

MARYKNOLL HISTORY IN AFRICA PART SEVEN

CURRENT ASSIGNMENTS SINCE 1990

INTRODUCTION

The previous six Parts of this history elaborated on the many parishes and specialized ministries that Maryknoll engaged in, in the three countries of Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia, including the rationale for decisions to move out from traditional apostolates to new areas of mission. This Part sets 1990 as a starting point for current ministries of Kenya in these three countries, although it is to an extent arbitrary. Many of the ministries in previous Parts continued on after 1990 and a few right into the present, although they were begun well before 1990 (e.g. Ukweli Video and Chaplaincy at Kenyatta University). A few were begun after 1990, but were connected to previous Maryknoll ministries and by around the year 2000 Maryknoll involvement was discontinued, even if the ministry continues (e.g. Ukweli Home of Hope for street boys). Thus, this Part looks at a variety of ministries that were all started on or after 1990, in most cases well after 1990, and that continued into the present or at least after the year 2000. This is the major criterion for putting the MIAS institute in this Part, which could have just as easily been included in Part Four.

The year 1990 is chosen because it also seems to represent the peak of Maryknoll's presence in these three countries, especially in Kenya. Most and probably all Maryknollers recognized that the hand-writing was on the wall, given the ages of Maryknollers in Kenya and lack of vocations in the U.S. Maryknoll would not be able to take on new parishes and in fact would have to start shedding both the parishes it had and many of the other ministries engaged in by Maryknollers. Yet in 1990 the Region was robust and active, with still a good number of missionaries under the age of sixty and several in their forties and thirties. The Region was still looking forward but the decline had set in. It would be only eight years later, in 1998, that the demographic realities would force the two regions of Kenya and Tanzania to combine again into one Africa Region, thus ratifying that Maryknoll had passed its numerical peak in East Africa.

Thus, it will be surprising to observe that this is the longest Part of this history. This is in part due to its inclusion of three countries and in part to more complete memories of works engaged in by each of the missionaries interviewed. But the length of this Part of the history is testament that Maryknoll has remained actively engaged in serving the Church even as individual Maryknollers have grown older and their numbers fewer. Furthermore, the wisdom and experience that come from increasing years in mission have imbued these current ministries with great relevance and competence for the East African context. We can't predict what role Maryknoll will have in Kenya and neighboring countries in 2030, but at least we can show that Maryknoll has made wonderful contributions to the Church since the new century began and is still doing so as the century's second decade begins.

NAIROBI

Maryknoll Institute of African Studies

Inter-cultural understanding – or perhaps it is better to refer to inter-cultural misunderstandings – has been a fundamental concern of MM Fr. Mike Kirwen since he was ordained in 1963. From the beginning of the twentieth century Maryknoll insisted that its missionaries be fluent in the local languages of their assigned countries and out of this naturally flowed recognition for fluency in local cultures as well. Kirwen came to realize that one way of gaining cultural knowledge and insight is through hearing how people of another culture speak their language, what they speak about, and the particular grammatical manner in which they express their thoughts.

Kirwen explained this at some length:

In the summer after my ordination I went to a summer institute of linguistics to take a course in how to write an unwritten language. The laboratory language was Cheyenne, a very complicated language with voiceless vowels. That fall I went to Tanzania and began study of the Luo language. I immediately set about analyzing this language and after a period of three years I was able to crack the tonal structure of Luo – to the amazement of my Maryknoll colleagues who hadn't realized that Luo had tones.

This was followed by another breakthrough: that I also needed to understand the culture of the people with whom I was conversing. At one point people said to me, 'You speak our language very well but you don't know what you're saying.' At first I objected, but on reflection I realized that they were right. My whole conceptual framework was Western. Issues like marriage, polygamy, witchcraft and others I was viewing through Western images of these phenomena. I discovered that we were talking about conversion, but I was the one who needed conversion. But even after that I still felt culturally superior, that we were more advanced culturally and the African cultures would eventually catch up. It was only later that I fully accepted that there are 6,800 cultures and communication systems with an egalitarian dimension to them. Humans are born and grow up in a particular human society and it is within this that they function with some kind of normal order.

As humans evolved three or four million years ago and became bipedal, the birth canal became too small for the mature brain to pass through at birth. So the brain grows beginning right after birth and grows rapidly for two years. That is the time when the child learns all the cultural artifacts, learns language, learns its worldview, learns how to eat and dress. The people who are nurturing and socializing the child give it all its connections, which become embedded in the brain. Then beginning at about age four the child starts to prune its brain and to shed excess neurons and other unneeded baggage. At that point the cultural knowledge in the brain has been vetted and it's with you for the rest of your life. You can't get rid of it; it's part of your shadow. Another way of putting it is that it is like a jail. This unique culture into which I have been born and raised is the only way I can see myself in the cosmos and transcend it. These 6,800 cultures

are the way that *Homo sapiens* participates in God's creation, through our ability to create cultures, which give us order and meaning.

This does not mean that we cannot learn and understand another culture. But it takes great study and learning, and a huge investment of time and energy.

Just as it took Kirwen several years in East Africa to recognize acculturation as indispensable for expatriate missionaries who want to serve in Africa, likewise the decision to open an institute of African studies in 1989 resulted from a long history. In 1968 Maryknoll began its Overseas Training Program for seminarians and Brother candidates prior to either ordination or final oath. This became mandatory in 1971. Those going to East Africa went only to Tanzania in those years, spending four months at language school and then a year and a half at one or several rural missions. It slowly began dawning on Kirwen, who was theological advisor for the first OTP seminarians, that they could not be doing language practice and pastoral ministry the whole time, and that the OTP seminarians could be also learning something about the cultures in which they were suddenly immersed.

In 1970 Kirwen went to the University of Toronto for higher studies, in which he did two years of field research and two years of course work. "I learned the conceptual framework and obtained the skills of the process of acculturation. There is a three-step process of first desire, then compassion, and finally understanding that this is a different system."

After that he began teaching at Maryknoll, NY, in 1975, where he began encountering the returning OTP seminarians. The question he put to them was, "What did you experience overseas that you thought was really interesting? Do you want to continue to study about this?" Some had become very interested in certain aspects of the culture or religiosity of the people in their OTP countries, and definitely wanted to pursue further study.

These needs and ideas were brought to the 1978 Chapter, which recommended that the Regions fashion a new OTP program that included theological courses within a trans-cultural milieu. The Maryknoll Seminary School of Theology had some objections to the introduction of theology study during OTP, claiming that Regions did not have libraries and that study overseas would interfere with what the School of Theology was trying to teach. However, Superior General Jim Noonan overruled this and said if a Region was willing to start an experimental program the General Council would approve. The Peru Region and the Africa Region (actually the Tanzania Region, since the Africa Region had just been divided into two) agreed to do this, and Kirwen fashioned the Theological Education and Formation Overseas (TEFO) program, which he directed in Musoma, Tanzania. He invited many different people to help teach parts of the program, and two seminarians, Brian Barrons and Jose Aramburu, took this for-credit course from 1980 to 1982. Kirwen says, "They were in class four days a week, from 9:00 AM to 12:00 noon, and in the afternoons they went out with field assistants, asking people questions and talking with people. An older missionary one day remarked, 'How do they know this stuff? They've been out here only one year!' I said that they are curious and inquisitive and so they are learning."

Unfortunately, after 1982 the official TEFO program was discontinued, although some informal teaching did continue with the subsequent OTP students who came to East

Africa. However, the idea of a formal program of acculturation for new missionaries continued to percolate.

In 1989 Maryknoll moved its theological program for seminarians to Catholic Theological Union (CTU) in Chicago. CTU wished to incorporate overseas theological study in a trans-cultural locale as part of its seminary preparation, and requested Maryknoll to help set up a semester of studies in Africa. Kirwen was asked to be Director of this program and he looked at various places that were suggested, including Sierra Leone and Ghana in West Africa, and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. In the end, though, it was agreed that Nairobi was the most logical place to put such an institute, as Kirwen explains:

Nairobi was safe, had good transportation, students could get around to do their fieldwork, there were other Catholic institutions of higher learning in the vicinity, which included seminaries and the Catholic University, and there were good libraries available. English was common in the Nairobi environs, a big help to students coming from overseas for the first time. We chose to locate at Tangaza College (*tangaza* is a Swahili word that means 'to announce or proclaim') in the Langata part of Nairobi. Although Tangaza was somewhat off the main road, making transport slightly problematic, an advantage was its broad-based, ecumenical student enrollment, including women. It has been started by several congregations, who originally envisioned it to be an enclosed seminary-type institution, but the administration in 1989, led by Holy Cross Father Bill Blum, was looking to expand the number of institutes attached to the college. CTU registered and accredited the courses, while Maryknoll directed, financed and administered the acculturation program. The program ran for nine weeks in the summer, so American students could attend, with students taking a series of three-week courses that gave credit towards a Masters Degree. We followed the TEFO model of course work in the morning hours and field research in the afternoons. As part of the agreement I taught the fall semester at CTU.

Unexpectedly, many of the students who registered to take the courses were Africans, mainly from Kenya but also from other African countries. After two years CTU decided it did not have the financial and other resources to run a program that catered mostly to non-CTU students. CTU had expected it to be a small program to which they would take about twenty of its own students each summer. Thus, beginning in 1991, the Maryknoll Institute of African Studies continued on its own, with Kirwen as Director, and Maryknoll doing self-accreditation. Maryknoll was already paying the expenses, so there was no additional expense. Tangaza College did not use its buildings in the summer, and appreciated having an institute that could make good use of this resource plus provide extra funds for utilities and maintenance.

