hospital distributing

communion. That enabled the priests to visit other hospital campuses on Sunday. Zerr later commented, "We continued to get even more seminarians, and it worked out very well. It was a good experience for the seminarians too."

One unusual contribution made by the chaplains actually came from an idea of one of the patients at the hospital for paraplegics. Zerr relates the tale this way:

Shafkat Khan, an Asian, was a paraplegic patient, but also a clever guy. Expensive wheelchairs were being imported from Europe, but he claimed that he could design locally made wheelchairs, made of local materials, that would be much cheaper. He took a wheelchair apart, measured everything precisely, and came up with a design for a collapsible wheelchair made of all local metal and using bicycle wheels. A local company, MECOL, was shown the designs and produced a half dozen wheelchairs, which we bought. These were cheaper, could be welded if broken, and flat tires could be easily repaired. This was a great project until MECOL began raising the prices. Finally, when the prices matched the European imports, MECOL lost their domestic market and quit making wheelchairs. But it was a good project for a while and many patients received wheelchairs.

In 1979, a year before James returned to the U.S., the Kenya government said it would pay a government salary for one Catholic chaplain, and one Protestant chaplain. As Zerr would be staying on, he applied for the salary and received it. By American standards it was quite low, but the priests used it to help pay the rent at their apartment.

After James left, Zerr was alone for a while, but not long after realized that three Camillan Fathers had come to Kenya. They refused an invitation from the Cardinal to take a parish, saying their work was with the sick in the hospital. Zerr visited them, and invited them to help him with chaplaincy at Kenyatta Hospital. They agreed and their help was very much appreciated. Finally in 1983, Zerr felt that he had been chaplain long enough and that the Camillan Fathers could take over. The Camillans became the chaplains at Kenyatta (and at other hospitals in Kenya), and remain there today. Nairobi's population in 1983 had risen to around a million, and is about four million today.

The chaplaincy work of the three Maryknoll priests at Kenyatta Hospital was so respected, and so appreciated by Cardinal Otunga, that this cemented Maryknoll's good reputation in Nairobi. It was one of several contributions that made it easy for Maryknollers in the future to be granted permission to engage in non-traditional apostolates that the Cardinal personally would not have been interested in. The Maryknoll center house is located just a stone's throw from the Cardinal's residence (if you have a good throwing arm), and the relations between the Cardinal and Maryknoll were always excellent. (The one ironic exception to full mutual understanding was Cardinal Otunga's strong desire that Maryknoll start a seminary in Nairobi to lead to the ordination of African Maryknoll priests. The Maryknoll Superior's polite but inevitable refusal, based on Society constitutions requiring American residency to become a Maryknoll priest, did not hurt relations, but the Cardinal could never understand why hundreds of religious orders of men and women from all over the world, many that had never worked in East Africa, wanted to open seminaries, convents and houses of formation in Nairobi, and the Society doing so much work in Nairobi was not interested

in this. But he always liked Maryknoll; and most Maryknollers who worked in Nairobi, or even elsewhere in Kenya, came to have respect and even fondness for the Cardinal.)

Catholic Charismatic Movement

After finishing up as chaplain at Kenyatta Hospital in late 1983, Fr. Mo Zerr stayed at the Maryknoll center house for several months looking for a new assignment. Cardinal Otunga sent him a letter asking him to talk to the African priests of the Archdiocese about the charismatic renewal movement. There was a small charismatic group that had been having prayer meetings at the cathedral since 1977, whose origin Zerr had been involved in. He had started getting interested in charismatic prayer in the U.S. in 1975.

Zerr explains that “several African Sisters were participating in the charismatic prayer meetings, but African priests totally refused to have anything to do with it. They were having trouble in their parishes with Pentecostal groups, and were warning the Catholics to stay away from this. One African pastor explicitly preached one Sunday that any Catholic who says ‘Jesus is my personal savior’ will not be allowed in church any more.” It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of expatriate priests also did not look favorably on charismatic renewal, although they were not so vocally opposed.

Given the priests’ opposition Zerr never talked to them as a group. Instead, he began visiting secondary schools and post-secondary institutes. He had an official letter from the Cardinal, and would go first to talk with the headmaster or headmistress. He acknowledged that schools could be troubled by extreme misinterpretations of the action of the Holy Spirit, such as being able to pass tests without studying or be miraculously cured from tropical diseases merely by praying. He asked for permission to speak to the whole student body, or at least the Catholics, to give the formal understanding of how the Spirit works through our lives.

Very few schools refused, and in two years Zerr spoke in well over one hundred schools, an incredible achievement since he had to first drive out to the schools to organize the event, and then go back again. Nairobi Archdiocese is not overly large in territory and there are many tarmac roads, but it includes two rural districts that have few tarmac roads. The schools gave him an excellent reception, and often he would address upwards of a thousand students, plus many teachers.

The essential purpose of charismatic renewal was to foster a more emotional, physical form of prayer and celebration. In part, this was an antidote to the very rational form of worshiping brought by expatriate missionaries, from Europe particularly, but also from other parts of the Western world. In Kenya European churchmen stressed the sacrificial element of worship, which was the priest/cleric’s domain. They de-valued traditional African cultural expressions, such as spontaneity, physical movement, dance, joyous singing, and emotive prayer, reducing the laity’s role to passive observance of the priest’s cultic action. The Catholic Charismatic Movement readily found African Catholics who wanted to worship in a more African way within Catholic churches. Although prayer in tongues was done by a few adherents, it was never viewed as the primary component of this movement.

Zerr was assisted by Fr. Bill Madden, who was Regional Superior at that time and also interested in more emotive prayer. A charismatic Mass was held at the Cathedral

each weekend, and the group steadily grew in number. The two priests formed a core group of leaders, gave them training and scriptural/theological input, and traveled with the group occasionally to other parts of the country. In 1986 Zerr joined the chaplaincy team at Nairobi University, but remained intermittently connected with the movement. After that, Madden continued to be an integral part of the charismatic movement until he returned to the U.S. in 1992.

The charismatic form of prayer and worship is inherently African and appeals to many African Catholics. Over the years the movement became established in half of Nairobi's 100 parishes, to say nothing of the large numbers of parishes in other dioceses. Even in parishes without the charismatic movement, more emotive forms of worship became normative, such as rhythmic processions by girls' traditional dance groups accompanied by joyous singing, use of the drum and khayamba in church, lengthy prayer by members of the congregation, and even less rational, more affective methods of preaching, especially by African priests. The latter may have been uncomfortable with Pentacostal styles of prayer in the early 1980s, but in the new millennium the younger priests view charismatic forms of prayer and celebration as normal, unaware that there might have been a controversy thirty years previously.

As a footnote, though, in February, 2009, Cardinal John Njue, who became Archbishop of Nairobi in 2007, inexplicably called in 200 officials of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal Movement, saying that he was suspending all its activities for a short time "in order to investigate the movement." He gave no explanation of why he was doing this, and even ignored the full approval given it by the two previous Archbishops of Nairobi, Otunga and Archbishop Rafael Ndingi. The Catholic Charismatic Movement has 100 million members worldwide, and has been explicitly affirmed by Popes Paul VI, John Paul II and Benedict XVI. It does not seem that the Vatican would have ordered an investigation of this movement in Kenya. In any event, in July, 2009, Cardinal Njue's office announced that the suspension was lifted. Again, no reasons for the suspension or why the suspension was lifted were given.

Amani Counseling Center

In 1970 Maryknoll Fr. John Wymes lived at Isibania Parish, primarily to teach at the Catholic secondary school on the parish compound and help out in the parish on weekends. He then went to the U.S. to get a degree in Psychology. On his return in the year 1973 he looked for a way to put his degree into practice and offer services to the people of Kenya, first becoming Chaplain at Kenyatta Hospital. In the mid-1970s he joined an informal group of people with psychological training, including Dr. Margarete Meck (considered the founder of Amani Counseling Center), Rev. David Trollope and his wife Christa, Sr. Frances Randall, SND, and Mercy Sister Leonie Boland. Shortly afterwards Maryknoll Sister Bernice Rigney also joined this group. They perceived that there was a real need for counseling and other psychological care in the growing urban milieu, although at that time there was not much felt need for professional psychological counseling. Financial poverty was one impediment for most people to seeking out psychological treatment. Additionally, almost all African people, when serious mental-emotional problems manifested themselves, tended to turn to traditional healers or in the end to psychiatrists, such as at Mathare Valley Mental Hospital. The religious volunteers summed up the situation in the 1970s in Nairobi as follows:

Nairobi, as a city of change, is symbolic of the more general aspect of transition which is part of the process of development. Kenya's significant economic progress has meant that a changing pattern of life is introduced and with it the problem of human adaptation.

How can we, as Christians, respond to the needs we see: emotional turmoil, social and individual confusion, strained marriages, troubled family systems, and self-destructive patterns of behavior.

We have also noted that doctors do not have the time or training to treat basic illnesses whose underlying pathology is psychosomatic. Likewise, pastors are approached by people with personal problems but do not have the expertise to offer counsel. Therefore, we believe that there is a great need for a center offering professional counseling services.

The group began doing counseling, often on a voluntary basis, at a room at Waumini House (*waumini* is a Swahili word meaning 'the faithful;' this building is owned by the Kenya Catholic Episcopal Conference), in which the counseling area was separated from the windowless secretarial space by a partition. They were also able to utilize a room at the rectory of the Cathedral in downtown Nairobi where clients were met, although this lasted for only a few years. Eventually they were able to expand their facilities at Waumini House. From the beginning Maryknoll was very supportive of this initiative and through Wymes almost all the original furniture was donated by Maryknoll. Other Maryknollers were assigned by Maryknoll over the next fifteen years to assist Amani with its counseling work, such as Lay Missioner Larry Doperak, MM Fr. Tom McDonnell, and Brothers Jim Fahy and John Rieschick. Waumini House remained the locale of Amani Counseling Center until 1993, when a two-story building, replete with adequate office space, therapy rooms, a large seminar/classroom, and sufficient rooms for private counseling, was constructed not far from Kenyatta Hospital on Mbagathi Way.

The center was officially opened in 1979, by which time it had use of several rooms at Waumini House. However, in its first decade funding and recognition remained serious obstacles to sustainability. At that time the first counseling session was usually free and for subsequent one-hour sessions the charge was only Shs. 50/- (about \$7.00 in 1979). Through educational outreach Amani gradually became well-known both in Kenya and within the international community. Funding by international agencies based in Europe eventually made the center solvent but only by the mid-1990s.

In 1979 MM Fr. Tom McDonnell came to Nairobi to join the new Kenya Region. He had worked in several parishes in Shinyanga Diocese of Tanzania from 1965 to 1972 and spoke both Sukuma and Swahili. He had taken two quarters of Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) while on furlough in 1968/69 and then studied Pastoral Psychotherapy, Marriage and Family Counseling, and Group Psychotherapy at Blanton-Peale Graduate Institute in New York City from 1975 to 1979, which included a year of private practice in New York under supervision. He narrated a story that happened in his first year in Chamugasa Parish in Shinyanga in 1966, an unplanned event that led to his interest in reaching out to those with psychological illness in Africa:

I had been in Chamugasa for only a short time when one day a very tall man came to the parish compound to converse with me. He had a gift of making sentences out of my weak attempts to speak the limited Sukuma language that I knew. Since he could make sense out of what I was trying to say, I took him out with me to some outstation Masses in my small Volkswagon.

At the first Mass he received Communion, but then at the next place he wanted to receive Communion again, which was not done in those days. I tried to explain to him that once is enough but he followed me around for the rest of the Mass with his mouth wide open and then did the same thing at a third place. I also noticed that no one wanted to sit next to him or even near him, which is very unusual for Africans. I took him back to Chamugasa and let him sleep in the church. I heard him howling during the night, but then the next morning he was gone and I never saw him again.

I did not think of him again until six months later. Fr. Tom Burke, the pastor, was in the U.S. being treated for skin cancer and I was alone in the parish. The catechist came and said that the village elders – not the church elders, but the elders of the village – wanted to speak with me. I was apprehensive but agreed.

The discussion was not making sense and I could not fully understand what the elders were saying. I finally asked the catechist, “Are they saying what I think they are saying?” The catechist said yes.

They were saying that I must have some kind of potent magic, because I am not as crazy as I should be. They said that I spent the whole day with that crazy man but didn’t become crazy myself. I finally realized that they thought that mental illness is a contagious disease that you contract by spending time with someone emotionally disturbed.

We talked further and I used the example of sitting next to someone with a broken arm, which does not result in my getting a broken arm. It can be fixed just like mental illness. But I didn’t know much about psychology then.

However, one of the men asked me to visit a family where they had a family member with a severe mental illness tied up all day every day. As a result I started getting involved with a number of people who were mentally disturbed, and it was eye-opening how many there were, just in the Chamugasa area. Many were wonderful, marvelous people who just happened to have a run of bad luck or were disturbed for a while, things like depression, anxiety or some other illness. Of course, some were certifiably crazy.

This incident and the visits to other mentally disturbed people were what caused my interest in psychological illnesses and also how to minister to these people through the Church.

McDonnell chose Blanton-Peale because of “its strong pastoral training, its ecumenical nature (Catholic, Protestant and Jewish), and eclectic methodology.” The Institute was started in 1937 and was initially Freudian, but by the 1970s all psychotherapeutic methods were accepted. McDonnell preferred Jungian psychology, because he had already been doing reading in this field.

After arriving in Nairobi in 1979 he began providing psychological counseling in three different ways: at Amani Counseling Centre at Waumini House in the Westlands

section of Nairobi, in private practice in downtown Nairobi, and at the government mental hospital at Mathare Valley (actually on the plateau above the valley adjacent to Thika Highway). McDonnell acknowledges that Amani was just getting started then – the Center today lists 1979 as the first official year of its functioning – and was still a ‘ragtag’ operation.

Most of them were volunteer therapists, wives of people who were stationed in Kenya. The women – wonderful women – wanted to do some good while in Kenya. Although not trained counselors, they had bits and pieces of training and understanding of counseling. Some were excellent and others not as good. But they all brought good will and that is maybe the most important ingredient when working with troubled people. I was their supervisor and also doing some individual counseling myself.

All the people connected with Amani those first few years had very good relationships but then, according to McDonnell, divergent opinions about several matters caused some tension and conflict. One issue was McDonnell’s follow-up counseling of people discharged from Mathare Valley Mental Hospital. He says that “they would just go out to Thika Highway, wearing castaway clothes, to catch a bus home. Coming from Mathare Valley they were labeled. They were isolated, treated poorly and insulted. So the transition from Mathare back to the home situation was very, very difficult and often led to a return to Mathare. I thought one of the best things I did was helping them to transition to life outside of Mathare.”

Another issue that led to conflict was that of AIDS, which already in the early 1980s gave indications of becoming a major phenomenon in Africa. McDonnell went around to as many Catholic and Protestant churches as possible, and to the one Jewish synagogue, to speak of the need for AIDS counseling. He also attempted to get AIDS counseling into Amani Counseling Centre. At that time there was a tremendous amount of ignorance and fear around the whole AIDS syndrome and according to McDonnell:

There was a split right down the middle. Half were fully in favor and half were totally opposed. There was no middle ground. Those opposed did not want to be in a room, the waiting room, or the building with AIDS people. So, we had a house divided, very much so.

Amani eventually made AIDS counseling one of its signature contributions to Nairobi and the whole country of Kenya. Even in 1982 everybody on the staff thought that this was a good idea but there were two issues confronting them. One issue more likely centered around the worry that if Amani became known as an AIDS Counseling Center then all other clients would avoid it, out of fear and ignorance. The other issue stated by some of the staff was the unyielding refusal of the Kenya Government to even admit that AIDS was going to become a problem, despite mounting evidence. Amani was still a fledgling organization and there was a fear that too much attention on AIDS would cause the government to place insurmountable barriers in the way of its growth. (By 1987 the Kenya government’s position had begun to change and it started a national AIDS commission, which will be mentioned below.)

As a result of these different perspectives, McDonnell left Amani by the end of 1982 and concentrated on his private practice and work at Mathare Valley Hospital, remaining in Kenya until 1985. In that year he returned to New York, where he received consecutive Fellowships for two years of studies in AIDS ministry at Sloane Kettering Hospital. On his return to Kenya at the end of 1987, he again worked at Amani Counseling Centre for two years, all the while continuing with his private practice and work at Mathare Valley Hospital.

In 2004 Amani celebrated its 25th anniversary and published a booklet highlighting some of its accomplishments over the years. It considered the 1980s a pioneering period, in which two major constraints were lack of financial resources and constant turnover of volunteer counselors, who were mainly expatriates. Despite these constraints there were some notable accomplishments:

- 1) The beginning of outreach activities in 1981.
- 2) The publication and implementation of the first Training Curriculum in 1984
- 3) The initiation of the "Dear Amani" column in the national newspaper in 1984
- 4) The implementation of regular courses for the general public in 1985
- 5) The organization of an intensive three-month, full-time course in counseling in 1987, followed by 250 counseling hours under supervision.
- 6) The introduction in 1989 of a two-year Diploma course in Pastoral Counseling, held one day per week, focusing on theory as well as experiential work.

Examples of the kinds of problems presented by clients were: marriage and relationship conflicts, low self-esteem, sexual problems, guilt feelings, addiction, and problems of children and young adults in family, school, social life or elsewhere.

In 1984 Wymes finished his service to Amani and returned to the U.S. By the end of that year Amani was experiencing some difficulties and Maryknoll was sought out to assign another person trained in counseling to join the center. Brother Jim Fahy had finished his work at Undugu Society (c.f. below) and was taking courses in Spiritual Direction at Chicago Theological Union. He was informed by Fr. Dick Quinn of the financial difficulties and frequent turnover of counselors at Amani Centre, problems compounded by the habit of some of Amani's counselors to invite well-off clients to their private practices rather than continue at Amani. Amani had a sliding rate, in which the poor were charged very little (in some cases nothing at all) and the better off were charged more, fees which Amani desperately needed. Losing well-off clients to private practice was hurting Amani financially. Because of this the Board of Amani Centre had discontinued the services of several counselors and was looking for new staff.

Aware that he needed further credits in order to join Amani's staff, Fahy decided to add more courses towards a degree in counseling and human relations at Loyola University, Chicago. He returned to Kenya in October, 1985, and applied to Amani Counseling Centre, which accepted him. For a while this gave him two tasks, as the Kenya Regional Superior, Fr. Joe Glynn, had asked him to do youth work at Jericho Parish until Maryknoll would leave the parish later in the year.

Fahy explained that Amani performed four services:

Its basic purpose was to provide people a place where they could discuss their problems with skilled counselors or psychologists. People were welcome regardless of sex, race, creed or community. A second aspect was to offer training programs on pastoral counseling, usually in evenings. For example, the two-year course on Monday evenings, started in 1989, had twenty-seven people attending faithfully. Some were interested in getting into the profession of counseling, and we sought accreditation with the Catholic Higher Institute of East Africa for this course. A third part was public education, primarily through the 'Dear Amani' letter published in the Daily Nation newspaper every week. That was one of my prime tasks while I was at Amani. Finally, the fourth component of our work was going out to give public awareness talks on psychological health or on other themes related to human relations, such as marriage and human sexuality. If money came in for a public talk, it was supposed to go to the centre.

Fahy's work with Amani led to his being nominated to serve on the national AIDS committee, called at that time the Information Education Communications (IEC) committee, which was formed in 1987. By that year Kenya, like all the countries of East Africa, was finding this incurable disease to be a terrible scourge, killing thousands of people each year at their most productive age. The committee was connected to the Ministry of Health, and had two main tasks according to Fahy: "A major part of our work was public education, through radio, TV, newspapers, etc. We also had to develop an AIDS counseling curriculum, which took over a year. The counseling course finally began in January, 1988. Funding came from the World Health Organization (WHO)." Fahy participated in giving two one-week courses, one at Amani Centre itself, and another in the city of Nakuru, in Rift Valley Province, which was attended by people from all over the country.

Before finishing up at Amani in 1989, to take a full program in pastoral counseling at Loyola College in Columbia, Maryland, Fahy played a pivotal role in starting an annual Brothers Assembly for all Religious Brothers working in Kenya. He always felt that the Brothers vocation was overlooked, most especially by Bishops, even though every diocese had Brothers working in them. Through collaboration with two other Brothers (non-Maryknoll) and a Jesuit priest who worked for the Religious Superiors of Kenya and helped obtain finances, the first Brothers Assembly took place in Nairobi in April, 1989. This annual assembly, normally of four days length and held in a different part of Kenya each year, became popular with Brothers and was always well attended. Fahy said, "Each year we had a different theme, such as lifestyle, mission, or spirituality, but the overriding intention was to encourage and affirm the vocation of Brother. We also wanted diocesan vocation directors to realize that young men seeking religious life had options in addition to the priesthood. We stressed that academically Brothers had to be on an equal par with priesthood candidates. Today many Kenyan Brothers are going on for degrees."

When Fahy left for the U.S. his place at Amani Centre was taken by newly arrived MM Brother John Rieschick. Fahy returned to Kenya for a few months in 1992, but realized that he had personal issues that he wanted to deal with back in the U.S. He left Kenya again, and joined the Maryknoll Development Department, working in San

Francisco. Rieschick served at Amani from 1990 to 1993, leaving at about the same time that the center moved into its new building on Mbagathi Way.

Whereas the 1980s were a pioneering period for Amani Counseling Centre, the 1990s were a consolidation phase, in which Amani liaised with renowned educational institutions in Kenya and abroad and gained official recognition as a professional training center. After completion of the first two Diploma courses in 1993 (each was two years in duration) subsequent courses were run in conjunction with the Irish State University in Cork, Ireland. These courses granted either a Diploma or Higher Diploma in Counseling. In 1999 Amani extended its liaison to include Tangaza College of Langata, Nairobi. In 1996 Amani was chosen by the Kenya Ministry of Education to provide two six-week courses in Guidance and Counseling to school inspectors and selected primary school teachers from all Provinces in Kenya. The theoretical input was complemented by field attachment in Nairobi schools, enabling these teachers to practice their learned skills of listening, observing, interviewing and communicating. In the 1990s the official name of the center was changed to Amani Counseling Centre & Training Institute (ACCTI).

Training was not the only area in which Amani's expertise became necessary. In the 1990s two major events, one regional and the other national, created thousands of critically traumatized people, galvanizing Amani to respond. The first was the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 that resulted in hordes of refugees fleeing to Kenya, many in need of trauma counseling. The second was the bomb blast at the American Embassy in Nairobi in August, 1998, that culminated in 5000 clients being counseled by Amani.

After the bomb blast in Nairobi USAID contributed hefty financial aid to Amani (the program was called Amani Crisis Mental Health Assistance Program) and two other groups (Red Cross and Operation Recovery). This aid enabled Amani to develop further opportunities, such as giving workshops on trauma to key decision and policy makers, to hold community seminars for local leaders throughout the country, and to train teachers how to identify trauma in children. Despite the immense benefits accruing to Kenya from this comprehensive program, USAID completely discontinued funding in August, 2002, and the program came to an abrupt halt.

The expertise it had gained in treating people with trauma was not lost, however, and again became necessary after the post-election violence in Kenya in the early months of 2008. By then Amani had opened satellite centers in Kisumu and Mombasa, and was able to counsel and treat people closer to their homes rather than have them travel to Nairobi.

Amani continues to develop new themes in its outreach to society, such as marital counseling as viewed within African cultural heritage, attempting to introduce counseling into prisons especially for young prisoners in order to rehabilitate them for productive citizenship after release from prison, making firm attempts to change the concept of school discipline from physical punishment to that of counseling wayward students, working with abused children, and responding in an even more holistic fashion to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As this century's second decade begins Amani is on firm financial footing, utilizes mainly African professional counselors, has a Kenyan Director (Mrs. Anna Otiende), and has been recognized by all strata of Kenya society as one of the critical institutions in building a healthy, cohesive nation.

Alcoholics Anonymous

Fr. Laurenti Magesa was born in Nyegina, a lakeside (Lake Victoria) community not far from Musoma, Tanganyika, in 1923, and was baptized several days later, one of the very few who would have been baptized as an infant at that time in western Tanganyika. While in Primary School he was an altar boy, and decided to enter the minor seminary in Nyegezi (near Mwanza) in 1935, where he studied from 5th to 12th grade. He then went to the major seminary in Kipalapala, near Tabora, Tanganyika (the name of the country was changed to Tanzania in 1964), and was finally ordained a priest in 1954, the first native African priest in Musoma Diocese. For the next twenty years he worked in various parishes in Musoma, and for four years was pastor of Musoma Parish. As it was about ten years before another African priest was ordained in Musoma, Magesa always lived with Maryknoll priests (all of whom were American or Canadian), and developed very good relations with them.

Depending on the particular circumstances of the area, it is estimated that from 10% to 35% of adult men in any ethnic group in East Africa eventually develop the disease of alcoholism. Most rural areas of East Africa are undeveloped and quite poor, and alcoholism is often devastating to the family. Priests are not immune from this disease, and by the 1970s Maryknoll became one of the first religious orders to actively intervene when any member showed obvious signs of alcoholism. Several of the African priests also succumbed to this disease, including Magesa. Maryknoll decided to provide the same help to African priests willing to receive help as it did for Maryknollers. Magesa accepted the intervention – which gratified the Maryknollers in Musoma because he was very well liked – and went to the U.S. for treatment and rehabilitation in the years 1974-1975.

On his return to East Africa he was assigned to Jericho Parish in Nairobi, where Fr. Bob Vujs was pastor at that time. Magesa was to remain in Nairobi for the next twenty years, and for most of those years he was an Associate Maryknoll priest. As Maryknoll gradually handed over parishes back to the Archdiocese and opened new parishes, Magesa moved from Jericho to Buru Buru Phase III, and finally to Umoja Parish, before returning to Tanzania in 1995. It was understood that his main purpose was to help found Alcoholics Anonymous groups under the auspices of Catholic dioceses and parishes, beginning in Nairobi and expanding to all parts of Kenya, but he also had duties as assistant pastor in each of those parishes. He commented that “it is very, very difficult to divide yourself half in the parish and half in helping people outside the parish, but they have come to realize that I should work full-time in alcoholics recovery work.” That was in 1989, at which time he became the full-time coordinator for Alcoholics Anonymous for the Catholic Church in Kenya, directly under the Catholic Bishops Conference.

Two other Maryknoll priests were also recovered alcoholics, Frs. Eppy James and George Egan (both now deceased), and they worked in Nairobi, James in the late 1970s and Egan from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, but neither did work directly for Alcoholics Anonymous. In specific situations, though, they could be called on to do interventions, or help with an intervention, or address a group or congregation about the disease of alcoholism. Magesa was always considered the one doing full-time work on this. The added advantage was that he was an African, and African alcoholics could not try to con or manipulate him that he does not understand African customs.

Magesa explained his work: “Alcoholism is a worldwide problem which doesn’t respect any person, gender, education or position. In Nairobi, there were many families breaking up, people losing their jobs and income, and even people losing their lives, due to addiction to alcohol. It was necessary to provide help. In 1975 I started with just one group, with only one other person in it besides me. In the beginning I had to go out looking for people, but after a few years people began looking for this program. By 1990, we had 95 groups in Kenya, which is really a blessing.” It should be noted, though, that not all groups functioned at all times. Some groups were started due to the pastoral concerns of the pastor in the parish, who was not himself an alcoholic, but ceased functioning as interest waned. Additionally, not only the Catholic Church initiated AA groups but the Catholic Church probably did the most work in Kenya addressing this huge problem. It should also be mentioned that both the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Islamic Faith both forbid alcohol consumption. However, they take a purely moralistic approach and have no program for treating anyone who does develop the disease of alcoholism.

Magesa said that education was the key. So he went around talking to priests gathered for seminars/workshops, to seminarians, to Sisters, to schools, and at the Kenyatta Nursing School. In 1989 Magesa said, “There is a big problem in secondary schools, especially in Nairobi and other big cities. And now it is being compounded by drugs coming in from outside the country. Students must be educated about all aspects of this problem, so they can understand what addiction is and how difficult it is to overcome. But they should also know that help can be available, if they are willing to accept it.” By the new millennium the drug problem in schools had multiplied tremendously, and it was reported that Kenya had become a major conduit for the transfer of drugs from southeast Asia to Europe. Corrupt people at the airport have a decisive part in this, and without confronting corruption drug addiction will not be easily controlled in Kenya.

In addition to working directly with groups and individuals, Magesa also translated several books about Alcoholism into Swahili: *Alcoholics Anonymous*; *Twelve Steps*, *Twelve Traditions*; and a prayer book called *The 24 Hour Book*. Recently Fr. John Conway, who is currently doing alcohol recovery ministry, commented that:

I have to give great credit to Magesa for beginning the AA work in the Archdiocese of Nairobi. He established scores of groups and, while not all continued, many have. For instance, in Jericho Parish, where he was stationed for so many years, the AA groups that he originated there to this day have a very active set of meetings. He along with others established seventeen meetings in Nairobi, in morning, mid-day and evening hours, and all are still functioning. Attendance certainly goes up and down, but I was at a meeting at Consolata Shrine Parish recently and we had somewhere between forty and sixty people. It is Magesa’s long work in AA that got this started and gave it a firm foundation.

In 1995 Magesa returned to Musoma Diocese to do pastoral work, but before leaving Nairobi Magesa recommended that the Kenya bishops take a more incisive role in this apostolate, especially for Kenyan diocesan priests, and that either the Kenya bishops or AMECEA establish its own treatment center, modeled after similar treatment

centers in the United States. Several years later this was done, when a Jesuit priest established a rehabilitation center for addictions in Tigoni, near Limuru, twenty miles northwest of Nairobi. Then in 2005 a former Dominican priest started a non-governmental organization called SAPTA, Support for Addiction, Prevention and Treatment in Africa. Although not directly Catholic, it has a lot of involvement from priests and other Catholic offices. More will be said about this in Part Seven of Maryknoll's history in Kenya.

Youth Work in Nairobi

To an extent each of the Maryknoll parishes started in Kenya in the 1970s placed attention on youth activities within the parish. This was unavoidable, since youth under the age of twenty usually made up close to fifty percent of the church-goers. But other than Brother Jim Fahy in Kisii, there was no Maryknoller doing full-time youth work. This would change beginning in 1980, when over the course of the next ten years three other Maryknoll Brothers, in addition to Fahy, would make youth work their full-time ministries, in the dioceses of Nairobi and Mombasa. There were differences in the specific types of youth ministry each did, corresponding to the diverse challenges that responding to youth needs presented.

Africa has been an overwhelmingly young continent right into the new millennium, and no country more so than Kenya. In the 1970s Kenya had a very high fertility rate (eight live births per woman), and its relatively decent medical facilities had reduced the infant mortality rate, resulting in the highest rate of population growth in the world. In 1980 an astounding statistic was released – fifty percent of the population in Kenya were under the age of sixteen. Only fifteen percent of Kenya is arable land and already land pressures were forcing thousands of school-leavers to migrate to the cities searching for economic opportunity. In the early 1980s Kenya achieved nearly 100% enrollment in primary school (this later dropped down to 75% by the early 1990s, due in great part to IMF and World Bank structural adjustment policies), and secondary school enrollment continued to rise unceasingly. However, job growth did not match the inevitable pressures created by rising expectations and meager opportunities. Every year there were over a half million school leavers, most without land, but only around 50,000 new jobs created in the national economy.