In 1994 a De la Salle Christian Brother who was teaching at Tangaza gave a letter of reference to Kirwen to take to St. Mary's University in Minnesota, so that he could ask them to provide accreditation to the Institute. St. Mary's is accredited by the North Central Association of universities in the United States, and would be able to extend this to the Maryknoll Institute. An Academic Affiliation Agreement was signed by St. Mary's and the Institute by which all of its courses were registered by St. Mary's, from which

transcripts were issued. The program was re-named Maryknoll Institute of African Studies – St. Mary’s University (MIASMU).

In June, 1996, after a two-year period of rigorous investigation by the North American Association, which included a visit by a top-ranking official, the Association certified MIASMU to grant a Master of African Studies degree (M.A.S.), a professional degree. Three years later, in June, 1999, MIASMU and Tangaza entered into an Academic Affiliation Agreement by which MIASMU was authorized to grant Tangaza diplomas and certificates. MIASMU paid Tangaza a one-time fee of \$15,000 for the agreement, which maintains the autonomy of both institutions in financial and administrative matters.

At that time Maryknoll began considering constructing its own building and expanding to a full year program. Africa Regional Superior John Sivalon had already visited Kirwen to survey where they could do the construction when Fr. Aylward Shorter of the Missionaries of Africa, who teaches at both the Catholic University of East Africa (CUEA) and Tangaza College, approached Kirwen asking if Maryknoll could participate in a joint construction of a new building at Tangaza. Maryknoll contributed \$225,000 and the Missionaries of Africa contributed \$500,000. Other funding came from Europe and the total amount of \$1.5 million was sufficient to construct the new building, called IMANI (Swahili for faith) House. Fr. Bob Vujs, who was pastor of Doonholm Parish at that time and is a knowledgeable builder, provided invaluable advice and oversight, saving the construction project a great deal of money. The Tangaza Board of Governors sent a letter on December 11, 2000, stating that “Maryknoll’s contribution for the new building guarantees MIASMU security of tenure in the new building for the facilities it needs and for as long as it needs them.” Up till 2002 the MIASMU program had been for three months only, May to August each year. With the new building, MIASMU became a year-long graduate program beginning in September, 2002.

Since 1989 over one thousand students have taken courses at MIASMU, the vast majority of them Africans, which has pleased Kirwen immensely.

They have been transformed. At first I was curious why so many Africans came in to take courses on African studies. Then it dawned on me that African cultures have been ignored by the Academy and they’ve been presented from a Western perspective. The ordinary educated African had little conceptual knowledge to understand his/her own identity. They could even think of themselves subconsciously as foreigners would think of them, creating in them a sort of split personality or dual consciousness.

Back in the 1920s and 1930s, when the famous anthropologists went to all the non-European continents to do research, some of the best came here to Africa, such as Levy-Strauss, Pritchard, Malinowsky and Lucy Meir. Their research gave the academic world the contemporary model for understanding the nature of culture. Unfortunately, they used a lot of pejorative terms to describe African culture, such as savage, primitive, overly sexual, or pagan. There is no department of Anthropology in the East African university system. I think this has been rejected due to the negativity unfortunately evoked by classic anthropology. There are a few anthropologists but they are either in institutes of development studies or in the Department of Sociology. Yet anthropology is the key discipline to

understand what is happening at the ground level. One has to be humble, like a person of the farm or a heathen, i.e. a person of the hearth, and find out what in fact is going on.

Let me cite one example: let's examine the issue of witchcraft. When researched in an academic way, through the lens of anthropology, we discover it is African spirituality's way of dealing with the problem of evil. It is very sophisticated, because ultimately it sees evil as residing in the human heart. At the end of the day, the witch is you – you who are immoral. Mothers will tell their children, '*Usifanye hiyo, utakuwa mchawi*,' Swahili for 'Don't do that or you will become a witch.' There is a whole gradation of being a witch, the final one being those who are totally depraved. But we are all capable of evil and so it can be said that we are all witches in some sense. If missionaries knew what they should have known, which sadly they didn't, they would have equated the principle of evil with the witch, rather than creating a cosmic character called the devil.

This course instills great pride in the African students. They become proud of who they are as Africans. They don't want to be anything else but Africans and they celebrate this.

Foreign students, those from America or Europe or other parts of the world also benefit, both personally and in terms of understanding and appreciating African culture. Kirwen says that the vast majority, looked at from the three-step process of acculturation, have the desire and compassion. The final step of fully comprehending a different culture as a different system of communication takes a longer time. He says that Fr. Tony Gittens, a well-known missiologist, uses two words to describe the interval between moving from point A (one's own culture) to point B (becoming intuitively immersed in another culture), 'liminoid' and 'liminal.' The first refers to someone who has only an academic understanding of another culture but doesn't want to take the difficult step of full acculturation. Conversely, liminal indicates that someone is in the process of becoming fully acculturated, but hasn't reached point B yet. Once achieved, though, he/she can continue right through from Point C to Z. Kirwen says that there are also a few foreigners who reject right from the outset any desire to become acculturated.

The question arises about the modern urban African, especially since the young generation today is at least second generation if not third generation urban born and raised. Presumably the ubiquity of so many trappings of modernity has had an effect on this generation. Kirwen acknowledges this.

Cultures do change, nothing is ever permanently static. And of course the young generation in Nairobi is speaking a different language, called Sheng. But this does not mean that they are not still fundamentally African.

We call this Factor X. When researching sociological or anthropological data, you do one hundred interviews and ten don't fit the pattern. But the basic pattern for urban youth is still rural, in their mentality, their outlook, the things they laugh at, for example. They call themselves the dot-com Africans, those from the upper classes. But when you get to the crunch, they prove to be truly African.

For instance, I researched the bride-wealth question for my thesis, with upper-class, middle-class and poor families. At one upper-class family they began

discussing this question among themselves, until they discovered that their mother's bride-wealth payment had not yet been finalized. Immediately, right in the middle of the conversation, they stopped the discussion. This was a very sensitive issue in that family and through this they realized that they were discussing something essential in African culture. These were upper-class people, definitely not rural people at all. And anything dealing with major events in people's lives, they are still basically African.

MIASMU has produced three books on African culture, one that enumerates fifteen basic themes common to almost all indigenous people of sub-Saharan Africa, and a recent book on what are called African cultural domains, about the life cycle of an individual. These books culminated in the research and term papers of students at MIASMU, all of them graduates or post-graduates. Examples of themes are matters already mentioned such as polygamy, witchcraft, community, harmony, etc., and the book on domains treats events such as birthing rites, formation, education, initiation rites, marriage rites, inheritance ceremonies and elderhood rites. Kirwen elaborates on this:

If you go to South Africa and talk to a Zulu, you will find very similar family structures. And long immersion in the Western world does not eliminate these things. A Kenyan who had been professor at Indiana University for many years and was almost chosen to be Vice-Chancellor of Kenyatta University, where he is a senior lecturer, not long ago opened up his own house back at his family homestead. This means he is now fully mature, even though he was already in his fifties. He has moved out of his father's house and become the head of a household, an event that had to be accompanied by ceremonies. These are the same rites and ceremonies that I witnessed over forty years ago in rural Tanzania.

Kirwen also cites the example of a woman who has a Masters Degree in Counseling from Wheaton College in the U.S. All of her counseling in Kenya was done from a Western perspective and in a Western manner.

She kept hearing her clients say that they are bewitched, which she was not willing to concede. Finally, though, she decided to take a course on African psychotherapy, to try to understand what they were saying. She has also taken our courses and has been transformed. She has changed her whole way of dealing with African psychological problems and has become much more open and articulate about her own African identity.

According to Kirwen African spirituality is the fourth largest spiritual tradition in the contemporary world, comprising about a half billion adherents – most of whom would also claim to be Christian or Muslim. The only larger spiritual traditions numerically are Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. "But African spirituality gets no publicity because it is still basically an oral tradition."

The field assistants who accompany the students out on field research are also transformed. Kirwen had heard of something called the 'living dead,' i.e. someone who is so holy, totally integrated, and at peace with himself/herself that even while still alive

he/she is considered to have already joined the venerated ancestors in the afterlife. One of the field assistants was named after her grandmother, while the grandmother was still alive, although that tribe's custom was to name a person only after someone who had died. Kirwen explains:

This custom starts with the African belief that death is merely transitory, like going through a door into another room. So, there is not this great gulf between those who have died and we who are alive, and some people are in both worlds. The field assistant said that her grandmother looks out for her, cooks special food for her, and cures her. She is a true grandmother.

Kirwen jokes about the modern trappings of his field assistants and graduate students.

They all have degrees, all speak Sheng (the language of modern Kenyan urban youth), and all are watching television every day. So, it is true that there are changes going on all the time, but the basic pattern is still there. The only ones who might have the fundamental cultural structures disrupted are those like street children or the child soldiers who were abducted as young children. But for those growing up in normal African families, even if highly educated, upper-class, urban families, the fundamental African values and cultural patterns are embedded and remain for life.

There are over twenty course offerings at MIASMU, which treat of diverse topics but all are subsumed under the overriding theme of African Studies. Thus, they are listed as African Marriage, African Political Development, African Economics, African literature, and so forth. In the 2008-09 academic year eighty-two students took about one hundred and fifty courses. Two are going for the M.A.S. degree, and eleven others are candidates for an M.A. degree. MIASMU is the only program at Tangaza that currently grants Masters degrees.

One course that demonstrates the difference between Western and African perspectives on issues is a course on African Feminist Theology. Kirwen points out that "this course is inevitably going to be different from Western feminist theology. In fact, four women from the U.S. recently took it and were constantly confronted on their preconceived ideas about the nature of women and the issues here in Africa."