In 1980 Fahy had finished up in Kisii, and accepted a new assignment for Maryknoll in Nairobi, Coordinator of the Overseas Training Program (OTP), a three year overseas program for Maryknoll formation candidates. For the first time OTP candidates came to Kenya, one seminarian and three Brother candidates. Fahy joined Fr. Tom Burke in coordinating the program, which was located in two rental houses in Buru Buru III.

However, Fahy remained in the program only six months. He confessed to lack of training for this work, particularly since these candidates had gone through a formation program notably different than his own. Additionally, as the candidates went out each day on their apostolic works, he found himself in the house with nothing to do. So, he approached the Eastlands Deanery regarding youth work and was made Youth Coordinator for the deanery. This entailed his being unavailable on weekends for the OTP candidates, the only days they did not have ministries. Fahy resigned from OTP and began looking for a suitable assignment. He looked into university chaplaincy, religious

education in schools, and the Undugu (brotherhood) Society. It is the latter that Fahy chose.

The Undugu Society had been started by White Father Arnold Grohl about ten years earlier, originally for the famous ‘parking boys’ of downtown Nairobi. Today the hordes of young boys and girls who run away to live on their own in towns and cities are known as street children. Figures vary widely, depending on what is actually meant by ‘street child,’ but generally it is presumed that in any given year there are tens of thousands of such children in Kenya, with Nairobi leading the way.

By 1980 Undugu had grown and become not only a rehabilitation program for street children, but also an educational one for primary school drop-outs and a training program for primary school leavers. The Society was also expanding geographically into several slum settlements where it was not yet present. Grohl could not manage the program by himself, and the volunteers he was attracting would stay for only a short while. He wanted to start a large, comprehensive program in the huge Kibera settlement, in southeastern Nairobi, and was hoping to attract permanent missionaries to work in the program. He was overjoyed when Fahy approached him. Fahy signed a four-year contract, with the backing of Regional Superior Bill Madden.

Although often called slums, the official terminology for places such as Kibera is informal settlement. Often the land is on the banks of streams or rivers, or near railway lines, land which is public land and not yet allocated for either government use or private sale. No permanent building can be erected on this land. Densely populated slums in Nairobi and other third world cities are usually located within walking distance of areas zoned for commercial and industrial use, where jobs are to be found. Middle-class and wealthy residents of the city put up simple housing – often after paying a bribe to the local Chief – and low paid workers or those in the informal, day-labor sector rent one or two rooms. Seldom does the city provide any services, such as schools, health facilities, recreational facilities, water, sewerage, or electricity.

Fahy explains, “I did a one-month orientation at the Mathare Valley Program and then a four month feasibility study in Kibera up till the end of 1980, which included three parts: first the overall population of youth, second the level of educational attainment, and third the number who were or were not employed. I completed the survey, and gave the statistics to the District Officer (D.O.), who happened to be a woman and interested in the program.” For those unfamiliar with word usage in East Africa, it should be noted that the word youth is used ambiguously in Kenya. In addition to adolescents and younger, it also includes all students right through university level, and almost all adults in their twenties who are not married. Therefore, an unmarried, unemployed man of 29 is a youth, whereas a married, working couple aged 23 are considered adults.

The D.O. helped Fahy obtain several plots of land, on which Undugu constructed new buildings augmenting other buildings already on the plots. The first aspect of the program was basic education, in essence a primary school, although not originally registered as such. The children in this school were nine or older, and the objective was to enable them to join primary school, which was free at that time. A number of children who went to government schools were helped by the program to buy school uniforms, which were mandatory.

For school leavers, adult literacy was started, and the government paid the teacher’s salary. An American woman contributed a dozen spinning wheels from New

Zealand, and an income earning project was started for young women. The women attended adult literacy half the day and worked half the day. Some women became full-time workers in this project. In addition to this, some volunteers came twice a week to teach another group of women dress-making in a separate building.

A soccer team was started for young men, most of whom were working, and Fahy cajoled a local company to bring its bulldozers and lay out a soccer field. The team was registered in the Nairobi soccer league, playing in the fourth division. The team did not compete very well, but the purpose was to give them an activity on weekends.

Slums have no recreation facilities, and thus the Undugu compound, with a manicured soccer field, lots of trees planted by the program, and many buildings, became a magnet for the local children on weekends. More and more children were coming every Saturday and Sunday. They were not all Christian nor even Kenyan; in addition to the Nubans from Sudan who had started Kibera at the beginning of the century, there were also Somali and Ethiopian children. Fahy invited seminarians from the Apostles of Jesus to come each Saturday to teach religious education, followed by games. The children had to register in order to belong to this group, which many did. Unfortunately, this program lasted only one year, as the seminarians found it difficult going into the slums every weekend, where frequent rains made it very sloppy.

The local Member of Parliament (MP) was the internationally known anthropologist Richard Leakey, who was also keen on helping Undugu and utilizing it for a program that he deemed essential – introduction of fuel efficient charcoal stoves. He invited in an organization that teaches appropriate technology, and taught a group how to make the stoves (*jiko* in Swahili). The plan was to have Kibera residents bring in their old stoves to swap for a new stove. This program did well, although it eventually ceased to exist.

It was not only children who were attracted to the facilities of Undugu in Kibera. Several religions wanted to use its large building for church services on Sunday, which was tried but discontinued when the facilities were misused. Government officers, such as the D.O. and the Chief (a government appointee), also were constantly asking to use the facilities for their own meetings. The District Officers, who are university graduates, were generally very cooperative with Undugu's programs. The problem was they were transferred every year. Chiefs are much longer serving, but tend to seek their own economic benefit (such as building and renting out houses) rather than promote the common good. But it was not easy for Undugu to turn down government requests.

Frustrations came from many corners in Kibera, such as interpersonal squabbles between project beneficiaries, deviousness on the part of a few mothers who were selling the school uniforms bought by Undugu, lack of recognition of the slum by the city council with a corresponding lack of services, and apathy and a lack of unity among Kibera residents, caused mainly by different ethnicity. Sr. Winnie of the White Sisters, who was working in St. Paul Parish run by the Guadalupe Fathers, joined with Fahy in starting Small Christian Communities in Kibera, with the objectives of scrutinizing the lived situation and discerning ways of improving their common lives. One of the issues they discussed in the communities was how to create more unity among the diverse ethnic groups.

It was not only the slum residents who needed to be more unified. There were seven organizations working in Kibera, at first each doing their own thing. Fahy was

instrumental in getting them together for a meeting every six weeks or so. They discussed issues affecting their work, and whether they could agree on a common project that all could get involved in. Finally a common project emerged from these discussions, the building of pit latrines. Fahy said, “Landlords were putting up the row houses, but weren’t providing latrines, maybe only one for twenty-five rooms. So, we started a big campaign, which involved the Chief and D.O. This was successful, but it was important for ourselves, to discover a way to unify the people for a common purpose, and to reduce our own frustration in the slow progress in our individual projects.”

At the end of 1984, at the end of his contract with Undugu, Fahy decided that it was advisable for him to return to the U.S. for further education. The school had been established, with a headmaster and teachers, and the other projects were functioning. Undugu was moving to hiring permanent Kenyan project coordinators. There were many frustrations working in Kibera, but fortunately there were successes, and Fahy felt he learned from all the experiences. In the U.S. he took a year studying counseling and spiritual direction.

Two other Brothers did youth work in Mombasa in the 1990s up till the present, Frank Ten Hoopen and Loren Beaudry, which will be covered in Part Seven. One other Brother, Tim Raible, worked in Kilifi Parish of Mombasa Archdiocese and in Umoja Parish of Nairobi Archdiocese, which will be treated under each respective parish.

Catholic Marriage Encounter

In 1979 Fr. Joe Corso returned to East Africa from assignment in the U.S., and was assigned to Kebirigo parish in Kisii to assist Fr Frank Breen in the parish. While in the U.S. he had attended Marriage Encounter, and on his return he wanted to help establish this movement in Kenya. His duties in the parish were limited, such as serving only three churches so that he would be free on the fourth weekend to meet with Marriage Encounter groups.

Marriage for all tribes in Kenya is patrilineal, meaning that the lineage is followed through the male line. The wife leaves her birth home and marries into the home and lineage of her husband. Traditionally, the parents of both the man and the woman were very involved in the choice of marriage partner, making inquiries about the history of sickness, alleged witchcraft and other personal qualities of the prospective partner. A constitutive element of marriage, that cannot be abrogated, was/is the payment of bridewealth, although in modern times this custom is undergoing evolution since very few young couples have enough money or livestock to pay the traditional amount. Connected to bridewealth and family involvement is the system of extended family assistance, the traditional mechanism of reciprocity that ensured no members of the lineage would have survival threatened by disease, drought or impoverishment. This system is also undergoing evolution because of the rural-urban mix in most families today. Impossible expectations are being put on urban relatives who are earning a salary, causing misunderstandings and enmity to surface.

Most, and perhaps all tribes in Kenya also traditionally practiced polygamy, a marriage custom quickly disappearing for economic reasons (not for cultural reasons, though; most men still nurture a hope that they can marry a second wife, even if this is

completely unfeasible). Polygamy existed for a complex set of reasons, including enhanced status of the man, the acquisition of sufficient cattle to pay bridewealth (e.g. if a man received bride wealth for his married daughters), and even the expressed desire of the first wife to have a younger wife to do the household work.

Patrilineal marriage, bridewealth and polygamy lead to an inevitable consequence – patriarchy. Even though some aspects of traditional marriage are changing dynamically due to modern economic realities and urbanization, if anything patriarchy is becoming more entrenched. Both custom and often law recognize that the man controls decision-making in the family and marriage, owns property in his name alone, controls the family's finances even if the wife brings in a significant share of the family's income, and can send his wife away with no economic resources to care for herself. Although many, and perhaps most marriages in Kenya exhibit shared decision-making and mature dialogue, extreme cases of patriarchy abound in both rural and urban areas. Men spend the little income the family has on their own personal needs and extravagances, leaving the wife scrounging to provide food and clothing for the children. Some men unilaterally marry a second wife, even though they can not provide for the first wife and children.

In traditional rural areas newcomers from Europe or America could have been fooled into thinking that African marriage was inherently weak, since a man and his wife seldom appeared together in public, men and women sat separately in church and meetings, never as couples, and public displays of affection were culturally unacceptable. These are traditional customs, though, that do not in any way reflect the strength of the marriage bond, and the love and affection that the man and woman have for each other. Research done around the year 1980 in rural western Kenya revealed that over fifty percent of men stated that their closest friend was their wife.

In the twentieth century a new phenomenon arose, urbanization. People moved to cities for jobs, but could not live in urban areas as extended families with large amounts of land. Husband, wife and children were forced to live together in one small house – in many cases, one small room – with limited incomes. The western form of nuclear family was forced on African urban families with no preparation. These families were not only separated from their extended families and tribe, but found themselves living in a multiethnic situation, including non-African people not originally from the African continent. Traditional customs, mores and values were more difficult to uphold in this situation. The culture of modernity is very powerful, and throughout the century it inexorably produced changes in African mores. Marriage is one indispensable institution that could have been destroyed by modernity and urbanization (it may still happen, if some indicators of the young generation's attitudes towards marriage are widespread).

Corso had good memories of the marriage courses held at the Makoko Family Center in Musoma Diocese back in the 1960s and 1970s. He felt that they strengthened many marriages throughout the diocese and particularly in Tarime and other parts of Kuria land where he worked. In his opinion, these couples were the core of the diocese and of their respective parishes. Having had a good experience of marriage encounter in the U.S., he made a firm intention to offer this gift to couples in Kenya.

[Author note: Corso was interviewed in June, 1989, but nothing was said of his ten years of work with marriage encounter. The interview covered only his work in Tanzania and later in Isebania. A further interview was probably planned, but sadly and tragically he died of a heart attack at the Gleason Residence in Nairobi on July 9, 1989,

just one month after the first interview. Marriage Encounter officials need to be interviewed in Nairobi to get a full history of this movement, and hopefully to garner memories of what Joe Corso did to build up this movement.]

It can be said that this was Corso's abiding interest and goal for the last ten years of his life. Not only did he make a great contribution to the church in Kenya, but his relations with so many wonderful couples gave him meaning, and was the basis of his own spirituality.

The movement was first established in Nairobi, and many of the urban couples from middle class areas readily responded to this invitation. The strengthening of their marriage as a couple now united as one became the way in which they could counteract any negative influences from urban living and the culture of modernity. In effect, Marriage Encounter was producing a synthesis, something new coming out of traditional values and modern economic realities. The movement was taken to most dioceses in Kenya, and many urban areas had a recognized organization with elected officers. Rural areas were not ignored, although the extent to which this movement was established in rural areas is not clear.

One aspect of marriage as it in fact exists in Kenya was not easily addressed by Marriage Encounter – the separation of husband and wife for most of the year by economic necessity. Generally the husband moves to urban areas to get a job, but leaves his wife at the small rural farm, in order to grow food for the family and preserve the husband's claim to his part of the ancestral land. Additionally, low salaries make it nearly impossible to rent housing sufficient for a family, resulting in men living alone in small rooms. Husband and wife seldom see each other, putting pressure on the bond of fidelity. Many men take up with another woman in the city, in an unofficial arrangement. Statistics released in the early 1980s stated that in forty percent of marriages in Kenya husband and wife were not living together.

Another factor of marriage in Kenya has also been problematic for both Marriage Encounter and the Catholic Church in general, namely marriage in stages. Parents of the woman normally do not allow a sacramental marriage until the bridewealth has been paid in full, fearing that if they relent and permit it at the beginning of the marriage no further bridewealth will be paid. In many Catholic parishes, especially in urban areas, over half of church-going adults do not receive the Eucharist for lack of a canonical marriage. Efforts to confront this, such as refusing Baptism for children until the parents are married in church, have proven ineffective.

As a result of these cultural and economic problems, Marriage Encounter has been more successful with middle class Kenyans than with the poor. But the movement tries to reach out and enable all married couples to increase the health and strength of the marriage bond.

Corso's work hadn't ended when he suddenly died. Fortunately, the movement carried on, and remains an important part of some parishes and dioceses.

Ukweli Video Apostolate

Fr Dick Quinn had been intrigued with the possibilities of using video in pastoral work from the time he was in Tanzania in the 1960s, an interest that grew while he was running the leadership center in Kibirigo, Kenya, in the 1970s. In 1979 he left Kibirigo and went on a one-year sabbatical, taking the Mission Renewal Program at Maryknoll, NY, another renewal course at Vatican II Institute up till the end of spring, 1980, and then a ten-week course in video production in Columbia, Missouri, in the fall of 1980.

On return to Kenya he spent a year looking for a place to put into effect his new skills in video at the service of the church, but neither AMECEA nor the Kenyan Bishops were initially interested in video. The Bishops were at that time trying to establish a national Catholic newspaper. For a year, Quinn served the parish in Spring Valley, which is about fifteen miles to the northwest of Nairobi. He did produce a few videos, and one especially, a documentary for the Sisters of Mercy about the twenty-five years of Mater Miserecordia Hospital, made a good impression on five Bishops who watched it. Quinn says, "Cardinal Otunga told me that he would accept me into Nairobi Archdiocese for a pilot project on video productions, which at that time was called the Video Communication Program." First, though, Quinn returned to the U.S. for more serious studies in video production, at Fordham University and the New School of Social Research in New York City, over the second half of 1983.

After returning to Kenya in the beginning of 1984, he searched for a safe place to set up a video production studio, which also became his residence. It took months to get an exemption from Kenyan taxes for the production equipment, but finally he was able to start production. The new organization, called Ukweli (Truth) Video, went on to produce seventy-five documentaries over the course of the next ten years. Quinn says, "We do videos in four areas: the first is religious education and pastoral concerns grouped together. The other three areas are cultural issues, social issues, and development."

Quinn later said that if he had known how exhausting video production would be, he might never have gone into it. At the university in New York in 1983 he found out that some leave video work in their forties, and there he was in his mid-fifties just starting out. He says, "Eighty-five percent of our work is production, which involves being on the road a lot. But we also offer services of duplicating tapes, of buying new titles, and of advising people about purchasing equipment. I have to spend a lot of time in administration, such as writing letters to people." Over the years he built up a library of 1,500 videos available for loan or purchase, one of the largest video libraries in Africa.

As non-stop as the work was, he also felt exhilarated, not only at producing videos that were well-received, but in also tapping into what quickly became a felt need in Africa. He collaborated with and assisted other church people in establishing video productions in countries such as Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Quinn's videos were so successful that the sale of documentaries and of videos in the library provided about eighty percent of his income, with the rest coming from his own personal sources and from Maryknoll.

Beginning in 1986 Quinn developed a secondary interest, in evangelization. He attended the International Lumen Meetings in Rome, out of which grew the movement called Evangelization 2000, which Pope John Paul II helped promote. This movement opened a training school in Rome to train lay people in evangelization, to which Quinn sent a man he had known in Kisii, Francis Gichana, plus one other man from Nairobi. A

Maltese man, Mario Capello, was a leading figure in this movement, and Gichana spent time in Malta learning more about the goals of Evangelization 2000.

Both Quinn and Gichana defined evangelization as direct preaching in the street, or in special parks where free speech is practiced, or in going from house to house. Their aims were to counter attacks on the Catholic Church made by fanatical preachers of other religions and faiths and to give Catholics apologetic answers to questions posed to them by those who call themselves The Saved. After Gichana returned from his training abroad, he went back to his home in Kisii and tried to set up a training school in evangelization for local people. However, the Bishop of Kisii did not approve of this, judging it more of a Pentacostal form of preaching than Catholic, and the training school did not last long.

Quinn spent most of his time in video production, but in 1989 he ran into production problems and had to replace the whole staff. The quality of the videos had dropped precipitously. Fortunately, he was able to hire Michael Rubomboras, who originally came from Fort Portal, Uganda. He was an engineer, who also had learned editing and camera work. Quinn said, "When Michael came, he improved the sound, the picture quality and the editing quality. He helped make us truly professional. At about that same time, we also received new equipment worth \$125,000 from Holland. Between the new equipment and more professional staff, we started producing high quality documentaries, including one for the World Bank in Kenya, and another on the environment, called 'Earth Keepers,' that was shown on Italian television and became a part of the Maryknoll video series in the United States. Of course I have to pay Michael a good salary, much more than any Maryknoller in East Africa has ever paid an employee. At the same time, his salary is peanuts compared to salaries in Europe and America." The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) has also shown many of his videos on national television. In addition to Rubomboras, by 1994 there were three other permanent staff plus people called on for part-time work, such as narration, artistic work, or translation.

In 1993, Fr. Martin Kivuva, a priest from the Archdiocese of Mombasa who had been doing some communications work for his diocese, was chosen to replace Quinn at Ukweli. Kivuva went to Dallas, Texas, along with one permanent staff member of Ukweli, for a full course in video production, and was supposed to become the new director of Ukweli Video. However, on his return to Kenya in March, 1994, it was decided that Quinn and Kivuva would be co-directors. In 2003 Kivuva became Bishop of Machakos Diocese, fifty miles to the east of Nairobi. Quinn remained Director of Ukweli until September 30, 2008, handing over to Sr. Agnes Lando. In 2007 Quinn had moved to the Gleason Residence adjacent to the Maryknoll Center House but his former residence continues to be the studio for Ukweli Video.

University Chaplaincy

University chaplaincy had never been mentioned as a goal or priority for Maryknoll in East Africa, but once again an opportunity presented itself that led to further evolution of Maryknoll's ministries. In the mid-1980s two Maryknoll priests became chaplains at the two largest universities in Kenya, Lionnel Bouffard at Kenyatta University in April, 1985, and Mo Zerr at Nairobi University in 1986. At Kenyatta University (KU) chaplains are required to teach, and Bouffard once admitted that "never did I think that I would become a university professor." Nor did Maryknoll in Africa expect that a Maryknoll priest would be chaplain at KU for the next twenty-five years, but as of 2010 this is the case. After Bouffard, three other Maryknoll priests have been chaplains at KU, Ed Phillips from 1990 to 1993 and again from 1996 to the end of 2000, Mike Duffy from 1993 to 1996, and Lance Nadeau from 2001 to the present.

Bouffard's journey to university chaplaincy followed an ascending path, as he was a chaplain at high schools in Tanzania in the early 1970s, and in Kisii, Kenya, from 1979 to 1984. He went to the Maryknoll General Chapter as a delegate in 1984 and on his return in 1985 sought an assignment in Nairobi Archdiocese. It took several months, but eventually Cardinal Otunga assigned him to KU. Prior to Bouffard going to KU, it was served from Nairobi University, staffed by Holy Ghost Fathers. That was becoming untenable as the university continued to grow and increasing traffic made the twelve-mile trip from downtown Nairobi more difficult.

Zerr's assignment to Nairobi University was more accidental. He had concluded his work with the Charismatic Movement in 1986, at the same time as the new chaplain at Nairobi U., Holy Ghost Father Chris Burke, was about to go on a three-month home leave to Ireland. When Cardinal Otunga mentioned this to Kenya Regional Superior John Conway, the latter recommended Zerr to fill in, which the Cardinal immediately accepted. Zerr moved in to the Chaplain's house at the university, which is in central Nairobi next to the downtown skyscrapers and major boulevards, and stayed there for three years.

After Burke returned, Zerr took over responsibility for the university's Kabete campus, which is the agricultural and veterinarian section, located northwest of the city ten miles from the main campus. There was no house there for him, so he continued to live at the main campus.

One night a week I would try to bring a speaker, such as on AIDS and other topics, and on another night I would meet with the students for general discussion, although the numbers varied. One afternoon a week I would be available for counseling and on Sunday I would say Mass there. We did not have a chapel and had to use a room above the library. This was not ideal, because to be effective with young people you have to be there all the time. But we were unable to get a plot of ground.

I also helped Burke at the main campus with Sunday Masses, baptisms and marriages, because the downtown chapel is not only a chaplaincy but also a parish and can be a very busy place. Those were three good years, even if busy.

In 1989 Zerr reached the age of 65, and requested formal retirement. He moved into the Gleason Residence next to the Maryknoll center house, where he lived for

another fifteen years. He served as chaplain for a national Catholic Nurses' Association, and also gave retreats to groups of Sisters and priests, and at secondary schools.

At Kenyatta University Bouffard was also hampered by lack of a plot for the Catholic Chaplaincy. Catholics had to share the interdenominational chapel with other denominations, which was not a problem except for the Saved Group (a grouping of people from evangelical denominations who call themselves 'saved'). This group would try to monopolize the chapel as much as possible, to the point of delaying to leave when another denomination came for their time slot. The Saved Group's liturgy (for want of a better word) consisted of everyone shouting at the top of their voices, in a Pentecostal fashion. The constant noise affected Catholics, who used a small side chapel for Eucharistic reservation and private prayer and found the perpetual din coming from the main chapel aggravating.

Nor did Bouffard receive good cooperation from the university authorities at that time. He requested a plot for a Catholic chapel, but the plot tentatively allocated was unsuitable, located in swamp land. A Catholic man connected to the university chaplaincy, Anthony Muheria, was a civil engineer and strongly advised against accepting that plot. He later became a priest and is now the Bishop of Kitui, Kenya. It would be over ten years before the Catholic community would finally be granted a suitable plot.

However, in 1987 Bouffard was able to oversee construction of a Catholic Chaplain's house and a small catechetical center. He went out of his way to make both students and faculty know that they were welcome in the house. As important as his good relations with students were, Bouffard said, "My work and relationship with the teachers is probably most important, for they have a direct influence on the students, who are the future leaders of Kenya. If the teachers are good, moral Christians, this will be passed on to the students."

The Catholic Chaplain's role at KU steadily expanded, as Bouffard explains:

When I started I was strictly a chaplain, saying Mass and doing instructions for convert classes and confirmation. I also started forming a parish council, establishing Small Christian Communities (SCCs), setting up groups such as Young Christian Students (YCS), and just generally making the Catholic presence known. Counseling of students was always a priority for me and much of my time till I left was devoted to this task. In October of 1985 I began teaching biblical theology, both Old and New Testaments, and History of Christianity.

Later the university talked me into teaching a course on contemporary Christian response to critical issues, which they wanted to call a social ethics course, rather than moral ethics. I debated with other professors, though, whether it was possible to teach ethics from a purely non-denominational perspective, or whether religious belief inevitably becomes involved – in our case with our biblical and church documentary heritage. The biblical God is an ethical God, and how does one divorce oneself from this foundational belief. If a Muslim taught social ethics, he would have to inevitably base teachings and conclusions on the Koran. I taught the course, but we never satisfactorily settled the debate. So I have no idea what they mean by social ethics.

While Bouffard was at KU, a Sister came to do catechetical work, setting up a religious education program for primary and secondary school students (who lived on or near the campus) and doing much of the teaching. Later, another Sister was assigned to take on most of the counseling of students. Since then, there have been Sisters on the Catholic Chaplaincy staff at KU, a great help.

On the evolution of Maryknoll in Kenya from rural pastoral work to what were called specialized ministries Bouffard responded in 1990:

Mission is to witness to Christ wherever we are. I see our developing understanding of mission as a healthy growth. The local church is taking care of traditional ministries (i.e. parishes), while we are into pioneering works which will eventually be taken over by the local church. Local church leadership currently is very traditional, and Bishops would prefer to keep diocesan priests in parishes. But this is slowly changing. I personally feel very supported by Cardinal Otunga, who comes out here to visit frequently.

The Cardinal did not stop unannounced in other parishes as a regular practice, but he visited Bouffard almost once a month. Originally, according to Bouffard, the Cardinal did not want to come even to confer the sacrament of Confirmation on the students.

The Cardinal had given me permission to give the students Confirmation, but I insisted that he was the Bishop and should do it. He reluctantly agreed. Prior to his coming I had many albs and other vestments sewn, prepared the guest room, and talked with the students. Some had wanted to meet with the Cardinal and ask him challenging, even confrontational, questions about some matters. I told them that the Cardinal was going to be my guest and that I would not compass any disrespect for him.

When the Cardinal came, he basically disappeared into the guest room until it came time for the Mass to begin. When he came out, there were ten photographers taking pictures of him, plus other students giving him a great welcome. The vestments were superb and the Mass was done in a grandiose fashion. After Mass, he came into my house again, where we had fabulous food prepared, and he sat down to talk with some of the students. The one student who had been the ringleader of the group wanting to grill the Cardinal was there, but hosted the Cardinal in true African fashion, such as any young man would welcome a respected elder.

The Cardinal relished this experience so much that afterwards he said that the students are really intelligent young men and women and he must come again to talk with them – and to listen to them. And that is exactly what he did, coming not only to my house, often unannounced, but also to meet with the students and to say Mass for them. As a result, Cardinal Otunga and I had a great relationship and he learned the value and importance of university chaplaincy.

On another occasion Bouffard's next-door neighbor, a woman university professor, had to teach but her babysitter suddenly informed her that she could not come. The neighbor brought her four-month-old baby to Bouffard, asking him if he could take

care of the baby, to which Bouffard agreed. Bouffard narrated, “A short time later, there was a knock on the door. When I opened it, there was Cardinal Otunga, once again arriving unexpectedly. And, with great surprise, he saw me standing there holding a four-month-old baby. I invited him in, and asked him if he would like some tea. Then I realized I couldn’t prepare tea and some food while holding the baby. So, I gave the baby to Cardinal Otunga to take care of. This incident gave me humorous material to use with the university students for the next two or three months.”

Bouffard later reflected that “my ministry at Kenyatta University was the most important work I have ever done.” By 1990, he had worked with youth as a chaplain for almost twenty years and said, “They keep me young mentally. I enjoy working with students. They come in and out of the house at all times, and I try to make myself available to them.” After finishing at KU, he took on an expanded university apostolate, as head of the Pan-African University Student Movement. This job not only took advantage of his long experience as a chaplain and concern for the moral growth of young people, but also of his fluency in French (he is also fluent in Swahili and German). He could travel to countries in Francophone West Africa, and have no trouble conversing. He maintained a residence in Nairobi’s South B, but was often traveling, visiting over twenty countries in Africa in the five years he did this work. He returned to the U.S. in 1995, for a new assignment in Lourdes, France.

Over the next decade, two other Maryknoll priests were assigned to be Catholic Chaplains at KU, Ed Phillips for seven years and Mike Duffy for three years. They continued the three-fold task of university chaplaincy, i.e. working with the students, teaching theology, and running a parish.

In the late 1990s Phillips established good relations with the Vice-Chancellor of KU, George Eshiwani, (at that time the President was officially Chancellor of all Kenya’s public universities), who enabled the Catholic Church to get a good plot of land. Phillips oversaw construction of a sizeable church, offices and a parish library.

In 1999 Phillips was asked to help set up a new AIDS taskforce for the Archdiocese of Nairobi’s Eastern Deanery, a full-time job, while remaining Chaplain at KU. However, Fr. Lance Nadeau came to Kenya that year to do research for his licentiate in mission theology for Gregorian University in Rome and lived with Phillips for most of that year and the latter half of 2000. Although Phillips was nominally Chaplain and continued to carry out some tasks, Nadeau did much of the day-to-day work at the university. At the end of 2000 Phillips became Director of the Eastlands Deanery AIDS Program and at the beginning of 2001 Nadeau became Chaplain at KU. In 2009, he renewed his contract at KU, and when this contract ends in 2011 Maryknoll will have held the Catholic Chaplaincy at KU for 26 consecutive years.

As had the others before him, Nadeau has continued with the three-fold task of being pastor of a parish, working with students, and teaching. In the intervening years Kenyatta University has grown tremendously, from about 8000 students in the early 1980s to 23,000 by 2009. As a result, he has to prioritize his time with regard to each task. Fortunately, he says, “I have a very active and committed Parish Council and an Executive Committee made up of eleven people which does almost all the administration work. They actually run the parish – except for Mass and sacraments which I do.” In 2009 there were 4000 registered members of the parish, of whom ninety percent were

students. Nadeau adds that “there are two Masses at the main chapel each Sunday, which can accommodate 1200 people sitting down, and one Mass at the university’s nearby Ruiru campus. I also say daily Mass, which is attended by about 200 people.”

Nadeau is also fortunate to have a Sister assigned to the staff full-time to provide counseling for students. He does some counseling, but does not have time to engage in this task. Additionally, the parish council provides a great deal of help in preparing students for reception of the Sacraments. About fifty receive Baptism, Confirmation and/or First Communion each year, and there are another twenty or so infant baptisms each year. These figures may have gone up in 2010, as 8000 new students entered KU in September, 2009, “almost fifty percent of them Catholic,” according to Nadeau.

He teaches several courses on both the Old and New Testaments, plus an elective in Hebrew. “Teaching I enjoy,” he says, “but not the committee work, which as an employee of the university I have to do. The latter is very time-consuming, but not very satisfying.”

Nadeau devotes most of his energy to working with the Catholic student groups, of which there are twenty-five, and the seven Small Christian Communities (called in Swahili *jumuiya*). He estimated that there were about 800 students actively involved in these two facets of parish outreach and faith enrichment. This manifest good will reaps untold benefits, highlighted by one astonishing result: “I get fifteen to twenty vocation inquiries each year, which I refer on to the Jesuits or other top religious orders.”

Two important programs run by the student groups are the Needy Students Program, which provides meal vouchers for those who can’t afford to pay for meals, and the Maternal Assistance Program, which pays rent for female students who get pregnant and have to live off-campus.

Money for these programs comes from Maryknoll subsidies and from the profit of a tuck shop run by student members of the program committee. Nadeau says, “After the post-election violence of early 2008 we provided meal vouchers for 1000 students – out of 10,000 on-campus residents – although during normal semesters we assist about 300 to 400. Without this assistance, you actually get students fainting in class due to hunger.”