Edith Chamwama, who is a staff person at MIASMU and is studying for a PhD, explains some fundamental differences in African feminist theology.

In Africa women's issues do not consider only the woman herself but all of humanity, or rather the whole community. We start with the community, within which the woman has a central role. She is called to bring the community together in order to promote what is best for all who are members of this community.

Thus, as Kirwen further explains, there are going to be initial misunderstandings arising out of different cultural presuppositions.

But that's okay, provided non-Africans are willing to do the fieldwork and become grounded in the new context. The first thing we do at the start of each course is to explain our method. We have three keynote ideas, three keynote activities and three keynote changes. If they understand that all cultures are equal then they are undergoing the rite of passage. The next part is they change their mind, which leads to reshaping their long-term memory.

The courses at MIASMU have become an integral part of Tangaza College. Of the 150 teachers at Tangaza one-quarter have taken some MIASMU courses, and four of the six directors of institutes have also enrolled for at least one course. Many of the seminarians who are students at Tangaza also take one or several courses at MIASMU, although this is not a requirement.

The program is preparing for ongoing financial self-reliance and the eventual transition in leadership. Four Maryknollers are on the Board of Governors, of whom one is the Africa Regional Superior. Kirwen, the Director, is an ex-officio member of the Board. Maryknoll has established an endowment in the U.S. for MIASMU, with a goal of reaching an investment of one million dollars. Funding also comes from European agencies, which helps keep tuition affordable. Despite these subsidies from the U.S. and Europe, tuitions pay half of the costs. Part of the cost, of course, is hiring of field assistants, who go up in grade as the years go on. Editors are also needed for MIASMU's publishing service. In addition to publishing books it also publishes two journals and has a website called Africancultures.org.

Since Kirwen will have been ordained fifty years in just a few years, plans are in place to choose another Director not far in the future. Fr. Laurenti Magesa, who has a PhD in Theology and is originally from Musoma Diocese in Tanzania that was started by Maryknoll is one good possibility, although there are others. Magesa has studied at the Maryknoll School of Theology in New York and has a very good relationship with Maryknoll. One problem according to Kirwen is that the job of Director is not full-time, meaning the Director would have to supplement his position with other tasks, such as publishing. Kirwen spends one-third of his time on finances, a job which will be done by an accountant in the future. In addition to Magesa, there are three other staff members who are PhD candidates. One of them, Dennis Odinga, is being groomed to be Assistant Director. Kirwen says that when he was at the Maryknoll Chapter for several months in 2008, "the staff ran the program, with no difficulty, and in the past two years they have basically run the program."

Odinga commented about the MIASMU program and how it helped him in his personal identity as an African, giving him pride in his own cultural inheritance. It has also given him valuable tools in preparing his PhD dissertation, which will be on Maasai marriage. He is not a Maasai, and in fact his ethnic group is very different from the Maasai, which will force him to do a lot of research on Maasai marriage customs and their meaning. He says, "The methodology of these courses has greatly helped me, in which research outside is integrally related to the coursework in class. Universities do teach how to do research, but in MIASMU the research is a direct part of the course."

Before going to the university, Odinga had been in a seminary formation house. He says that seminarians came from several countries with very different cultures, and that these differences led to tension and misunderstandings. He believes that Directors of

Formation Houses in Kenya definitely need to take some courses at MIASMU, in order to be aware of the inevitable cultural dynamics that will arise within the confined atmosphere of these residences. Human rights advocates who come to Africa from Western nations should also make efforts to be informed and sensitized about the cultural differences in African countries on which they intend to pass judgment.

Since 1990 any new Maryknoll missionaries to East Africa have been expected to take at least one three-week course at MIASMU. In recent years almost all new missionaries have been Lay Missioners. It has now become institutionalized that they take both language study in Musoma and introduction to acculturation in Nairobi. Most, and probably all, are very appreciative of this professional method of beginning mission careers. Older missionaries, for whom this acculturation course was not available, have also expressed interest in taking at least one course, even though they have picked up much cultural knowledge over the years. MIASMU has become a valuable asset for expatriate missionaries and, unexpectedly but fortuitously, a prized fount of self-esteem for all those African students who have taken courses there.

Mwangaza Retreat Centre

The Jesuit Society has always made spiritual direction and retreat direction integral elements of their ministry to the world and to Catholics, lay and religious. In the 1980s they obtained land in the Karen section of Nairobi with the intention of starting a retreat centre, and assigned several of their priests with the qualifications and interest in doing this type of ministry. The retreat centre, called Mwangaza (Swahili for light), would complement two other ministries they had in Nairobi: the huge parish of Kangemi, a working class area just adjacent to the Maryknoll Center House in northwest Nairobi, and Hekima College, which offered theology for both pre-graduate and post-graduate students, including their own Jesuit seminarians. (*Hekima* is the Swahili word for wisdom, similar to the Greek word *Sophia*, which is the name of Jesuit colleges/universities in other parts of the world.)

In 1988 Fr. John Conway had been the Kenya Regional Superior for two years and during that time he had developed good relationships with several Jesuits. He also developed great interest in the retreat centre and learned that it lacked sufficient staff to run full retreats. The Jesuits asked him if Maryknoll had anyone who could join the staff at Mwangaza.

On a visit to the U.S. in either 1988 or early 1989 he met Fr. Dick Smith who was home in the U.S. on vacation from Venezuela, where he had been working for ten years. Smith had earned a degree in Spiritual Direction from Loyola University in Baltimore, MD, and certification in Counseling in Massachusetts, where he lived at the Jesuit-run Weston School of Theology in Cambridge, MA. Loyola is also a Jesuit college, and as Smith had obtained his Bachelors Degree at Fordham University in New York (also Jesuit), he had great familiarity with Jesuits and good knowledge of their spirituality. Conway asked Smith if he would be willing to go to Kenya and join the staff at Mwangaza. Smith says, "I fully intended to return to Venezuela and I did not want to learn another language. But I was good at Spiritual Direction, which I presumed I would be doing at Mwangaza, and thus I accepted to go. The job description at Mwangaza, though, was not spiritual direction but running of retreats, but I did do spiritual direction on the side."

Smith went to East Africa in September, 1989, and took the four-month language course in Swahili in Musoma, Tanzania. He went to Kenya in January, 1990, and immediately joined the staff at Mwangaza, where in fact almost everything was done in English. Three Jesuit priests were there at that time, Angelo D'Agostino, the Director, Tony D'Souza, originally from India, and Fr. Jerome, also from India. Not long after Smith arrived D'Agostino left Mwangaza to start Nyumbani Home for AIDS Orphans, also in Karen, but several miles away. With only three on the staff for most of the nine years that Smith worked at Mwangaza, they had a very full schedule.

I had a tremendous amount of work at Mwangaza. In the nine years I think I had only three vacations. We offered thirty-three ten-day retreats a year and I was expected to be at all of them. The only break I would get would maybe be one retreat off in a year and be able to spend a few days in Mombasa. And each of the ten days was completely full. I usually had ten people I was directing and I had to meet with each one for forty-five minutes each day. So, we had a very full schedule.

But I loved my time at Mwangaza. It was a period of great growth. And I loved everything about Kenya, even though there was a lot of violence during those years of the 1990s. My work gave me a great sense of satisfaction.

Most of the people who came were Religious – Sisters, Brothers and priests. But there were also lay people, from parishes that were better off and long established. The mix was probably about 80% Religious and 20% Laity. They came from all over Africa, not only from the countries of East Africa but also from Sudan, Nigeria and other countries, as well as missionaries who originally came from Europe, North America, Latin America and Asia. Over the years we had people from fifty-nine countries come to take retreats at Mwangaza.

Having worked in Venezuela for many years I spoke Spanish. As a result many of those who came from Spanish-speaking countries asked for me to be their director, not so much to speak Spanish but because they thought I would understand their culture.

Having a Director at a retreat is very important. If you want growth in the spiritual area then you have to have a director. Spiritual direction is about relationships since spirituality depends on relationships with others and relationships with God. A person can not relate to God if he/she can not relate with others. So, we have to deal with what is preventing that relationship, which means we have to understand and acknowledge our feelings. Because I was trained in both Spiritual Direction and Counseling I was able to pick up things about people, even if all they originally came for was retreat or spiritual direction. One matter that surfaced with some priests was abuse of alcohol, which was the underlying issue that needed to be addressed.

Smith had developed a close collaboration with MM Sr. Bernice Rigney, who was a Counselor at Amani Counseling Centre throughout the 1990s. Several of the people who had come to Smith either for spiritual direction or for retreat he referred to Rigney for counseling, and vice versa some people who had gone to Amani for counseling Rigney referred on to Smith for spiritual direction. In addition to one-on-one work, both

Smith and Rigney collaborated on giving occasional retreats outside of Mwangaza, at times also with Fr. D'Souza, and they ran workshops for various groups. One workshop that they offered was on the Enneagram, a method of helping individuals understand their general personality profiles. This was offered to Religious Congregations, particularly to local Orders of Religious Sisters. Although there is the perception that Africans are all very much alike, in fact there are very different personalities within each congregation and the Enneagram helps them to understand the differences so that the group can function harmoniously together. The Enneagram Workshop was augmented by workshops on dialogue offered to religious communities. Smith says, "I enjoyed this outreach a lot."

In 1990 Kenya had an international reputation for political stability, economic growth, and societal peace. Thus, Smith was not expecting the shocking amount of violence, at times brutal and senseless violence, in 1991 and 1992 and again in 1997, which accompanied the so-called second liberation in Africa, multi-party elections. In 1991/92 about one thousand people were killed and hundreds of thousands were internally displaced, mainly in Rift Valley Province, as President Moi's Kalenjin ethnic group, a minority in Kenya, reacted viscerally to the threat of losing power at the national level. Almost all those injured or killed were Kenyan Africans, although some expatriate missionaries working in the Rift Valley were also attacked. In addition to medical attention, many were suffering from trauma and in need of good counseling, but there was a dearth of counselors available. At Mwangaza Smith was the only trained counselor on the staff.

I saw and counseled many people while I was at Mwangaza. Some had been badly wounded and had terrible trauma. One German priest had been attacked on the road during one of the tribal clashes in Rift Valley, near an area that forms a boundary between Kalenjin and Kikuyu territories. When he came to me he was still bleeding and he was bleeding even in my office while we talked.

Oppression has an internal dimension and counseling helps people become free of the internal sense of oppression. So, I saw this work as real mission work, a real healing ministry.

In 1998 Smith gave the annual retreat to Maryknollers in East Africa, one for those living in Tanzania and neighboring countries to the south, and the other for those in Kenya and countries to the north of Kenya. After that he went to the U.S. to help facilitate the Maryknoll 'Under-50' Conference at Boston College. He returned to Kenya just after the twin bombing of the American Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, another traumatic event that required many counselors. However, at that time he started developing serious physical problems with his foot and at the end of 1998 he had to return to the U.S. for medical care. While in the U.S. he also developed serious knee problems eventually requiring knee transplants. Finally, in October, 2009, he was able to return to Kenya.

I did not want to go back to Mwangaza again as I had been there too long, but I did want to do something in Spiritual Direction. The problem was that I do not speak Swahili, which limits me, and I have to do everything in English. So, I was having trouble finding what to do.

I was living at the Gleason Residence at the Maryknoll Center House and I began doing spiritual direction and counseling from there. Awareness of the sexual abuse crisis in the Church had also arisen and with my training I was able to offer a Presidium Workshop for priests. In Maryknoll we have much more awareness of this problem, but other congregations seem not aware, at least not their personnel. Over the years I counseled some sex abusers, which was not my original desire. But there is growing awareness of this problem in Kenya now, due to more publicity in newspapers and other means of communication.

There is a lot of abuse in Kenya but it somehow seems to be accepted in the culture, or rather that somehow it has been a part of the culture, i.e. to use underage girls. In fact, at the Coast of Kenya it seems that some families with children have no moral scruples in this regard. They appreciate the money coming in. Fortunately, though, attendance at Presidium Workshops is becoming required for priests in Kenya.

Smith stayed in Kenya only eight months, till May of 2010, since he was having difficulty finding where he was truly needed. Many people who had come to him for spiritual direction in the 1990s, for nine full years, were very happy to come to him again.

So, I was wanted, but the need was less so. Nine years of going to the same spiritual director is too long. Also Nairobi had changed very much while I was away. In 2009 it was crowded; I felt very uncomfortable on the streets downtown; and due to insecurity you can't go out at night. Driving is also very frustrating, since the roads are clogged with traffic all the time. So, I stayed only eight months.

On his return to the U.S. he looked for another assignment. One possibility had been administration of a spacious apartment in the Washington, DC, area for members of the wider Maryknoll community who come to DC for conferences or to do social justice advocacy. However, he decided against that and a Maryknoll Brother was approached to be administrator.

Smith mentioned one new phenomenon that he became aware of during his eight months in Kenya, that of trafficking of children to the Coast of Kenya for sexual purposes. He mentioned statistics that are astonishing and at first blush hard to believe. This needs to be put into context. The Coast of Kenya, from Malindi down to Mombasa and to the numerous hotels south of Mombasa (Diani Beach being the most well-known) draws close to one million tourists every year, primarily from Europe. The vast majority are families, honeymooners, or other couples or individuals who just want to enjoy the warmth and beautiful beaches of East Africa. But a very significant number (percentage is unknown, whether five, ten, or twenty percent) are men and some women coming to exploit the poverty of Africa by hiring prostitutes. Anyone who visits the Mombasa area can not miss the omnipresent number of adult women engaged in the prostitution trade, in hotels, some restaurants, and most bars and night places, plus in certain neighborhoods. But a casual visitor will not see children being offered for sexual exploitation. Some have witnessed this, but trafficking of children on the Coast is mainly hidden.

Smith acknowledged this but gave the following figures:

It is claimed that twenty-five children go missing from rural areas every week, from where they are taken to the Coast for sexual exploitation by tourists. Another claim is that as many as thirty percent of girls living at the Coast engage in prostitution at some time or other. Whether these statistics are totally accurate or not, it shows that this is a huge and tragic problem.

The Church has to get involved in this, in raising awareness about this phenomenon and bringing attention to specific instances where it is happening. Sisters' Orders should also become involved, by assigning some Sisters to take this on as their ministry.

As will be mentioned below, MM Brother Frank TenHoopen personally witnessed an incident where children were being trafficked, and through him both Archbishop Boniface Lele of Mombasa Archdiocese and the U.S. Ambassador to Kenya also were alerted. All are taking action and hopefully these powerful institutions can put a decisive brake to the disturbing increase in child trafficking.

Mwangaza Retreat Centre is now much bigger and can take more than the thirty retreatants per retreat as was the case in the 1990s. According to Smith, the whole compound is much more beautiful and today includes the retirement home for Jesuits in a little valley behind the retreat centre. The centre continues to perform a great service to the Church in East Africa and to Africa as a whole. The Jesuit Society has also begun to ordain a number of African priests and these are the ones who will be staffing this and other Jesuit institutions.

Center House Administration

In 1992, while Fr. John Conway was finishing his six-year term as Kenya Regional Superior, there was no one in charge of the Maryknoll Center House. A woman had been hired to oversee food purchasing and supervision of the staff on a daily basis. Conway took on responsibility of being overall-in-charge of the center house, despite his full-time duties as superior. By the beginning of that year he heard that Fr. John Lange was looking for a change of assignment to a healthier, malaria-free place. He had been stationed in Dar es Salaam since the beginning of 1978, first as Tanzania Regional Treasurer for five years and then in pastoral work from 1982 to 1992 in Kibaha Parish twenty-five miles west of Dar. Some years later, Lange explained:

I was having persistent bouts with malaria, due to not getting enough rest, even when I took the medicine. It wasn't my nature to rest and I found it very difficult to rest in the parish. Furthermore, I was worried about damage to my liver and kidneys, since malaria medicine is very powerful. I loved it there at Kibaha, but after ten years it was long enough and a good time to move out. My assistant, Fr. John Waldrep, had been ordained three years and was more than ready to take over as pastor.

Lange came to Nairobi on October 7, 1992, and remained in charge of the center house till the end of 1999. This proved to be the longest term of anyone at the center

house since Brother Ron Rak had completed almost twenty years running the house in 1983.

The position of center house guest master has certainly been appreciated by the many Maryknoll missionaries who have worked in East Africa, although perhaps underappreciated in an overt way and often taken for granted. The center house had been built in the mid-1950s, to serve as a vacation, relaxation and shopping destination for the scores of Maryknollers working in Tanzania, a remote, rugged mission area right up through the 1990s. It was also the Regional Center House when there was only the one Africa Region prior to 1979, and remained the Kenya Regional Center House until the end of 1998 when the two regions joined as one again.

In the 1950s and 1960s several Maryknollers were stationed there as either guest master or treasurer, such as Fr. George Haggerty and Brother Pete Agnone. Rak, though, is the one with whom the center house is most closely identified, and not only because of his long tenure, from 1966 to 1983 and then for a couple of years after that. During that time there was a constant stream of Maryknollers coming to the house for short or even somewhat longer stays, plus the Christian Brothers, the Polish priests from the Diocese of Krakow who worked in Musoma and Shinyanga, and the SMA priests who went to Tanzania in the late 1970s. Other priests and Brothers working in East Africa, particularly Americans, also stayed at the center house, and there were not a few guests from the United States as well. Rak always made sure that they were well accommodated, firmly supervising the work of the competent staff as well as ensuring that their morale was kept at a high level. His wry, sometimes irreverent wit and inside knowledge of happenings in Nairobi also helped enliven many a conversation, at the evening happy hours and during meals. In the mid-1970s he also took on the second job of Regional Treasurer, when Fr. Bill Madden went to do pastoral work in Eldoret Diocese.

Anyone familiar with the Nairobi center house knows that change has come very slowly to the routine of this house, but change has ineluctably come. A subtle but major change around the year 1976 was the introduction of a video-player. There had been a television at the house since the 1960s, but few watched it. The one station, the Voice of Kenya, produced utterly boring programming. Prior to 1976, most Maryknollers visiting Nairobi went out at night, for a movie, to visit friends, or for evening refreshments. (Rak loved going to the New Stanley Hotel Thorntree Café for an after-dinner hot chocolate.) After installation of the video-player and monthly shipments of new movies from the U.S. in video form, most missionaries preferred to stay at the center house at night. Automobile traffic was slowly building up on Nairobi's roads, crime was increasing, and the missionaries were getting older.

A fundamental dynamic of change began in the 1980s as more Maryknoll Lay Missioners were coming to both Kenya and Tanzania and the question of whether they could stay at the center house increasingly was asked. This was not finally resolved until first the Gleason Residence was built in 1988 and then a new wing was constructed, which contained administrative offices and the Glynn Hall, used for meetings. Once the offices and bedrooms for those assigned to the center house were moved out of the guest house, four bedrooms became available for women lay missionaries and married couples. Beginning in the 1990s, not only Maryknoll Lay Missioners were welcome to stay at the guest house but also family members of missionaries and other laity who had a close

relationship to Maryknoll. Prior to 1990 only priests and Brothers were allowed to stay at the center house.