The Maternal Assistance Program arose after Nadeau realized that many female university students have abortions, because the university rule is that, although they will not be expelled from the university, they can not live at the residence halls when they deliver a baby. “The women can’t afford to live off-campus, and see abortion as the only alternative. Our program pays for six months’ rent (about \$25.00 a month on average), which results in about ten or so women choosing to have their children each semester. The program is overseen by the Pro-Life Group.” (Abortion is illegal in Kenya, yet the country has one of the highest rates of abortion in the world, 400,000 a year in a population of about 36 million – two and a half times the U.S. rate. Poverty, patriarchy and lack of sex education are factors. The main reason is the desperation of school-going and university women to finish their education, and sadly but logically view pregnancy and child-birth as insurmountable obstacles to their goals of personal advancement.)

The KU parish also sends out a mission team of university students every year. For instance, in 2009 the team went to Marsabit, located in Kenya’s northern, arid frontier.

The team established contact with the local people of the area (in Marsabit they are mainly nomadic) and used various communication methods to educate about peace, reconciliation of tribal conflict and gender issues. The KU students also held Catholic Action meetings at local high schools in and around Marsabit town. The Diocese of Marsabit has an effective Justice and Peace Office, with which the students liaised and cooperated.

KU students would love to have some publicity about these positive activities, as there has been far too much negative publicity about KU students due to the strikes and violent riots at the university over the past two years. Each of the Catholic student groups at KU has its own programs of outreach and assistance to the greater community.

Nadeau also reflected on the exponential growth of the student body at KU and other public universities, on the persistent ugly student riots that take place almost every year at each public university, and on the horrendous inter-ethnic violence after the disputed December, 2007, election. "In the 1990s the government reduced funding for the public universities (probably mandated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank), forcing the universities to find a way to increase revenue. They started what is called a 'parallel program,' for those with a C+ or better on their national secondary school exam, allowing them to join one of the public universities provided they pay full tuition, about \$2,000 a year. Enrollment at KU and the other two large universities, Nairobi and Moi in Eldoret, skyrocketed. It is money from the parallel program that has funded the building programs at KU and the other universities." This has made selection to the full bursary program more stringent. Previously, a B average would suffice, but it now takes a B+ average to obtain the full bursary.

Nadeau has insightful comments about Kenya's higher education system:

The public universities are the preserve of the rural poor, the thousands of academically gifted students who would otherwise be unable to get a university education. There are now seven public universities in Kenya, four of them small but growing, plus about twenty private universities. But the public universities definitely have the best quality academically, because of the selection system. In general, the public universities also have the most qualified staff, although some departments are better than others. The parallel program is for the urban middle class and rural gentry, and the private universities are for the middle and upper classes.

The problem with the public universities is instability, due to the persistent strikes. Some classes have taken five or more years to complete the four year undergraduate curriculum. Private universities are very stable, but they are expensive, by Kenya standards, and the quality, while sufficient, is not as good. These are the trade-offs that parents have to balance in deciding where to send their children.

It is unclear if students are the chief perpetrators of violence on campus. A terrible series of violent actions took place at KU in mid-March and the end of March, 2009, which ended up with one student dead, many badly beaten by the police, and four

buildings burnt to the ground. In all, \$2.5 million worth of damages was incurred. Although the student government had threatened the university administration and warned that the main road to northern Kenya would be completely shut down, Nadeau has offered the following observations:

There is a question of who actually burned the buildings. Were they really students, or were they thugs brought in from outside? And if so, brought in by whom? The only demand was from the parallel program students, that a delay be allowed in making their tuition payments. Was that a sufficient demand to destroy the university, or were there broader political issues involved in this? And what are these issues, since no one has publicly articulated what the grievances are?

The underlying problem is that public universities, funded as they are by the government, are too entangled with national politics, which in Kenya means ethnic politics. Some efforts have been made to separate politics from university administration, such as removing the president as chancellor and having an independent committee choose the chancellor on a merit-based system. During the regime of former President Daniel Arap Moi, the President was Chancellor, university associations were abolished and all decision-making was centralized in the office of the President. Perhaps the intention was to de-politicize the universities but these actions had the opposite effect of making the public universities overly politicized.

The regime of Mwai Kibaki reversed Moi's policies in 2003, initially cooling political tempers. However, the 2005 constitutional amendment campaign divided the country ethnically and re-ignited ethnic divisions on the public campuses.

The 2008 post-election violence was also ethnic in nature. KU is located in a Kikuyu area, and during the violence all non-Kikuyu were chased away from the university. Conversely, Moi University is located in Kalenjin territory, and Kikuyu and other non-Kalenjin tribes were chased away from that university. The students are all back at their previous universities, but says Nadeau "they are keeping separate now in their own ethnic enclaves."

Nadeau, like everyone who lived through it, has searing memories of the post-election violence.

The ethnic tension just prior to the election on December 27, 2007, was palpable. Due to the divisions I had witnessed in 2005, I feared there would be violence. I made provisions for a week's worth of food that I could carry, bought extra gasoline, and mapped out a route through Kenya's northeastern arid area to the coast, in case a full civil war broke out. Fortunately, I didn't have to carry out this plan, but for two weeks the lack of security here at KU, which is never very good anyway, was scary. I heard unbelievable stories. In addition to all the killing, there was a phenomenal amount of looting and raping. The country and the university have not yet recovered from the trauma of those events.

Our Catholic university parish has taken actions to address the underlying ethnic divisions. First we abolished elections for parish council and other groups.

Now I appoint council members and officers of the groups, from various tribes. I have done a lot talking with students about ethnicity, about the need for national unity while accepting diversity, and about avoiding violence. We set up peace camps for children in the vicinity of KU, as a means of promoting ethnic understanding. Very importantly, the Catholic parish does not allow tribal groups, i.e. groups based on ethnicity or groups that become dominated by one ethnic tribe. No language is allowed within the Catholic facilities except for English and Swahili. (Nadeau is fluent in Swahili.)

The riots of March, 2009, also resulted in the looting of the Tuck Shop, which gives assistance to poor students, and about \$2,000 was either stolen or lost. Because Nadeau and parish student leaders publicly opposed the strikes and made an impassioned plea for no violence, the Catholic student leaders were threatened by the Strike's ringleaders. Nadeau feared that thugs would come and try to burn down the church, and he even stood guard outside the church one evening. Luckily for him, no one came. But as the new university year began in September, 2009, he knew that there was still much to be done in trying to promote reconciliation and peace at the university, and in the wider community.

The 2009/2010 university year was uneventful and things returned to a semblance of normalcy. In the middle of 2010 Nadeau was elected the African Regional Superior, but as the year 2011 begins he remains the Chaplain at Kenyatta University. Given the reduced size of the Africa Region and fewer regional demands, he hopes to be able to carry out the tasks of both of his positions.

Apostles of Jesus Seminary

In 1968 two Comboni missionaries, Bishop Sisto Mazzoldi and Fr. John Marangoni, who were working in southern Sudan, decided to start an indigenous missionary society for Africa, called the Apostles of Jesus. A seminary for high school boys from all over East Africa was opened in Moroto, in northeastern Uganda, followed shortly by high school seminaries in Tanzania and Kenya. The latter was located in Kiserian, a suburb of Nairobi south of the Nairobi Game Park. Later in the 1970s this society was doing well enough with vocations that they were able to open a major seminary in Langata, Nairobi, adjacent to St. Thomas national major seminary for diocesan priests. The Apostles' seminary had a three-year degree program in philosophy and a four-year degree program in Theology. Their proximity to the national seminary enabled them to utilize professors from St. Thomas, a great help to a fledgling society.

Unlike St. Thomas, students at the Apostles of Jesus came from four countries, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Sudan, making it not only multi-ethnic but international. This was a daunting adjustment for both students and faculty. That it has been successful, despite occasional rocky times, is testament to the sincere efforts of all involved to put faith and mission ahead of any ethnocentric chauvinism. It was in the 1970s that several of the major religious societies working in Kenya began opening their houses of formation in Langata, and they too brought in candidates from other countries, including from all parts of Africa. As the number of formation houses, seminaries and convents mushroomed in the 1980s and 1990s, Langata became not only a mini-Vatican but a

veritable pan-African Catholic melting-pot. A thorough analysis of the intangible benefits of this needs to be done.

In the 1970s Maryknollers began forming a relationship with the Apostles of Jesus, such as referring boys from their parishes to the seminary. During that time two Maryknoll priests, Tom McDonnell and Bob Vujs taught classes at their seminary, commuting out from Nairobi and Jericho. In 1980 a direct Maryknoll involvement was begun when Fr. Jack Quinn returned to East Africa after spending a year in the U.S. recovering from quadruple heart bypass surgery. He had previously worked in rural parts of Musoma, Tanzania, where roads are rough and at times impassable. It was recommended he work in Nairobi, where most roads are tarmac. Someone suggested he visit Fr. Marangoni, and Quinn said, "We established very good rapport immediately. I began working with the Apostles of Jesus as soon as I completed the move from Tanzania."

Quinn remained with them for two years, "teaching scripture and a favorite subject of mine which I call personalism, the secular study of humanism but you inject the person into Christ. In addition, I was the spiritual director for the philosophy students, and I was instrumental in instituting a pastoral year."

The latter task obliged Quinn to travel to all four countries, counter to the rationale for taking the Nairobi assignment. On trips to Sudan, he felt that the Church in southern Sudan was most in need of assistance, and he convinced Fr. Marangoni to assign him to a new minor seminary the Apostles of Jesus was building in Rejaf, a moderate distance from Juba. In 1983 it became apparent that civil war was about to break out again, and all missionaries were called into Juba. Quinn located in Juba for a year, and then was re-assigned back to Nairobi.

Quinn did parish work in Buru Buru for a year and then went to the U.S. till 1988, for health reasons and to do development work. On his return to Kenya, he again linked up with Fr. Marangoni, who had left the Apostles of Jesus and started an indigenous contemplative order in Rongai, near Nakuru in the Great Rift Valley. Quinn stayed there two years, teaching and doing spiritual direction. The Contemplative Order did not serve felt needs in Kenya, and did not last when Marangoni returned to Italy.

As a result of Quinn's involvement with the Apostles of Jesus, other Maryknoll priests who were transferring from Tanzania to Kenya accepted teaching assignments at the Apostles of Jesus seminary, particularly Frs. Walt Gleason and Mike Duffy. Gleason taught there two years and was very well liked. However, at the end of 1982 he was asked by the Kenya Region to become pastor of Maryknoll's new commitment to Umoja Parish, where he unfortunately died suddenly less than six months later. Duffy also taught for several years and became famous for teaching process theology, introducing the seminarians to such terms as praxis, contextual theology and social analysis. He was very well read, and made a great contribution to the improving of the seminary's theology department.

In 1985, Fr. John Conway was concluding an assignment in Mombasa as mentor of Overseas Training Students and working with the diocese's office of Family Life. He says, "I was offered the opportunity to come to the Apostles of Jesus to replace a Holy Cross priest, Bill Blum, to teach ethics and moral theology." Conway was a trained teacher, and had taught in schools or other institutions in all his assignments since being ordained in 1972.

“I was welcomed by the Apostles, and I actually lived there. They even paid my viatique (room and board). This is a good thing for the local church, to contribute financially to the service which they receive. Because of the others who had taught there, Maryknoll had a lot of stock with the Apostles.”

Conway also noted that “Fr. Arthur Brown came from Maryknoll, New York, to set up the library at the Apostles’ seminary, and helped them inaugurate their magazine, which was called ‘Fields Afar.’ This name stirs the memory of Maryknollers, since Maryknoll Magazine was originally called ‘Field Afar.’”

Conway emphasized the value of older Maryknollers dedicating some years to help an indigenous society like the Apostles of Jesus. “It’s important for us to deal with the question of generativity. Working with them we are helping to create the next generation of priests, who will be active into the next century. Since I was in my fifties then, I found this a rewarding and fulfilling mission assignment.”

In 1986, Conway was elected Maryknoll Regional Superior for Kenya, and had to move to the Center House in July, 1986. He was unable to continue teaching at the Apostles of Jesus, but he did not sever all contact with them. Very importantly, Maryknoll by this time looked on the Apostles of Jesus as a prime example of the African church taking on its mission responsibility, and as a successful religious society. As one purpose of Maryknoll is to foster a mission spirit within the countries where Maryknoll works, the Maryknoll Kenya Region recognized a special relationship with the Apostles of Jesus. Since the 1980s, Maryknoll has supplied a funding subsidy to the Apostles, has enabled some of their priests to go on for Masters Degrees in the United States, and has helped facilitate the finding of parish apostolates for the Apostles in the U.S. In 1988, a priest and seminarian from the Apostles worked in the parish in Bura-Tana, in Garissa Diocese, which was a Maryknoll commitment at that time. The Apostles of Jesus are committed to African missions first, and then to world wide mission.

After his term as Regional Superior was over Conway went to the U.S. for some years. On his return in 1999 he again went to the Apostles of Seminary seminary for one more year. “I taught moral theology, specifically medical ethics, and lived with them at the seminary. But after one year I left, since there were very few students and the Apostles were undergoing internal reflection and restructuring. Also, I wanted to get training in Alcohol Recovery ministry in the U.S. and begin this new ministry in Kenya.”

Conway has remained in relation with the Apostles as the Maryknoll designated person, and makes the following observations of its progress up till the present:

I have many friends there, many who were students when I was teaching. In fact, the current Director (in 2009) was one of my students. There is real reason to be proud of the Apostles. An indigenous congregation, they are now missionaries to the world. There are about 320 priests and a smaller number of Brothers, so they are a society of both priests and Brothers. Although they work primarily in East Africa, there are presently about sixty priests in the United States and a few in Italy and England. In Africa, they work in South Africa, Ethiopia and Djibouti, in addition to their places in East African countries. They still have minor seminaries in the three countries of East Africa, and the major seminary, for philosophy and theology, is doing very well. Their preparation is

long, thorough and competent. One of the four years of theology is a pastoral year, in which the seminarians are assigned to parishes for practical ministry.

Maryknoll continues to give funding for certain needs. We give a small annual budget for education formation and in recent years we gave them \$15,000 for computerizing the library. We also fund on an annual basis their subscription to theological journals and periodicals.

The Apostles of Jesus now plays a significant role in the East African Church. As Maryknoll diminishes we have a right to be proud of our interest and assistance to them, not only in the early days but right up to the present. A special and very personal relationship between our two societies has grown, and many of our relations are on this interpersonal level, although we also have professional relations.

Furthermore, in their pastoral work they take a real missionary approach. They work in many remote, poor places, sometimes where diocesan priests are reluctant to go. And they do not entrench themselves in any place, but follow the Maryknoll model of forming a self-reliant parish that can be handed back to the diocese.

Of course, if an indigenous congregation works in many poor parishes the question arises how it will be able to become financially self-reliant. Conway acknowledged that this is a serious challenge, which their leadership is aware of. "They get much of their money from overseas, from places in Italy where there is or was a Comboni presence, and also from Missio. They have also opened a Development office in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and are doing missionary cooperative collections in U.S. parishes. The parishes they staff in the U.S. are also able to send some money to the congregation. But they do have to find some way to become permanently self-reliant regarding income."

Maryknoll has initiated or been involved in many worthy programs in Kenya, and the Apostles of Jesus is definitely one of them.

Area Coordinator/Assistance to Makadara Parish

Fr. Carroll Houle came to Nairobi in 1987, after working in Tanzania for many years and then doing a special project of Education about Africa in the United States from 1985 to 1987. This project evolved out of the famine in East Africa of 1984-85 that devastated Ethiopia but also affected many parts of western Tanzania where Maryknollers worked. Maryknoll saw this as an opportunity to educate Americans about the underlying causes of the famine, and expand it to include general education about Africa.