A third change was more gradual, but became prominent by the 1990s – fewer and fewer guests. The other congregations that had been using the Maryknoll house built their own center houses. The numbers of Maryknollers in East Africa declined precipitously beginning about the year 1990, and many of the missionaries in Tanzania took far fewer trips to Nairobi. Those working in Kenya likewise had little need to stay at the center house. By 1993, those in Kenya were working only in Nairobi, Athi River and Mombasa, and those in Mombasa rarely came to Nairobi.

In the 1980s several Maryknoll priests accepted the assignment to be guest master, none for more than three years, and all deserve to be noted for their service. In most cases each was also the Regional Treasurer, albeit helped by Maryknoll Sister Dolores Jansen. Those who performed this task were Frs. John Grazer, Joe Trainor, George Pfister and Joe Brannigan. All are now deceased. After Brannigan completed his term, there was no guest master for some months, until Conway eventually persuaded Lange to come to Nairobi.

Lange said that when he arrived in October, 1992,

The house was a little run down and the morale of the staff had dropped. But things worked out very well and I had an easy time with the work crew. One thing I did need to change was the amount of food being bought. The same quantity was being bought whether the number of guests was two or twenty. The refrigerator was constantly filled with leftover food and I have no idea what happened to that food. I also tried to find ways to reduce the amount of meat served at meals. We were eating too much meat – or at least serving too much. Not only is over-consumption of meat bad for one's health, but in a poor country it is embarrassing to be eating huge portions of meat every day.

Lange also took on the job of Regional Treasurer, which he found challenging and interesting. During his seven years it was becoming noticeable that fewer people were using the center house, for the reasons stated above. However, he said that,

Even when I ended my term in 1999, there were still guests on a regular basis. Several times in the 1990s large groups came, such as from Japan or from Minnesota, and stayed for two weeks or so. This helped fill the house. The staff also preferred to have a lot of visitors, even though they became busier. Their morale was improved in having a purpose and in being of service to visitors.

The Glynn Hall was also used frequently by church groups for meetings and seminars, usually on issues relating to social justice. Many of these gatherings were scheduled by Fr. Carroll Houle, the Regional Superior. However, the value of making productive use of the center house had to be balanced with the desire for privacy by some Maryknollers in Kenya who viewed the center house as a refuge from their busy work schedules.

After Lange finished his term as guest master Fr. Bob Jalbert accepted to administer the center house and be regional treasurer, on a part-time basis, from early

2000 to November, 2003. The center house then had no Maryknoller in charge until Fr. Doug May agreed to be administrator, beginning in mid-2006. Since the year 2000 there has been a huge drop in the number of guests using the center house and not infrequently the house is empty. This has resulted in the region discussing at an assembly what to do with the Nairobi center house, such as perhaps selling it to the Archdiocese of Nairobi. In the meantime May, who is knowledgeable about building construction and repair, is trying to improve the plumbing and to address other infrastructure needs in the house. He is also the Regional Treasurer. As 2011 begins, the center house is still functioning as a welcoming residence for Maryknollers and other guests.

Ministry in the slums

Lange said that even though he enjoyed hosting large groups of visitors, such as those from Asia and America, he did not find center house administration energizing. "It was my work in the slums of Nairobi that kept me alive, as the center house administration would not be totally satisfying." This began slowly for him, shortly after his arrival in 1992. Fr. Carroll Houle was the new Regional Superior in Kenya and had been assisting Makadara Parish, which had two outstations in the Mukuru/Lunga Lunga slums. Lange was asked to help out in these places with Sunday Mass.

He says that there were over a million people living in Nairobi's slums at that time and that they were considered the worst slums in the world. He tells the story of one woman he met at the beginning, who pulled him into making this his primary pastoral outreach.

Mary Auma was about 32 at that time and dying of AIDS. She had a beautiful smile and not a touch of bitterness. Evidently she contracted AIDS from her husband who had already died. Three of her children had also died and the older four went to a free school run by Sister Mary Killeen. Killeen had started several schools in the Mukuru slums that were educating about 2500 children.

I started visiting Mary regularly and trying to give her necessary palliative care. Her tongue was chalk white, a symptom of fungal disease linked to AIDS. This makes AIDS sufferers nauseous and causes a lot of diarrhea. Medicines for the fungus and diarrhea are expensive, but I began buying the medicines for Mary. She also had scabies and was plagued by itchiness day and night. Sister Killeen had learned of a fig paste that could alleviate itchiness and I gave Mary money to buy the figs. That relieved her itchiness. I also disinfected her room, bed, mattress and other beddings.

Of course, at that time AIDS was an automatic death sentence and hers was a classic case of AIDS. I went on home leave and she died during that time. This led me to begin reaching out to other people with AIDS. I and the health workers I recruited helped about one hundred, all of whom also eventually died. At that time there were no anti-retrovirals. I now refer to that first large group who died of AIDS as my saints. Whenever I need a large amount of money for a particular project I pray to my saints and they always come through.

Lange's ministry takes place in five slums about three to five miles east of downtown Nairobi with a population of about 250,000 crammed into two square miles.

The general area is called Mukuru, but each slum has its own name. These are some of the most squalid, poverty-wracked places imaginable, with open sewers, narrow, mud-filled paths slithering between rows of hovels, and no utilities of any kind. Lange usually says two Sunday Masses in large church buildings made out of tin sheets and visits the slums four days a week. The five slums are now divided into nine stations, each visited at least once a month, some two or three times.

At first he was doing the visiting by himself, but he quickly realized that he needed the cooperation of chosen representatives from the small Christian Communities (SCCs) of each place. Each station has chosen a number of people called health workers, and they in turn liaise with the social worker hired by Lange. When Lange goes to a slum he usually visits ten to twenty homes in which someone is ill, generally conducts a short prayer ritual with the family, and then discusses the needs of the sick person. If they need treatment at a hospital, Lange gives the family a signed slip of paper, called a voucher, which they can bring to the hospital allowing treatment to be paid from his account at that hospital. He carries neither money nor medicines into the slums, in order to deter thieves from considering him an easy target for robbery.

He has had many health workers over the years he has been doing this ministry, but his groups today are very stable and helpful. "In the beginning, some thought that this would be a way to get something from me. Those people have dropped out." The health workers have not had any special training nor do they receive any stipend, although Lange does offer them one or two-day seminars during the year and usually some form of material thank-you at the end of the year. The health workers have learned over the years how to carry out their service effectively.

One thing we have asked the health workers to teach people is to follow directives on taking medicine. People think that the more medicine they take the better it is. They go around to different places, getting medicine at each place and consuming all the medicines. This practice is the main culprit in the evolution of drug-resistant diseases, such as new strains of malaria and tuberculosis.

I have also requested the health workers to teach slum dwellers not to use private clinics in the slums. People start these just as a business. Someone has a rudimentary knowledge of chemistry, opens a little shop selling medicines and cosmetics products, and puts on a white coat pretending to be a trained medical person. There are enough bona fide dispensaries in the vicinity of the slums so that slum residents do not have to go to these private businesses.

Lange has also had to firmly admonish the health workers about making promises of aid from him. Several times people have been patients at Kenyatta National Hospital only to be advised by a health worker to leave there for the Catholic Hospital and they will be helped by Lange.

Kenyatta Hospital is the national referral hospital. It has the best doctors and the special equipment for the difficult diseases such as cancer. A patient does not go from Kenyatta to St. Mary's; rather it is the other way around. So, I have had to insist to the health workers to not make this mistake again.

In the 1990s people were referred to a local dispensary run by the Mercy Sisters and to Nazareth Hospital. Nazareth is a Catholic hospital run by Consolata Sisters that treats most diseases, but its location twenty miles northwest of Nairobi, far from the Mukuru slums, was a hindrance to many poor people. When MM Fr. Bill Fryda built and opened St. Mary's Hospital in Langata, only five or so miles from the slums, Lange began referring many of the people to this hospital. In all, today there are three dispensaries and five mission hospitals (not all Catholic) to which he refers people – depending on the particular disease. Ten years ago he was giving out 500 vouchers a month at a cost of \$8,000 a month – about \$100,000 a year. Most of this money has come from his personal benefactors. By 2009 he had reduced this to 60 vouchers a month, at a cost of \$5,000 a month, despite the increased population in the slums. Precise criteria delineating which ailments and which income levels qualify for aid, now clearly understood by the health workers, enabled his visits to the slums to be more efficacious.

We expect people to pay half of the amount, unless of course it is impossible for them. The social worker is very astute in knowing who is destitute and who isn't. We call the destitute zero poor.

In the beginning the health workers were being pressed by their people and they were putting a lot of pressure on me. It was to their benefit if a lot of people from their part of the slum obtained vouchers. It was not their goal to prevent dependencies; they increased dependencies. In 2001, the pressure caused me to have sciatica, forcing me to go to the U.S. for treatment, and in 2002 I had a bleeding ulcer that required hospitalization at Nairobi Hospital. That forced me to change my mode of operation.

The unexpected godsend beginning in 2002 of cheap anti-retroviral therapy (ART) for people with AIDS, which gave the promise of life-long health and vitality to thousands of people in the slums (and to several million people in Africa), also lowered the demand on Lange's generosity.

With fewer people to see on each visit, he says, "We spend quality time with people, talking with them, advising them, counseling them, and then seeing what medical care we can provide for them." As a result his four-day ministry of mercy in the slums has been personally fulfilling – and a holistic experience, both physical and spiritual, for both the health workers and those receiving the visits.