There were four things we did in the U.S. First was this general education, in schools from primary to university, with adult groups, and through TV, radio and the press. Second was our advocacy in Congress about Africa, and particularly for certain bills. The most important action in this was the Africa Peace Tour, a series of one-month tours to various parts of the country. Nick Mottern, who worked with me on the Africa Desk at Maryknoll, NY, worked full-time on this. We collaborated with many other groups and reached many people,

always recommending that they write to their representatives as part of their education about Africa.

The third action was my attempt to involve the African-American community in the U.S. in awareness of and advocacy for Africa. I reached out to African-American groups in New York, to the African-American Bishops, and I went to Louisiana four times for two to three weeks. That State has the largest Catholic African-American community.

The fourth thing I did was travel to Africa, sometimes with Nick Mottern, to gain on-site knowledge and authenticity in reporting. Countries I went to were Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola and Mozambique.

In 1987 Houle returned to Africa to be the Maryknoll Area Coordinator for East Africa. At that time there were two Maryknoll regions in Africa and about sixty or more priests and Brothers working in four countries (Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan, and Ethiopia) not counting Egypt, which was part of the Middle-East Unit, and the Area was contemplating expansion to Mozambique and Zimbabwe. MM priests and Brothers did go to Mozambique several years later, but never to Zimbabwe, although Maryknoll Sisters and Lay Missioners have worked in the latter country for decades. It was recommended that Houle settle in Nairobi, as “it is more the center for eastern Africa.”

When he arrived, there was little set up for him. “My only official task was to call an Area Meeting once or several times a year. So, I had to find my own way, discover what to do and how to do it.” The Gleason Residence had not yet been built, and Houle could not stay long-term at the guest house, so his first action was looking for a place to live. There was no room at Maryknoll parishes. (Maryknoll had left Jericho Parish two years previously, and had only two parishes in 1987, Buru Buru Phase Three and Umoja. Both houses were full, and there was no rectory at Buru Buru Phase One.) Houle says, “I went around to parishes myself, knocking on doors. The first one who invited me to stay was a Kenyan diocesan priest at Our Lady of Visitation Parish in Makadara. That is where I stayed until I became Regional Superior in 1992.” This is also the parish where Frs. Bob Vujs and Jim Roy stayed from 1969 to 1970, while building Jericho Parish, and Joe Healey had stayed while at AMECEA from 1968 to 1974.

In Houle’s opinion, living at a parish grounded him in the local reality of urban life in Nairobi and the church outreach to people. “The reason I wanted to live in a place like Makadara was to keep contact with ordinary people, from a lower income area. This was also important for my own faith and my own enthusiasm.” This perfectly complemented his job of Area Coordinator, which looked at broader issues affecting all of East Africa. In fact, some of his first activities were within the parish, such as helping with a research project for a parish trade school for unemployed youth, working with Small Christian Communities, setting up a questionnaire for all members of the SCCs on the upcoming Africa Synod, and starting Justice and Peace groups first for the parish and then for Eastlands Deanery.

There were two specific efforts Houle did with the Justice and Peace committees. One was to do research on wages and the cost of living in Nairobi, done through the Small Christian Communities in three deaneries of the Archdiocese. “We started this in Makadara, but then it went throughout the deanery and to many parts of the diocese. In

early 1992, we had an all day seminar in the diocese, on the rights of the workers and on labor unions. This was done also in light of the elections that were expected in late 1992.”

(The elections took place in late December, 1992, the first multi-party elections in Kenya’s history. Unfortunately, labor issues were not prominent in this election. All multi-party elections since 1992 have revolved purely around ethnicity, and often have been accompanied by violence.)

“The second issue we worked on was the matter of the slums.” Properly known as informal settlements, it is estimated that over sixty percent of Nairobi residents live in the slums. They receive few if any services from the government, live in ramshackle dwellings, in densely packed, filthy, unhygienic conditions, and can be evicted at any time. It is not unusual for huge fires to spread through a slum or part of one, burning down over one hundred households at a time. “We have had several seminars at diocesan level for representatives of the slums. We spend time on what kind of policies and programs we want for the different political parties, for them to put in their platforms regarding the slums.”

Despite these attempts to raise political consciousness, when it came time for voting slum residents voted ethnicity rather than with a united political voice advocating a change of policy regarding slum dwellers. But the efforts of the Justice and Peace committees have been laudatory, and there has been gradual, consistent growth in political awareness by slum dwellers over the years.

As Area Coordinator, Houle had three overall emphases:

Improving communications among Maryknollers in Africa was my first priority, done primarily with the regional newsletter and through regular visiting of our personnel. My second point of focus was keeping tabs on the larger issues affecting Church in mission in Africa, through travel, reading and involvement in different groups. These were theological issues, peace issues and others. The third emphasis was to send important information back to Maryknoll in the U.S. and to other groups in the U.S. In fact, each year when I went to the U.S. for vacation, I would combine it with a couple of weeks spent at Maryknoll, NY, and Washington, DC, and with other contacts.

To achieve these goals, he engaged in a variety of activities. The first type of activity was serving the Maryknoll Area. Houle did this by visiting every Maryknoller in his first year, and interviewing in some depth twelve in Kenya and six in Tanzania. He also planned the Area meetings, attended by the Regional Superiors and their Assistants, the Middle-East Coordinator, a representative from the General Council, and himself as Area Coordinator. His job also entailed his going to the ICSA meeting in 1987 and to the 1990 Chapter, for which he did a lot of preparation on behalf of the two regions in Africa. He was expected to visit all Maryknollers in the various countries and wherever he went he would “try to reflect with them on ‘What is happening in your locality?’ How does that affect Church and mission? Most people look at what’s happening in Africa from the top down, from a power position. I was much more conscious of trying to find out what is happening from below. I was a visitor in these countries, and didn’t know the language in most cases. So I would have to filter knowledge of these countries through the local church and missionary groups on the scene.”

One other innovative service he started was the Regional Newsletter, called 'Overview.' "It was Fr. Joe Corso, shortly before his death, who said to me, 'You should start a newsletter for Maryknollers in the African area.' I took up his suggestion, and others said that 'yes, definitely,' they would like something like this." The regional newsletter is still published today for all members, and for many former members, of the Africa Region.

A second type of activity for Houle "was to keep some grasp of the larger realities that are happening in Africa from Cairo to Capetown, but emphasizing eastern Africa where our people work. I found that there is an interrelationship between all these countries in some way: economically or politically or in some way." One way of learning was through travel, and Houle went to the Middle East, countries in the Horn of Africa, and down to southern Africa. He would visit church people, staff of NGOs and sometimes embassy people.

This led to one of the most important and most exhausting tasks that Houle did as Area Coordinator, mediating talks between factions of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) beginning in November, 1991.

These talks lasted for four or five months, and most of my time in those months was devoted to this. The Kenya government was very interested in keeping the SPLA united at that time, although they will never admit it, and sought out non-governmental mediators. They approached the People for Peace group that I had started, to see if we could help. We agreed, but as we did not have sufficient capacity, we brought in the Secretary General of the NCCCK (National Council of Churches of Kenya). He forwarded several people and we got some Mennonites to join us. One man, named Essekial Assefa, was particularly helpful.

The main group was under John Garang, but a group had split off from him, called the Nasir Group, led by Riak Maschar and Lam Akol. A delegation from each group came down here to Nairobi, and we met with each group individually for weeks. Finally, we were able to bring them together to meet, for all day meetings. We also had to meet ourselves, discussing how we were to proceed and how to follow up on anything that had been agreed upon. In addition, I went up to Khartoum and El Obeid in February, 1992, and also went to Torit, in southern Sudan, three or four times.

These mediation efforts never achieved a definitive breakthrough, but did assist with good communication between the factions of the SPLA. The underlying problem was that the Nasir group was located in one of the areas with large oil deposits, and they decided to try to work out a separate peace agreement with the Khartoum government, marginalizing Garang's SPLA group. The war continued throughout the 1990s, but in the end southern Sudan was united behind John Garang when the peace settlement came in 2005, and behind his successor Salva Kiir, when Garang died in a helicopter crash just a month or two after the peace settlement.

Houle's job as Area Coordinator led him to a third type of ministry, service to the pan-African church. In June, 1988, he attended a pan-African meeting of SECAM (Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar) on justice and peace

held in Lesotho, on behalf of the Secretary General of AMECEA, Fr. Fortunatus Lukanima, who was unable to attend. "Preparation, attendance, and follow-up to that meeting were invaluable for me, as it gave me a pan-African Catholic Church perspective. That meeting led to the call throughout Africa for Justice and Peace commissions in all dioceses right down to parishes and even small Christian Communities."

Because his view of the African Church was broadened by this experience, Houle took determined steps in 1989 to inaugurate the first theological symposium for African theologians, i.e. theologians who are native Africans. He requested money from Maryknoll to fund the symposium each year and to print books with the findings of each year's topic.

The theologians set up the format themselves. Each year there was a specific topic, such as Christology, Ecclesiology, Moral and Ethical Issues, or the Mission of the Church. They would invite a few to come with prepared papers, spend half the time giving the papers or summaries, and the other half for the whole group to critique the papers. In the early 1990s African theology was still in its birthing stage. They were hunting for content, and for a forum and methodology of doing African theology. My role was to help coordinate it, and to find money to print the books. Funding is a big, big problem.

Houle also helped prepare and coordinate a major AMECEA conference on the famous 1891 encyclical of Pope Leo XIII called 'Rerum Novarum,' Latin for 'On New Affairs.' This conference was held in Nairobi in November, 1991, and was sponsored by the Center of Concern from Washington, DC, and the AMECEA general secretariat in Nairobi. That encyclical is considered the beginning of the Church's efforts of putting out a systematic body of teachings on matters of social justice.

His activities in Pan-African Church gatherings on social justice led to Houle taking another trip on behalf of SECAM, to Mozambique in 1989. This time it was to a conference being organized by the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC).

An ecumenical Catholic/Protestant group from Switzerland was going and they wanted Catholic representation from Africa. They contacted SECAM, which then contacted AMECEA. When they got no response, they turned to me in desperation. So, I represented Black Africa on this trip!

It was a three-week trip. We were all in Mozambique for the first week. In the second week, we divided into three groups, one in Mozambique, one went to Zambia, where I went, and one went to Lesotho. Then for the third week we all met in Zimbabwe.

The purpose of this trip was to understand the whole liberation struggle and the role of the Church in that struggle. For follow-up we all went to Switzerland for a press conference. After that I went to Rome, to meet with various people.

In 1989, Apartheid was still the law in South Africa, wars were raging in Mozambique, Namibia and Angola, and the liberation struggle was alive and forceful in

South Africa. It was not until South Africa lost a crucial battle in southern Angola, at Quito Carnevale, in early 1989, De Klerk replaced Botha as President of South Africa shortly after this, and the Berlin Wall came down at the end of 1989 that South Africa changed its policies, setting it on the road to full emancipation and majority rule. It was the end of Communist rule in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe that made De Klerk and his supporters realize that they could no longer play the anti-Communist card to enlist international support for Apartheid. Additionally, extreme racial structures within South Africa and its endless wars outside of the country were creating enormous economic structural problems for South Africa. Namibia became independent at the beginning of 1990, and the civil wars being waged by rebel groups funded by South Africa in Angola and Mozambique came to an end. Nelson Mandela was released from prison in early 1990 and the Apartheid laws were abolished at the same time. In the 1980s the churches supported the liberation struggle in southern Africa, which gave them great moral authority when liberation was achieved. The famous “Kairos” document, calling on churches and people of faith to be confessing churches and unequivocally take a stand on the side of the liberation struggle in southern Africa, was issued in South Africa in 1986.

Houle became involved in a fourth type of activity, similar to his Pan-African activities but within Kenya alone. For instance, in June, 1991, he helped start the Justice and Peace Committee of the Religious Superiors Conference of Kenya (RSCK). Other efforts at promoting awareness of social justice in Kenya were giving seminars on justice and peace in the Dioceses of Bungoma, in western Kenya, and Nakuru in 1989, and assisting with the preparation of the Kenya Church’s Lenten Campaign each year, when each parish receives material on a specific topic related to justice and peace that parishioners are asked to discuss, in SCCs and in Sunday liturgies.

In 1991 and 1992 there was a tremendous amount of violence, primarily in western and northern parts of Rift Valley Province, as a result of the constitutional change to allow many parties to contest elections. President Daniel Arap Moi’s Kalenjin tribe feared he would lose the presidency to larger tribes, either Kikuyu or Luo, and decided to use ethnic cleansing to disenfranchise voters of other ethnic groups.

In the end, in both the 1992 and 1997 elections it was divisions both within and between the large tribes that enabled Moi to retain the presidency, although ethnic cleansing in each of those years plus many other fraudulent electoral practices played their parts as well. The most famous financial fraud in Kenya history occurred in 1992, when the KANU government printed \$1.25 billion (the nation’s total Gross Domestic Product in 1992 was less than ten billion dollars) that it claimed it paid in export compensation to a gold exporting company called Goldenburg, but in fact used to help buy the election. Kenya has only minimal amounts of gold and official government records stated that only \$2.5 million worth of gold was exported from Kenya in 1992. This unsupported huge increase in the money supply caused both a rapid decline in the value of the Kenya shilling and intractable economic problems for Kenya throughout the decade of the 1990s.

Houle and others in the RSCK felt that the country was fracturing along ethnic lines, which could lead to irreversible hatred and conflict in Kenya, and even to full civil war. They thought that the Catholic Bishops might be able to intercede in ending the violence and promoting reconciliation. Houle explained:

The Catholic Bishops had been speaking out very strongly in the previous year about electoral issues, because of being pushed from below. We wrote a letter stating our support for them, but also asking them to consider a couple of things. I went with the chairman of the RSCK, Fr. Nino Racari, and presented it to all the Bishops gathered together. We actually read them the letter. We asked them to give us guidelines on more inculturated forms of reconciliation, to try to stop the tremendous bitterness overcoming the Kenyan people. We also asked them to write to Bishops' Conferences in other parts of the world, to pray for and support the Church in Kenya, and to ask their governments to try to intervene to stop the violence in Kenya.

The Bishops did listen and did what they could. However, as events have proven since then, especially in the post-election violence of 2007/08, much greater efforts at reconciliation at the grassroots are needed.

A very important initiative of Houle's was organizing a new group, called People for Peace, which will be written about below. It was this group that was contacted by the Kenya government in 1991 to try to mediate the split in the SPLA of southern Sudan.

Houle was elected Regional Superior of Kenya in 1992, and took office in October of that year. He was Superior up till October, 1998, at which time the Tanzania and Kenya Regions combined into one Africa Region again. Dwindling numbers of personnel, the retirement of many Maryknollers, some of whom stayed living within Africa, and the decentralization of authority to 'districts' were the reasons for re-establishing one region only. Houle returned to working with People for Peace in 1999 for a year or two, and then returned to the U.S. to be the Maryknoll liaison to the United Nations.

While he was Superior, Houle maintained his involvements in various justice and peace programs in Kenya, especially Nairobi. He used the large gathering hall at the Maryknoll center house for holding many seminars for different groups of church people and representatives of parishes. The Maryknoll center house became known as a place where important church and national matters were being discussed, in order to discern how the Kenyan Church can bring an informed faith to bear on these matters. As few Maryknollers were using the guest house for accommodation (Maryknollers in Tanzania were fewer in number, and many rarely came to Nairobi), the center house periodically hosted groups from the U.S. and other countries. Maryknollers in Kenya had a great deal of energy in the 1980s up till the mid-1990s. But aging and reduced numbers caused Maryknoll in Kenya to close out most of its commitments, and to cease to be a place of fomenting new ideas and actions. As the new century and decade began in the year 2000, the few remaining Maryknollers in Kenya continued to do valuable work (c.f. Part Seven), but the high energy needed to promote initiatives in social justice and peace had for the most part disappeared.

While Houle was living at Makadara, two Maryknoll Brothers came to live and work at this parish, Loren Beaudry and John Mullen. In addition to the Maryknollers, there were three others living there at that time: the pastor Josef Rackyll, a Fidei Donum

priest from Germany, who was an extremely hard-working, pastoral priest and also a colorful character at times – during one Easter Vigil he jumped into a huge vat of holy water with all his clothes on, including the Mass vestments, to illustrate the process of death and resurrection in Christ, an act accompanied by squeals and hoots of laughter from the 1000 parishioners in attendance; Fr. Richard Wolfe, a retired Holy Ghost Father from England; and a Kenyan priest. Mullen said, “It was like living at the United Nations.”

Beaudry had done his OTP from 1986 to 1988 at three parishes on Kenya’s coast and then returned to Maryknoll, NY, for his final integration year, studying at the College of New Rochelle and doing ministry in the South Bronx. On his return to Kenya in mid-1990 he was assigned to Makadara. The pastor gave him three tasks: visiting the sick in their homes, which included bringing them communion, doing the shopping for the house, and being the parish liaison to the youth.

The parish had a very active and ambitious youth group. There was no problem getting them to come to meetings and they would come in large numbers. In addition to organizing sports programs every month, for instance a soccer tournament, the youth and I also planned their activities for the year, determined how they could raise money for special things they planned to do later in the year, and invited in speakers to talk on various topics. The youth would also give talks themselves. One or several would choose a topic, do research on it, and then give a presentation on this to the rest of the youth. They did very well in this. One special event every year was the annual retreat, held somewhere outside of Nairobi. A favorite spot was near the town of Limuru, twenty miles northwest of Nairobi, where the four days took on the atmosphere of camping out. Generally there would be about a hundred go on the retreat, young men and women mainly in their twenties, but also some teens.

The ability of the youth to do all these things shows the availability of money in Nairobi, as compared to rural parts of Kenya. Beaudry was also able to use English in talking with the youth, as his Swahili was still not proficient. However, he discovered that the youth were creating a new language – Sheng, a mixture of English, Swahili and Kikuyu. In mid-1993 Beaudry returned to the United States for one year to complete his studies at Empire State University, obtaining a Bachelors Degree in May, 1994.

Beaudry had been in Makadara for about six months when Brother John Mullen joined them. Mullen had a Bachelors Degree in Nursing and came to East Africa for Overseas Training Program (OTP) in December, 1989. After five months of language school in Tanzania learning Swahili, which Mullen found difficult, he went to Sengerema Hospital across the lake from Mwanza, Tanzania, with Brother Tony Ferro, who was a laboratory technician. They spent six months there, both for language practice and to learn about medical standards and practices in Africa. Mullen was shocked at the gulf between American and Tanzanian medical services, especially with regard to hygienic practices.

In the United States dressings are done with new, sterile gloves and instruments for each patient, whereas in Tanzania, which lacks financial and material resources, the same things are used over and over. These implements are washed and sterilized as best they can do it, but not after each new patient. In addition, many people are out-patients and when they come back to the hospital, maybe a couple of days late, their wounds are putrid and dressings filthy, necessitating another thorough cleaning. It is quite an adjustment for a western trained medical person.

The year 1990 was also the peak time of the spread of AIDS in the Lake Victoria area. Mullen later reflected on this:

I had experience of AIDS because I worked at Sing Sing Prison in Ossining, at a section called the 'AIDS walk,' where everybody died. I had also read about the growth of AIDS in Africa. But in Sengerema I was seeing it, seeing people losing massive amounts of weight, seeing huge numbers of people dying. It was the beginning of my education to the reality of AIDS here in Africa.

Mullen and Ferro went to Nairobi in January, 1991, Mullen to Makadara and Ferro to live with Fr. Lionel Bouffard in Nairobi South B. For the next year and a half Ferro focused on work with Small Christian Communities (SCCs), called *jumuiya* in Swahili. The parish in South B was a middle-class to upper-middle-class area, many of Indian ancestry, including Goans who are mainly Catholic. This parish was run by the Missionaries of Africa (also called White Fathers). Brother John Reischick, who was working at Amani Counseling Center, was the Director of overseas training for the Brothers in Nairobi, and met regularly with both Mullen and Ferro.

Mullen first had to wait about three months to be certified to do nursing work in Kenya and during this time he took communion to patients at Mater Misericordia Hospital, visited the sick, both in the hospital and in the parish, and tried to learn how medical work was done in Kenya. The Sisters of Mercy ran the hospital and also had a dispensary in Makadara, just a few hundred yards up from the parish. After being certified, Mullen began full-time nursing work at the dispensary. This was tiring work, but very helpful.

The Mercy Sisters had a very well-run dispensary, with plenty of equipment. The huge volume of patients each day reflected on the quality of care and the low cost given by this dispensary. I worked with three other Kenyan nurses, all in the same large room with each of us having our own desk. We each saw over fifty patients a day; sometimes there were up to 400 patients in one day.

We were functioning more like doctors, if compared to the U.S. We could diagnose and prescribe medications. That year and a half helped me a lot, because I had many questions. Sometimes it was clinical, for instance what to do about a particular case, other times it was about language, and at other times it would be a procedural question, what do to if a person can not afford to buy the medicine.

In addition to his full-time medical work, Mullen was also expected to attend SCC meetings in the parish two or three evenings a week. He objected to this, since his work at the dispensary was very time-consuming and exhausting. He also was still learning Swahili. It was the pastor who told him to go to the SCCs, although Mullen suspected that it was Carroll Houle who told the pastor that this was what was expected of someone on OTP. Members of one SCC used to do home visiting to the sick of the parish, and Mullen began going with them. "Word got out that there was a nurse living at the parish, resulting in sick people coming in to the parish seeking help. That's how I got involved with two people who had AIDS. They had come to the parish to see me, and then I began visiting them in their homes. I accompanied them for close to a year. One died on Easter Sunday, 1992, and the other shortly after I went back to the U.S. in May, 1992." Despite his original reluctance to attend SCC meetings, Mullen later realized how important these experiences were to his introduction to Africa. He always felt very welcome by both Kenyans and Tanzanians.

While most people who came to the dispensary had typical diseases found in poor, tropical countries, many of them also showed symptoms of AIDS. The Kenya government was doing testing, but was not sharing the epidemiological data, out of concern that public acknowledgement of a high incidence of AIDS would severely hurt the tourist trade, according to Mullen. Tourism is the largest source of foreign exchange and employment in Kenya. However, Mullen was soon adept at recognizing the symptoms of AIDS.

A Kaposi's sarcoma or skin lesions on the leg or other part of the body were almost definite indications of AIDS. Likewise, a herpes rash around the thorax or the thigh area of a young person would in over 90% of the patients indicate AIDS. Many people with venereal diseases also had a good chance of being HIV positive. None of these people knew that they were infected or had AIDS.

This raised the question of whether to inform the person of his/her condition. The Kenyan nurses did not believe in telling people that they may have AIDS, both for cultural reasons and to try to minimize stigma and shame. In the beginning Mullen followed this practice. "The Lions Club sponsored a special skin clinic one day each month that was free." (This club's membership is almost one hundred percent Asian. Many Asians in Kenya have good incomes and their Hindu and Moslem faiths oblige them to provide alms for the poor.) "I would refer people with skin lesions to this clinic, and let the doctors decide whether some should be tested for AIDS. Not all skin diseases are caused by AIDS and they can be difficult to diagnose."

However, after some months Mullen changed his opinion and felt strongly that a person had a right to know the true diagnosis.

The problem was that people who receive this diagnosis need to have counseling and I was not a counselor, nor did we have any means of providing counseling at our dispensary. But I felt that to be responsible, if I thought they surely had AIDS, they needed to know, especially if they were sexually active. They could endanger others. This came even more into play if they had a venereal

disease. I admit I was quite blunt, saying, “If you don’t have AIDS you will get it if you continue this kind of behavior.” And that “if you continue doing this you are going to die.”

Mullen had seen how devastating AIDS was in the Lake Victoria area and knew how it had eviscerated Uganda. A comprehensive response to AIDS was slow in coming to Kenya, and to Nairobi. By 1992 the AIDS statistics in Uganda were going down, a phenomenon due in part to the large number of deaths but also due to changed behavior. It should be noted that the Uganda government had a narrow definition of the term ‘behavior change,’ meaning use of condoms by ninety percent of the population. Others have noted that Uganda was the first African country to openly admit the scourge of AIDS and to have widespread education and information campaigns directed at all ages. Complete openness seems to be co-related to reduction in HIV infection, such as in Uganda and shortly afterwards Tanzania, whereas secrecy seems co-related to an increasing rate of infection, such as was the case in 1992 in Kenya, Ethiopia and South Africa. As will be seen, Kenya did go to greater openness later in the decade, which helped the rate of infection to peak in 1999 and drop encouragingly in the new century’s first decade.

The Church was beginning a response to AIDS and Mullen became a member of the Eastlands Deanery subcommittee on AIDS. This committee met every month and reported back to the deanery and to the priests’ council. Through this Mullen became aware of the work of Sr. Jill Horschfeld in training local people to care for the dying. Mullen reflected on this in 1993:

My own evaluation of the greatest pastoral need is in helping local people to accompany and care compassionately for those who are dying. There is no cure for AIDS and the medications we have now are too expensive for a poor country. I also share the same conclusion with two Maryknoll priest-doctors, Bill Fryda and Pete LeJacq, that fundamental change in sexual behavior will not happen in this generation. If people directly experience others suffering and dying of this disease, they will ask themselves if they want this to happen to them. That will be the beginning of behavior change.

Mullen continued working in the dispensary and with the committee on AIDS until his OTP assignment ended in May, 1992. He and Ferro then returned to Maryknoll, NY, to complete their final year before final oath. While at Maryknoll, Mullen obtained a Masters Degree in Theology.

People for Peace in Africa

In 1989 a small core group of Catholics, including missionaries and local Church people, decided to form a group dedicated to facilitating conflict resolution, mediation and reconciliation, and soon added people from the larger ecumenical community. Fr. Carroll Houle was most instrumental in getting this group started and was perceived as the primary contact person. It was Houle who sought funding, primarily from Maryknoll, enabling the group to open an office in Westlands, at Waumini House, a building owned

by the Kenya Episcopal Conference. Joseph Ngala, who had been a free-lance reporter for Kenya newspapers and other news media, was hired as a permanent member of staff. He remains in the office today. A Notre Dame de Namur Sister, Frederika Jacobs, volunteered on a full-time, permanent basis, until health difficulties forced her to return to the U.S. at the end of the 1990s. Other Church people worked in the office on a temporary and volunteer basis, especially Maryknoll Lay Missioner Greg Darr. When Houle became Maryknoll Regional Superior for Kenya in October, 1992, Ngala became recognized as the chief staff person in the office. In the mid and late 1990s two Maryknoll priests, Fr. Bill Knipe, who had been in Sudan, and Fr. Ed Dougherty, who had worked in Tanzania many years, volunteered at the People for Peace Office.

While the office both compiled and distributed information about conflict and methods of conflict resolution and peace, and although there usually was someone in the office to handle inquiries, perhaps the most important component of its tasks was outreach to people and communities needing its mediation. Thus, Houle referred to it as an "Ad Hoc Group," responding to situations as they arose, utilizing group members according to their availability and/or skills.

Houle was interviewed in mid-1992 and said:

From 1989 to 1992 we had three areas where we put our emphasis. First was the need for general education about peace and how to go about peace-making, and secondly was the whole refugee situation in Kenya, which has seen an increase from 35,000 to about 300,000 refugees in the last few years. (The refugees came from Sudan primarily, but also Somalia, Ethiopia and Uganda. In 1994 many would come from Rwanda.)

As for education about these two matters, we provided materials, posters and suggestions for action. This year (1992) we have also planned contests by youth groups, which will do both plays and songs about the refugees' situation, about violence, and about how to bring peace. We have also suggested collections of clothes and reading materials for children, as there have been over 10,000 unaccompanied children who have crossed the border from Sudan just in the last month or so (in June of 1992).

The third thing that we spent a lot of time on was the Sudan issue itself, particularly since some of our people have missionaries in Sudan, including Maryknoll. The most important action we do here is sending information to Europe and North America about what is happening in Sudan.

And, as written above, the People for Peace Group was requested by the Kenya Government in November, 1991, to try to mediate between the two groups of the SPLA.

In 1991 and 1992, and later in 1997, violence rocked western Kenya in the run-up to elections, and People for Peace tried to find ways to bring individuals of the different ethnic groups together to stem the violence. The year 1992 saw the worst of the violence, in which close to 1000 died and hundreds of thousands of Kenyans became internally displaced. The violence in 1997 was minor in comparison, although again scores of thousands became displaced during the elections. It was not until 2007-2008 that the most horrific incidents of violence broke out. Finding solutions to this ethnic conflict is complicated since many Kenyan politicians promote what is called ethno-nationalism and

deliberately play the ethno-nationalist card in order to win elections. Until some form of constitutional power-sharing statutes are in place, ethnic politicians are going to perceive elections as ways to promote ethnic goals – and their personal quest for power – rather than to promote societal goals beneficial to all Kenyans.

In the mid-1990s People for Peace facilitated one of the most imaginative forms of education about peace, through the use of street theatre or what is also called participatory drama. Groups of young actors, almost all of whom were university graduates, would go to a parish in and around Nairobi for a weekend, or for a Sunday afternoon, and perform dramas about social issues. Before each skit ended, the actors would ask the parishioners in attendance how the drama should end. They would then act out the suggested ending, showing the consequences of the parishioners' suggestions. Often the first suggestions took on simplistic, moralistic or ethno-centered characteristics, which created unacceptable consequences. As the suggestions for endings became more thoughtful and broad-minded, the suggestions produced endings that would best suit the common good. For Africans, who love drama and short skits, this method proved extremely helpful in examining causes of injustice and violence, and in surfacing ways of rectifying these matters.

Houle returned to the U.S. in 2000, but People for Peace continues on. It has a website, and remains committed to finding African inculturated methods of promoting conflict resolution and peace in Africa. The website lists the following five activities:

- Peace education and awareness raising
- Reconciliation workshops and mediation
- Advocacy and networking
- Trauma healing
- Active non-violence

Its Vision Statement says:

We seek a just African society, in which harmony, peace and reconciliation exist as a way of life, based on a complementarity of deepest religious and traditional values and modern methods of mediation and healing, through a participatory process originating from the grassroots.

Ukweli Home of Hope for Nairobi Street Children

By the early 1990s the growing problem of “street children” was spreading out from downtown Nairobi to neighborhoods five or more kilometers from the center of town, including the huge Westlands shopping area not far from the Maryknoll center house. As the People for Peace office was located in Westlands, Carroll Houle couldn't avoid seeing groups of boys and young men gathered in several street corners or edges of parking lots every day. He took an interest in their welfare and tried to get to know them on a personal basis. This eventually led to his hiring of a social worker he had met at Makadara Parish, Mrs. Margaret Wanjau, who set up a drop-in center made of tin sheets where the boys could receive a cooked lunch each day and some lessons in basic subjects. A number of American and European women whose husbands had high-paying jobs in Nairobi volunteered to assist with this fledgling program, and several young Kenyan men

and women also volunteered. Maryknoll Lay Missioner Liz Mach, a nurse, helped with medicines and other medical assistance.

Beginning in 1992 Houle had a full-time job as Kenya Regional Superior and was still very involved with the diocesan and national Justice and Peace Commissions. Therefore he began searching for someone to take over the outreach to street boys in Westlands. In 1995, Brother Peter Agnone, who had been doing administrative work at Maryknoll's Procurator House in Rome, was assigned to Kenya. Agnone says, "Carroll was involved in so many projects that he was delighted when I came around to help him out." Agnone had worked in Tanzania from 1954 to 1956, and then was administrator of the Maryknoll Center House in Nairobi from 1956 to 1963, so he was not unfamiliar with Nairobi and East Africa, although much had changed in the intervening thirty years. In 1963 there were few if any street children. This term referred to those, almost all boys, who had run away from home and were living in alleyways of downtown Nairobi.