Lange has also been energized by the Sunday liturgies. "It's one of the mysteries of God," he says. "Some of the most lively and joyful liturgies are in the slums. I say that the poorer the people, the more joyful the liturgy – at least in Kenya. The whole congregation sings, the girls' group does processional dancing, and you are always guaranteed a wonderful liturgy. It's a great privilege." Often there are as many as 2000 people at Sunday Mass.

He has two other financial assistance programs in these slums: money for people to engage in an income-earning business; and educational assistance, especially for AIDS orphans. The Mukuru slums are located very near the industrial area and many slum dwellers work in factories. Many others do not have jobs and Lange has tried to offer them ways to earn an income.

We've helped a lot of people but we have also had a lot of losses. If we get a forty percent success rate we are very happy. For example, if a relative dies then the person who received assistance uses up all his/her business income and assets to help with funeral expenses. That ends the business; but that is a part of life there.

To qualify for education assistance students have to be complete orphans, i.e. no father or mother. Lange says, "They also have to be zero poor. The social worker is very good at this. Any students who do not do well academically we put through technical training." In 2009 Lange was assisting sixty students in secondary school, plus others at university level and a few in postgraduate training. He paid for one Sister in the Little Sisters of St. Francis congregation to become a medical doctor. Other slum dwellers have been trained as physical therapists or pharmacists. To ensure objectivity in choosing the students, Lange takes the referrals from the social worker to a committee of three Sisters – all of different ethnic groups – to affirm the final choices.

This generosity, about \$100,000 a year, comes wholly from the United States and when Lange departs, either for health reasons or to retire in the U.S., this money will end. This fact renders moot the possibility of making this kind of ministry in the slums self-reliant. Lange reflected that the world economy is creating more poverty and income disparities, and therefore more desperate people moving into urban slums. African governments do not have welfare systems. They do have national educational and health systems, but structural adjustment programs, mandated by international financial institutions, force very poor people to pay part of the cost of these services.

I see no possibility of self-support. We have to take satisfaction in having enabled people with broken limbs, others who were seriously sick, and some who were almost dying, to recover and go back to work. I am very happy when I see them back on their feet.

I have found great satisfaction in having helped so many people. The only frustration is not being able to help everybody. I believe this is a vocation that comes directly from the gospel – from Matthew Chapter 25, where Jesus says 'when I was hungry you gave me something to eat.' The people also give me great strength. Once you get to know them, they are not statistics. They are precious, very lovable and full of gratitude.

In addition to direct assistance to individuals, Lange has also paid for and overseen the provision of piped water, both in the slums and in other parts of Kenya. Just a few years ago he had a large pipeline bring water into Mukuru Reuben from the water main a mile away.

In addition to supplying clean water to many people, this project also gave me great moral standing in the slum. I don't know all the people, but they all know me. That moral leverage means you can get things done.

Lange did not plan to do water projects but shortly after the year 2000 a man who was a member of a scripture group led by Lange asked him to come up to his home area

in Kiganjo, ninety miles north of Nairobi. A dam had been destroyed by the heavy rains of 1997 on a tributary of the Tana River that comes out of Mt. Kenya. Lange agreed to help the community restore the dam. The new dam turned out to be only part of what the community needed, however. Over several years Lange raised \$300,000 and put in ten miles of piping to 170 small family farms. The water is used primarily for irrigation. The western slopes of Mt. Kenya have good soil but a semi-arid climate.

After that he put in a bore hole at a high school for poor girls run by the Assumption Sisters at a place called Kibagare two miles from the Maryknoll Center House. They had been getting water from a muddy catchment basin. He then went to a drought-prone area east of Nairobi, populated by the Kamba ethnic group, and paid for the installation of six bore holes, each with a huge storage tank that holds 25,000 gallons. He also paid for a seven-mile water project in northeastern Tanzania, at a place called Same. This has since been expanded into a nine-mile water main, made with steel pipes. The original plastic piping was at risk of being damaged by people seeking free water.

Prior to the heavy El Nino rains of late 2009 through the middle of 2010 Kenya had experienced a series of drought years in much of the country, especially eastern and northern Kenya. This motivated Lange to provide bore holes in various places. "But bore hole water is not environment friendly. Usage can dry up the ground water. Also in dry places the bore-hole water is heavily alkaline, no good for drinking, and difficult to wash with. Large storage tanks catching rain water are a much better solution to water problems in those areas." As long as he continues to receive funding he will continue to help Kenyan communities to construct good water projects.

Chaplain to Sisters' Congregations

After finishing his term as administrator of the center house in Nairobi, Fr. John Lange accepted an assignment in 2000 as Chaplain to the Little Sisters of St. Francis at their regional house in Kasarani, which is located on the northern outskirts of Nairobi about six miles from downtown. This house is very near the main north/south highway, which made travel more convenient. Although being chaplain was his main assignment, he continued to do ministry in the Mukuru slums, an apostolate which took up most of his time.

For the Sisters I basically just said daily Mass. On Sundays I continued to celebrate two Masses in Mukuru and Lunga Lunga, and during the week I would go to the slums a minimum of four days. I lived at the Sisters' residence and had meals there, so I had a constant presence with the Sisters. There were about twenty Sisters living at this residence, some in regional administration, others working in the clinic, which is now a hospital, and the others were teaching in schools they had on their large property. So, morning Mass had to be quick and I could give only a four-minute homily, since many of them were rushing out to work as soon as Mass ended.

In addition to these apostolates I just mentioned, two Sisters also work in a center for refugees on their compound, another Sister goes out to the wider community visiting and ministering to people with AIDS, and in 2005 this congregation took over responsibility for the street children's program started by MM Brother Pete Agnone in Kibera. So, the home for the children has been

moved to Kasarani. They have a lot of different ministries that they are engaged in and, of course, the regional house is a center house for their Sisters working all over Kenya. This congregation works in all three East African countries, as far as Bukoba, Tanzania, on the far side of Lake Victoria – so extended are they, in fact, that they have a second regional house in western Kenya.

As impressive as their service outreach is, Lange found that the theology of some Sisters was very minimal and that their religious beliefs tended to focus on extravagant, non-rational phenomena.

For instance, one woman in the vicinity used to claim she bled from Thursday to Friday each week, in the same place as the wounds of Christ. The Sisters would be strongly attracted to that type of supernatural phenomena, or to claims that the image of the Blessed Mother or of Jesus has appeared somewhere, on a wall or window for example. I don't pay much attention to nor put any stock in those kinds of beliefs. But for the first half year that was what I was hearing from the Sisters.

In my daily sermons I focused not on these extreme beliefs but on the essentials of our faith, which I think was stabilizing for the group. One of their former Superiors, Sister Irimina, even said to me one day, 'You have your feet on the ground.' She appreciated what I was doing, as she herself had had to deal with Sisters who had crazy ideas. After a few years the Sisters' theological understanding seemed to grow and those extreme beliefs were never brought up again.

Almost all sub-Saharan Africans firmly believe in the supernatural and the presence of a spiritual cosmos inhabited by spirits manipulating the natural world for either good or evil. This is true whether they are Christian or not. Catechetical instruction is still rudimentary, since the overwhelming number of catechists, in both rural and urban areas, have limited formal education, usually just primary school and a few who have finished high school. The catechists believe in supernatural phenomena and pass on these beliefs to their catechumens, in most cases today school-children preparing for first communion or baptism. The one year of catechetical instruction for reception of the sacraments is usually the only faith instruction Catholics receive. The young women who join Sisters' congregations are coming from this religious background and do not receive good scriptural or theological education in their novitiates. Similar dynamics are present in the major seminaries, although it is to be hoped that the seminarians are receiving solid theological preparation for priestly ministry in the modern world. An anthropologically-grounded understanding of African beliefs, as Fr. Mike Kirwen has elucidated at the Institute of African Studies, could help African Christians realize that their beliefs are really attempts to understand the question of evil and our personal involvement in evil. However, too many Christians, including poorly catechized Sisters, prefer to be enamored only by the purported supernatural quality of some experiences.

Theological matters notwithstanding Lange appreciated the very good rapport he developed with the Sisters. "When I began there I felt somewhat depressed, and my

ministry in the slums had become very stressful at that time. The Sisters lifted my spirits and I became a happy man. I owe them a tremendous debt of gratitude for that.”

In April, 2008, Lange completed his assignment to the Little Sisters of St. Francis and agreed to be Chaplain for the Assumption Sisters of Nairobi, an indigenous congregation established for the Archdiocese of Nairobi and adjacent dioceses. Their center house is called Bishop McCarthy House, after a former bishop of Nairobi, and is located only one mile from the Maryknoll Center House. While this makes some things more convenient for Lange, his ministry in the slums became more complicated. To go to the slums from the Bishop McCarthy House it entails him trying to negotiate the at-times impassible grid-lock of central Nairobi’s traffic jams. Even though he knows various routes through the city, there have been some days when he had no alternative but to turn around and go back to the McCarthy house.

Lange’s work with the Assumption Sisters is basically the same, the saying of daily Mass. However, he also offers reflection days, maybe two days a month.

Even so, if I didn’t have my slums ministry, I would have very little to do as Sisters’ Chaplain. This is part of the reason why it is difficult to find a priest willing to be a Sisters’ Chaplain, because there is so little to do. Furthermore, the community at McCarthy House is much smaller than that at Kasarani.

Chaplaincy with the Sisters, with its more ecclesiastical and theological focus, balances for Lange his service outreach in the slums. As long as his health continues to be good he will continue both ministries. He has many benefactors and receives close to \$300,000 a year for all the different projects.

Many of my biggest benefactors I don’t really know. It’s as though they have come from God. But I write two stories a month and send them, with photos, to all my benefactors. To each person who sends a gift I write a thank-you note, plus the latest stories. I have been blessed in being able to help many people and to receive their love in return. But there are so many people in East Africa needing help. Even if I had three million dollars a year I could not help them all.

Kibera Parish

From 1986 to 1993, Fr. Bob Jalbert had worked in administration in the United States, at Maryknoll, NY, and then from 1993 to the end of 1999 he was Director of the Maryknoll Language School in Musoma, Tanzania, utilizing his Masters Degree in Linguistics and his administrative skills. Jalbert says that while at the Language School he felt a longing to return to direct ministry with people.

I felt the Spirit calling me to do ministry in the slums, even though I had no previous experience in slums ministry. But I had visited slums, in Venezuela and in East Africa, and felt strongly that this is the kind of work I should be doing. I came to Nairobi in January, 2000, and expressed my wishes to the Regional Council, which was very supportive.

At that time Maryknoll had no parish with a slum and only one priest, John Lange, doing ministry in slums, as we have just seen. Thus, Jalbert spent several weeks going around to parishes run by Missionary Societies in which slums were part of the parish. In the year 2000 there were no diocesan priests doing ministry in any of the slums of Nairobi, but only the expatriate missionary societies – although these societies were all recruiting vocations from East Africa and may have had some local priests working in their parishes.

Lange had just concluded his term as Director of the Maryknoll Center House in Nairobi, and the Africa Region's Assistant Superior, Brother Frank TenHoopen, who was stationed in Kenya (Mombasa), approached with a request: could Jalbert take over administration of the Center House? Jalbert said, "I agreed, but with one condition: that I be allowed to run the house part-time and work in the slums part-time. This was agreeable to the Region and I continued researching the possible places for my pastoral ministry."

One place that Jalbert visited and where he spent several days was Christ the King Parish at Kibera, run by the Guadalupe Fathers of Mexico, a congregation that Maryknoll had helped establish. The pastor, Fr. Roberto Figueroa, who had previously done pastoral ministry in Mexico, and the Assistant Pastor, Fr. Raul Nava, who had ministered in the Amazon in Brazil, were both very amenable to Jalbert assisting them in Kibera. "After visiting all the groups and slums, and taking into consideration the close relationship between Maryknoll and the Guadalupe Congregation, I chose Kibera."

The Guadalupe Fathers actually ran two parishes in that area, one at a place called Adams Arcade that serves middle-class and upper-middle class Kenyans, and the Kibera Parish. The latter, Christ the King Parish, is on the edge of the Kibera slum, but all its parishioners live within the slum. A third parish, St. Michael's in Langata on the opposite side of Kibera, had been staffed by the Guadalupe Fathers but they had just handed it over to the Archdiocese of Nairobi. The diocesan priests of St. Michael's had charge of one-third of Kibera, the first time local priests did ministry in slums.

Jalbert describes Kibera:

There are 800,000 people living tightly packed together in only 300 acres. This area is a squatter settlement, which means that technically all the residents and houses are not legal and people can be expelled at any time. There are very, very few permanent buildings within Kibera. Most people live in one or two rooms in row houses, made out of non-permanent materials, usually mud bricks with tin sheets on the roofs. The people who live there don't own their houses, which are all owned by absentee landlords, wealthy and middle-class people living in Nairobi. Even though owners may be wealthy, their buildings are occasionally bull-dozed to the ground. In addition to the density and sub-standard housing, the slums offer few if any services, such as health, education, water or electricity.

[Editor note: various figures for Kibera's population have been given over the years, ranging from a half million to a million. No accurate count was done until the 2009 census. Previous population estimates were exaggerated, probably by NGOs and other

aid organizations, in order to receive funding and no one ever questioned the over-estimates. The 2009 census counted about 195,000 people living in Kibera.]

The church plot, located at a place called Line Saba on the fringe of Kibera, had not yet been allocated and the building was of only moderate size, made of tin sheets on the walls and roof, that could accommodate only 300 to 400 people. There were two Masses at the church on Sunday morning in Swahili, each Mass attended by an overflowing crowd. During the week it was used for catechetics, meetings and other uses.

Although the priests were unable to develop the buildings on the parish plot, the parish life had already been well developed when Jalbert started there.

There were fifteen small Christian Communities (SCCs) in 2000 and when I left (late 2003) this number had increased to 27 SCCs. All were vibrant communities. In addition to the parish center, we had four other sub-centers. One, called Highrise, was just outside the edge of Kibera, where there were many permanent buildings, and the church building was on land that had been allocated. The other three were inside Kibera and the churches were made of non-permanent material. Each place had Mass every Sunday, although on the first Sunday of the month people of the three smaller sub-centers would all come in to the center for a large Mass held outside. Highrise had Mass every Sunday.

We also said Mass in each SCC during the month. Their meetings were held on weekdays in the evening, between 7:00 and 8:00 PM, and many of them would meet two or three times a week. One of the meetings would, of course, be Mass, attended by thirty people or so, from the twelve to twenty families of that SCC.

Jalbert also commented that he felt safe walking to and from the SCC at night in Kibera. He was accompanied by a group or at least the catechist, had a flashlight – there are many houses or shops with kerosene lamps glowing beside the narrow, dirt paths in the slum, but a personal flashlight is a necessity at night – and there were many people moving to and fro throughout the area.

There was only one time when he felt danger.

In December, 2002, just before the elections that year, the government tried to force landlords to reduce their rents by one half. This caused rioting, chaos and tribal fighting. Two hundred and fifty people surged into our church compound seeking refuge. In fact, Kibera was shut down for a number of days and I had to sleep there that first night. People were throwing rocks and carrying weapons. In all, twenty-three were killed and dozens injured.

At 6:00 PM on that first day I went out with three other people to buy food for the 250 in our compound. On our way back, while walking on the railroad tracks, a mob armed with clubs attacked us. We dropped half of the food we had bought and ran as fast as possible back to the church. We made it safely, but with only half the food we had bought. The people stayed at the church compound for three days. Fortunately, though, that was the only time I felt danger.

Kibera has a reputation among Kenyan people as being a Nilotic stronghold. It was started at the beginning of the 20th century by Nuban people from Sudan, a Nilotic people, and many Luo people of the Lake Victoria region had also moved into Kibera. But according to Jalbert it was very mixed tribally. Socially, though, most people were of the same social class, i.e. working class, those doing day labor, and many unemployed. Poverty and all its accompanying social dynamics were endemic to Kibera.

Jalbert says:

There was no place to grow food in Kibera. Everyone had to buy food and with their low incomes they were just eking out an existence. I would say that at best only sixty percent of adults had finished secondary school, at least in our part of Kibera. Many of the adults who came to Mass had barely finished primary school. But they are struggling to get ahead. There are three large government primary schools just outside Kibera, and on the church compound the Guadalupe Fathers were running a private primary school that had 550 pupils, from Kindergarten to Eighth Grade. Someone had also opened a private primary school inside Kibera, in temporary buildings. Africans have two desires: one, that their children finish primary school, and two, that they will be able to leave their children a plot of land. Parents do anything and everything to be able to realize these goals.

Jalbert and the Guadalupe priests were assisted in several ways in their ministry in Kibera. They worked closely with the Association of Pastoral Ministries, i.e. all the priests and other Religious who worked in slums ministry in the Archdiocese. They all met once a month in Nairobi for collaboration, theological/pastoral reflection, and communication about resources and opportunities available. The Guadalupe priests also invited professional social workers to Kibera to instruct the priests in the modalities and dynamics of working in slums. In addition, there were many Houses of Formation situated along Langata Road, about one to five miles to the southwest of Kibera. Many of the seminarians came to Kibera to do ministerial outreach, such as visiting the sick or basic catechetical work.

Lay Missioner Christine Bodewes also worked closely with the priests and members of the SCCs in Kibera. She is a lawyer, although not licensed to do legal work in Kenya, and was instrumental in setting up a Human Rights Center for the slum-dwellers. Jalbert says:

She brought in Kenya lawyers who taught about basic needs, gave legal clinics and did advocacy work. They instructed the people that they did have a right to speak up, with regard to things like water, sewerage, and other basic services. The lawyers also explained how they could get their land parceled out and allocated.

In December, 2001, while in the U.S., Bodewes talked about her work in Nairobi.

Over 60% of Kenya's 32 million people live below the poverty line, the majority of them women and children. Since Kenya's Independence in 1963,

there has been massive migration into the cities from the rural areas, and Nairobi's population has grown to four million. There are 133 slum communities in the city, with two million people living on only 1.5% of the urban land.

When I came to Kenya in 1998 Fr. Carroll Houle, the Regional Superior then, recommended that I work with the Legal Aid Society, called Kituo Cha Sheria in Swahili, particularly regarding the rights of slum-dwellers. This organization has a staff of six lawyers, who are very counter-cultural for Kenya. They make very little money and work in extremely hard conditions. We also attract young lawyers just out of law school to join us for a year or two, before they have to find employment. The young generation of Kenyans is really committed to change. Working on the ground in the slums with those young lawyers is very exciting for me.

Kenya is a very corrupt country and inherited a skewered land system from the colonial era. British settlers had taken half of the arable land and after Independence this land became the main currency for the ruling party to reward political and tribal supporters. At elections, it is common to see huge lorries come into the slums filled with food, which is given out to the slum-dwellers so that they will vote for the candidate providing the food. And incredibly the people will then cast their vote for that person. Threats of eviction from the slums are used in the same way, to coerce people into voting for the ruling party. Evictions can be done in very ugly ways. Sometimes it is police who come with bull-dozers and knock the houses to the ground. Other times thugs douse dogs or cats with kerosene, set them on fire, and let them loose in the middle of the slum. Most houses have a lot of very dry, exposed timber, which catches fire easily. Hundreds of slum-dwellers can have all that they own burnt completely in one night. So, organizing people and teaching them about political and civic rights have to go hand-in-hand with legal assistance. One thing the legal aid clinic did was print civil rights cards, in both English and Swahili, which were given out to many slum-dwellers.