A combination of structural and social problems, such as lack of arable land, unemployment and underemployment, very low incomes, heavy drinking among men, and frequent use of violence in the home directed at women and children, all led to increasing numbers of boys (and eventually girls) running away from their rural homes, beginning in the 1960s and increasing with each passing decade. The Kenya government had no program to deal with runaways, except for the draconian reform school for minors convicted of theft or violence. As long as the street boys were not engaging in crime in downtown Nairobi, the government and police essentially ignored them. (Whether the police forced the boys to pay occasional bribes has never been alleged or reported.) It was Fr. Arnold Grohl of the Missionaries of Africa who first started a program of trying to rehabilitate the boys, who were called 'Parking Boys' in the 1970s (as discussed above with regard to Brother Jim Fahy's work with Grohl in the early 1980s). Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s most of the children were from rural areas, in 1995 most street children in Nairobi were from Nairobi's slums.

Coinciding with Agnone's arrival was a wish expressed out loud by Mrs. Wanjau, "If only we could have a place where these boys could live." Thus a decision was made to open a home, which would be administered by Agnone.

The first house we had was a mud hut in the slums that we rented. It had no electricity, water or indoor toilet, and after six months the kitchen collapsed. We looked for another place and fortunately a local parish lent a house to which we brought twelve boys for fourteen months. Finally, in 1998 we bought a large cement-block house for \$48,000 with four large bedrooms, of which one was for the two live-in staff members, and the other three for thirty boys, ten to a room. I did not live at the home, but came on weekends and at least once during the week. My job was to insure that the boys and teachers had whatever they needed in the house. The home was named 'Ukweli Home of Hope.' *Ukweli* is a Swahili word meaning truth.

The home was located adjacent to the Kibera slum, a deliberate move by Agnone and Houle. "We decided to live in the slums because that's where the boys were going to be when they grew up – unless of course one becomes President. The boys were responsible for the cooking, cleanliness and general maintenance of the house." Houle

and Mrs. Wanjau regularly visited the home, Houle being called father, Wanjau mother and Agnone grandfather (in Swahili). “The boys know that I am a sucker for giving goodies to them, i.e. oranges, candy, etc. Some of the teachers think I spoil the boys, but if that’s spoiling them, then let them be spoiled. They deserve it.”

Agnone also went to the drop-in center in Westlands every day. There were many more boys than there were places for them in homes, although the consensus decision in the 1990s was that all girls had to be quickly removed from the streets and put into homes because of the very real danger of their being sexually exploited and contracting AIDS. For boys the danger was more from drug abuse, particularly the over-use of sniffing glue in tin cans. The boys claimed that glue-sniffing warded off hunger pains, although it also became addictive. Agnone said, “Street life is tough. There’s this one boy who was caught stealing a woman’s handbag. They beat him to death. Someone once told me that the most dangerous profession is to be a thief.”

But the home was not a permanent home for the boys, most of whom were teenagers or in late pre-adolescence. “Our aim is get them off the streets, get them off the drugs, get them into school and then back to their families. Now that takes time. That’s why we have the home.” If rehabilitation back to their families was not possible, the boys would normally be expected to start living on their own, hopefully with some kind of work, at about the age of eighteen to twenty-one. Many former street-boys were accepted into the vocational training schools run by Fr. Grohl’s Undugu Society. Agnone told of one man aged twenty-four who used to come around the drop-in center all the time, and was advised to start thinking of taking care of himself. “I started telling him that he had the quality of a leader but was going in the wrong direction. I told him he owed it to Fr. Houle to start doing something for others and not just for himself. Fortunately, I was able to talk to him and he would listen.”

In 1999 Agnone had a stroke that forced him to return to Maryknoll, NY, for rehabilitation, and then in 2000 he had a second stroke. He was not able to return to Kenya to work, although he did visit on occasion. Much of the original funding came from Maryknoll, but after Agnone started the Ukweli Home of Hope he put much of his own inheritance and other funds he raised into a special endowment to permanently fund the operational needs of the home. This home is still operating today.

If it had not been for his health problems Agnone would have remained in Nairobi directly working with the home. Fortunately, Mrs. Wanjau was able to take over as Administrator, making for a smooth transition. Agnone reflected on his work with the home: “I love the people. I also worked in Western Samoa for seven years, and both there and in East Africa the people are very hospitable. I think I am a good administrator, a service I can give to whichever assignment I have. Here in Nairobi I feel that I am doing what I am supposed to be doing. I honestly have a sense that I am doing God’s will.”

Nyumbani Home for AIDS orphans and Barnado’s Home

Fr. Tom McDonnell had worked in Nairobi from 1979 to 1985, doing psychological counseling at Amani Counseling Centre, Mathare Valley Mental Hospital, and in his private practice. In 1985 he perceived that AIDS was growing rapidly and would soon overwhelm Kenya’s health services. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s there was no cure and almost everyone infected with HIV died, usually in five to at most ten years. The slow process of wasting away until finally succumbing to an agonizing death

was excruciating not only for the person infected but for the family and others close to the person. The disease was not merely a physiological condition but also psychological and spiritual. McDonnell was counseling many young adults and said, “They are educated and have good jobs, but are very vulnerable to whatever is coming, to the scourge of AIDS. They need our help.”

He returned to the U.S. and received two successive Fellowships at Sloane Kettering Hospital in New York City, where he did studies and work under the supervision of a famous woman doctor from Texas, Dr. Jimmy Holland.

I went to her and asked to work with the terminally ill AIDS patients, which is not something people ask for. I didn’t know what terminally ill AIDS people were like. But it was a fascinating year. I worked with both terminally ill AIDS and cancer patients.

I didn’t fear this type of work, which was a gift I received from Africa. In Africa if someone is dying, people all gather around, but this is not so in the U.S., or certainly wasn’t at that time in New York. People wouldn’t go near AIDS patients and usually not even near cancer patients. I was amazed at how many people were abandoned by their families. So, this was a real rich year.

On return to Kenya in late 1987 he resumed his private practice and work at Mathare Valley Hospital, and also did some counseling at Amani Counseling Centre. He also became interested in the street-children phenomenon in Nairobi, and joined the Board of Directors of Barnado’s Home for street children, located in the upscale Lavington area only a mile from the Maryknoll Center House. However, a Jesuit priest, Fr. D’Agostino, who had also done counseling at Amani, was forming a foundation to establish an institutional residential home for abandoned infants and children born with AIDS.

In those years, around 1990, two-thirds of children born to women infected with HIV/AIDS also contracted the disease – a sentence dooming them to die usually within two years, or at the most five years. Called Mother-to-Child-Transmission (MTCT), the mechanisms, while not completely understood, occur in the later stages of pregnancy, during child-birth, and through breast-feeding. In the mid-1990s it was discovered that administering the drug AZT to the mother in the second and third trimesters of pregnancy dramatically reduced the likelihood of MTCT, especially if accompanied with an alternative to breast-feeding. Due to poverty in sub-Saharan Africa, however, these measures were not easy to implement. The AZT drug was expensive and very few African mothers can afford to bottle feed their children – which in any event is discouraged for African mothers in normal circumstances. At the time when availability of Anti-Retroviral Therapies (ARVT) became widespread at low cost, around the year 2000, it was discovered that treatment of an HIV-infected pregnant woman with these therapies reduced the MTCT rate down to 1.5%. Despite this, there are still many children being infected with HIV. In 2007, according to UNAIDS and the WHO, there were 2.1 million children under age 15 with HIV, of whom 1.8 million lived in sub-Saharan Africa, and there were 370,000 African children newly infected that year. Very, very few children, whether in Africa or elsewhere in the world, are infected with HIV between the ages of five and fifteen, demonstrating that the most perilous time for

children is during pregnancy and birth. It should be noted, though, that the number in 2003 was 2.5 million children, so the overall number is going down. Even with these advances the figures are still devastating and depressing.

In 1990 McDonnell reduced his other duties and joined D'Agostino at the home for infants with AIDS, located in the Karen suburb fifteen miles south of Nairobi. This home had excellent facilities in a beautiful spot and hired a large caring, committed staff. Generally there were about 100 to 200 infants and children under five at the home at any given time. Due to D'Agostino's fund-raising capabilities, his credence among the European funding agencies, and his many personal contacts in the U.S., the home was very well-endowed financially. Although an institution, the home tried to treat each child as an individual person of inestimable value – despite the almost certain and inevitable death sentence hanging over the child's head. McDonnell related the story of one little boy, who fortunately did not die.

I remember one little child, we called him Muhammed since he was obviously a Muslim. We found him in bushes, covered with ants, half of his face eaten away – a little newborn baby. We took him to Nyumbani and also to a Dermatologist, who said to use Vitamin D, which is terrifically expensive. I carried a vial of Vitamin D around and gave it to the baby every day. He healed up and grew up fine. Now I think of him on occasion and wonder what happened to him. He didn't have AIDS; he wasn't born with AIDS – one of the lucky one-third who avoided contracting it. But his mother probably had AIDS and this was probably the reason she abandoned him, which was a typical reason for abandoning children in those days.

Nyumbani, a Swahili word meaning at home or just home, is the popular name of this home for children, a name given by McDonnell. One day several of the staff were gathered together and brainstorming for a name for the foundation, which had a long, complicated name. McDonnell had just been to a store that sold household furniture and kitchen implements. It was called *Mezani*, which means in Swahili at or on the table (*meza* means table). The short, catchy name indicated the type of products sold in the store. So, McDonnell suggested the name *nyumbani*, which was “a popular Swahili word, has a rich meaning, and conveys a warm feeling.” The official name of the home and foundation is The Children of God Relief Institute (COGRI), and its current Director is Loreto Sister Mary Owen, who took over after D'Agostino died in 2007.

McDonnell worked at Nyumbani until 1993, at which time he chose to go to Barnado's home.

I had been on the Board of Barnado's Home for some years but that year we had a terrible man whom we had to get rid of. He was the Manager and was whipping the children, stripping them naked and whipping them. So, we had to dismiss him. Then no one was available to be Manager. I was available, since I was not going to continue at Nyumbani Home, and agreed to become Manager.

I received a letter this year (2010) from a man who was one of the children at Barnado's Home at that time. He wrote, “You were our daddy and our friend. The things you put in place made such a difference in our lives.” He said that he

was able to go on to the university, studying sociology, and is now on the staff of Barnado's. So, this is a good success story of my time there.

He stayed on as Manager of Barnado's for two years, 1994 and 1995, at which time the question came up of what to call children who have to beg or steal in town centers. Even today they are still called 'street children,' which in English describes their daytime location begging on the streets, where cars are stopped for traffic lights or trying to park along the road. The Swahili term, however, is far more pejorative: *machokora* describes someone who works with trash, implying they are dirty and trashy themselves. It originated from the hordes of people, mainly adults but also a large number of children, who pick through the city dump (located in the Dandora section of Nairobi) looking for something salvageable. In the 1960s and 1970s the children were called 'parking boys,' for their pervasive presence at all parking bays in downtown Nairobi, eliciting money from drivers to 'protect the cars.' (Or, conversely, to imply an unstated threat to themselves damage the car if not paid any money.) But in the 1980s the name in English had changed to 'street children,' since girls had also started appearing on the streets, and the pejorative Swahili word was commonly used by Kenyans.

At one of our Board meetings a Board member, an African, asked, "Why do we call them street children? Streets don't give birth. Why don't we call them 'Our Children'?" That was a great insight. They are not street children.

But they are out on the streets. That's a whole network of heart-breaking stories. They're begging because they have to bring something home at night. That's why they will steal if they don't get anything from begging. They are supporting their mother, whom they love, and who depends on them and this money. The money is also for the street child's brothers and sisters, the whole family.

Most of the children, many of them very young – under ten years old – who are begging or selling items such as peanuts, candies or little toys along the main roads where gridlock slows traffic to a halt, do not sleep on the streets. After dark they return to their homes, generally in the slums not too far from Nairobi's main highway. As long as over fifty percent of Nairobi's residents live in absolute poverty child workers will not disappear. But the young children begging on the streets are not the ones in most danger. Homes such as Barnado's and Ukweli Home of Hope exist for the more incorrigible boys and girls who have run away from home and are sleeping in alleyways or parks, with small gangs of other run-aways. These are the children most in danger of addictions, first to glue-sniffing but also to harder drugs, to falling into prostitution, to contracting HIV/AIDS, and in the vast majority of cases to an early death. There are scores of homes throughout the country now, most being run well. Whether they are keeping up with the unceasing problem of children running away from home and school is not known.

At the end of 1995 McDonnell returned to the U.S. and worked again at Sloane Kettering Hospital in Manhattan for two years. In 1997 he was asked to become Director of St. Teresa's at Maryknoll, NY, the nursing-home residence for Maryknoll priests and Brothers, where he worked for six years. From 2003 to 2007 he worked in the Office of

Society Services and then in 2008, when he officially retired, he was elected Superior of the Retirement Community.

Maryknoll Magazine correspondent

In 1986 Fr. Ron Sauci was appointed Director of Social Communications at Maryknoll, NY. One of his goals was to have a Maryknoll priest or Brother assigned to the Maryknoll Magazine from each of the three areas of the world, to be full-time associate editors of the magazine. In early 1988, Fr. Frank Breen was requested by the General Council to accept this assignment as the Africa representative to the magazine. He was working in Bura Parish in northeastern Kenya at that time, and asked for some months to close out his ministry there. He went to Maryknoll, NY, in September, 1988.

He found living in the large institutional setting of Maryknoll difficult, and asked if he could return to Kenya but continue as East Africa Correspondent for the magazine. This was accepted, and he returned in August, 1989. For one year he lived at Bura, his former parish, but its remoteness, lack of electricity, and impassable roads during the rainy seasons made living so far from Nairobi a non-viable arrangement. He then lived with Fr. Bob Vujs in a rented house in Buru Buru for six months, while Vujs concluded his sabbatical from pastoral work. Breen moved into the Gleason Residence from 1991 to 1993. This proved the most conducive residence for one who had to be traveling a lot.

Travel had both positive and negative aspects, according to Breen:

Travel in Africa can be rugged. The roads can be really terrible, although I had a new four-wheel drive pick-up so did not mind this so much. However, sometimes the rooms and beds I stayed in, both in hotels and rural missions, made the trips doubly challenging.

But the trips throughout Africa were very enlightening and educational. I witnessed many very good ministries and learned a lot myself about the church and ministry. Even after my formal assignment as correspondent ended in October, 1993, I continued to take trips for the Maryknoll Magazine, and each trip was enjoyable. Over the years I went to Egypt, Israel/Palestine, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia, and of course to many parts of Kenya and Tanzania where Maryknoll had many missions. I have been in almost every part of Kenya.

There were many highlights, but perhaps I can single out interviews, such as with Bishop Michel Sabbah, the first Palestinian to be appointed Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Fathi Arafat, the brother of Yasser Arafat, whom I interviewed in Cairo, and Bishop Denis Hurley of Durban, South Africa, who was famous for resisting apartheid laws and racially integrating the Catholic schools of Durban. The month I spent in South Africa in November, 1990, was exceptionally informative, as were the three trips I made to both Egypt and Israel.

During my final months working full-time in Kenya in 1993 I did a lot of research on the nomadic pastoral groups of Kenya, particularly the Maasai and Turkana, and took several trips to remote areas where these ethnic groups live. Through interviewing many people, church and non-church people, and gathering information from internationally funded organizations located in Nairobi, I

learned a lot about the extreme pressures nomadic peoples are facing. In Bura I had direct experience with both Orma and Somali, and in Namibia I went out to visit the San people in the Kalahari. All these experiences taught me that the nomadic peoples are the most endangered indigenous people in the world.

In 1993, Breen requested an assignment that would give him more direct pastoral outreach, and the Kenya Regional Council assigned him to Athi River Parish seventeen miles from Nairobi.