In Nairobi, unlike in other countries around the world, slum-dwellers do not actually own the houses where they live. The slum housing has been put up by landlords, sometimes even 100 to 200 rooms owned by just one person. Many of the landlords are women, single women, who depend on the rents for their only income. So, finding just solutions to the squatters' need for legal, permanent abodes is very complicated. How do you deal with the land issue? How do you upgrade slums? Do you make vertical slums, with multiple high-rise buildings?

Fortunately, there is a lot of international attention on Nairobi now. The Center of Human Settlements, which is a part of the United Nations and is more popularly known as Habitat, is based in Nairobi. Potentially, there could be a lot of international funding to do slum upgrading.

I find this work very rewarding. I am the owl who hoots in the night, i.e. I stay in the background. The eagles who soar by day are the young Kenyan lawyers who are dedicating themselves to seeking justice. It's important that those Kenyan voices are the voices that are heard. I think it's emotionally, spiritually, and psychologically important for them to be the voices for the poor. And they are and they're fantastic.

Bodewes completed two terms in Kenya in 2005. Jalbert mentioned one other area in which Bodewes helped Kibera Parish.

Chris worked closely with the members of the parish council to do extensive sociological research on all facets of life in Kibera, and with them helped recommend actions the people could take to be empowered for social transformation.

The priests also worked hard to empower local leadership in Kibera, through parish structures and especially the SCCs.

Our foremost goal was to encourage and bolster leaders who were emerging in the SCCs. For instance, we had reflection days at the diocesan Peace Garden, which is just a couple of miles away. Each SCC had a Justice and Peace Committee, and representatives from each SCC made up the parish Justice and Peace Committee. If a household needed assistance this was supposed to be done at the SCC level and only go up to the sub-center or to the parish as circumstances warranted.

During Jalbert's last year in Kibera (he did not expect this to be his final year, but a transition to even deeper involvement with the people) he spent at least one day a week visiting people in their homes with SCC leaders.

I did this to get to know the people better, but I also asked them questions. How can we better serve you? What are your needs? What services are necessary?

One of the things that I discovered was that only fifteen percent of adults attending Mass received the Eucharist, even though the church was overflowing. The reason was lack of a sacramental marriage, which was caused by the dowry not yet being paid. The Catholic Church in the Archdiocese, in its enculturation efforts, kept the dowry (i.e. bridewealth) as necessary for marriage in church. But I discovered that people can not pay the dowry; either they're not working or very lowly paid. If the parents of the bride were practicing Catholics and especially if they were married in church, then we had an advantage. We could persuade them to lower the bride price, or even waive it.

Sometimes, though, the husband was the problem. He didn't want anything to do with marriage, for various reasons, whether he was Catholic or not. I found countless women who had been living with their husbands for six to forty years and who had done traditional marriage. They were giving their time and treasure to the Church and their children were being baptized, but they could not receive communion themselves due to lack of church marriage. There was a famine in the Body of Christ.

We received permission from the Archbishop to work with the catechists to see who could be eligible to be re-admitted to the sacraments. The catechists would do remedial catechetical work and then the women would receive official permission from the Archdiocese – in effect a *Sanatio in Radice*. The women

were overjoyed and said they felt re-born. Of course, other people in the community suddenly noticed that the women were receiving communion and wondered why. I would just answer that they received permission – and you can too. For me, this was a very joyful time.

Dividing his time between the two tasks of administration and pastoral ministry fortunately did not prove an insurmountable problem, as Jalbert explains, but created greater yearning for full-time ministry in Kibera.

I spent three and a half days in Kibera every week and the rest of the time working at the Center House. I had a room at Christ the King, but usually slept back at the Center House, since I had work to do. But I felt awkward traveling from the Center House, in an upper-class area, across town to the parish, located at a middle-class neighborhood adjacent to Kibera, and several seconds later I would pass through a huge, steel gate into the slum. I did this repeatedly. But in my heart I was moving towards being able to live permanently in Kibera.

Prior to going on furlough in the U.S. in May, 2003, Jalbert worked out a system with the Regional Council by which a lay employee would be trained to oversee the Center House and another to do financial administration. Then in September, 2003, Jalbert intended to move to Kibera for full-time pastoral work, although he would retain some responsibilities at the Center House. When he visited the Maryknoll headquarters in New York, though, he was presented with a request that totally changed his plans – as Africans phrase it: “Man proposes, God disposes.”

Superior General John Sivalon, with whom Jalbert had worked on the Africa Regional Council just a few years previously, said the Society desperately needed someone to be Director of the New York Promotion House, which covers most of northeast United States. Jalbert needed time to reflect on this request, and talked it over with several people he knew well. After a week or so he agreed, with just two minor conditions: that it be for six years only, and that he be allowed to return to Kibera for four months till the end of October, 2003, to close out his final months in Kibera.

I returned to Kibera in June and that very first Sunday I was scheduled to say Mass at the main church. I had to inform the people of this decision and explain it to them, something which I found very difficult. I was giving up my own dream. I explained to the people that our Society has needs, for fund-raising and to do education in the U.S., which someone has to do. The people of Kibera understood this. When it came time to leave, on my final Sunday, the whole parish came to a huge Mass at Christ the King Church. They killed a cow and we had a grand party. I promised that I would come back at least twice in the intervening six years and spend much of my vacation visiting the people in Kibera.

He did more than visit. He brought family members with him, and friends. One good friend, a nurse, decided to volunteer in Kibera for a while.

At the same time that Jalbert was leaving Kibera, the Guadalupe Fathers received good news about the parish land. They obtained the title deed in late 2003, and immediately began planning to build a large, permanent church that would accommodate 1000 people.

Jalbert was asked whether Maryknoll should make slums ministry a priority. “Without a doubt,” he immediately responded.

If I were not working in the U.S., I would be in Kibera doing pastoral ministry. When my assignment in the U.S. finishes and I return to Kenya, I will go back to Kibera again. One difficulty is the lack of local priests working in slums, compelling expatriate missionaries to work in them. However, slums ministry is one of the stated priorities of the Maryknoll Africa Region.

In addition to his work at the Center House and in Kibera, Jalbert was also called on in 2002 to utilize his linguistics skills to assist Maryknoll Father Dick Baker in Ethiopia. Baker was in Gambela, a very hot, lowland area in western Ethiopia, which bulges out into Sudan and is populated by several Nilotic ethnic groups related to Sudanese Nilotic people. After eight years there, he was turning over the work to Yarumal Fathers from Columbia who were looking for a mission site. Baker asked Jalbert to come to Gambela to set up the language courses for the Yarumal priests, in two different Nilotic languages, and over the course of a year or so Jalbert traveled to Gambela four times.

When he left Nairobi, the Center House was administered by trained lay employees for two years, until Fr. Doug May came from Egypt in 2006 and accepted the assignment to be Director of the Center House.

Treatment of substance abuse

In October, 1992, Fr. John Conway’s term as Kenya Regional Superior ended. He stayed in Nairobi for several months assisting Fr. Carroll Houle in his transition to be new Superior. In 1993 Conway returned to the U.S. and in 1994 accepted an assignment to work for the Mission Institute at Maryknoll, New York, where he remained until 1999. On his return to Nairobi he taught at the Apostles of Jesus Seminary for one year, but since there had been a large drop in the number of seminarians and the Apostles were undergoing difficult restructuring, he began discerning alternative apostolates. He had already been thinking of a different kind of ministry, reaching out to those with addictions, primarily to alcohol, and thus he returned to the United States to take a one-year tutorial at the National Council of Drugs and Alcohol. In 2001 he came back to Kenya and began his ministry of education, intervention, and therapy for those addicted to substances, a ministry he continues to the present. However, he has worked for different organizations in different positions throughout this decade.

From 2001 to 2003 he worked at a rehabilitation center for drugs and alcohol called Red Hill, located at Tigoni near Limuru, about twenty miles northwest of Nairobi. He was a resident counselor three days a week for this two-year period. Conway describes this center:

It was founded by a Jesuit priest and situated on property owned by the Archdiocese of Nairobi, but it is a non-governmental organization that is wholly dependent on the fees charged and on funding from some donors. Maryknoll is not directly involved in this at all, except for my work there, although Maryknoll has paid the fees for several priests for their residential treatment program.

In 2003 Conway decided to be more directly involved in Alcoholics Anonymous in Nairobi. For the next two years he engaged in what he terms “a freelancing ministry in the area of drug and alcohol addiction, working in parishes, attending meetings and doing some individual counseling.” Conway himself is in ‘recovery’ from the disease of alcoholism. This term needs explanation, since most people non-versed in the terminology of this disease would describe him as fully recovered. Conway says:

A person would be deluding himself to think he is recovered. The underlying pathology can always strike. And recovery has a broader definition, including economic realities. If a person is gainfully employed, he gains in self-esteem. This overcomes the damage to his self-esteem that came with losing employment due to alcohol, to being forced to beg or borrow, or even to have resorted to stealing. These behaviors are all inter-connected with the downward spiral of the ever-increasing addiction to alcohol.

I have to be careful myself to distinguish between my professional role as counselor and my personal need to continue in recovery. A problem of some who are professionally involved and who are also alcoholics themselves is a tendency to neglect their own personal recovery. This can lead to a relapse. One of our staff professionals in Kibera, six years in recovery, had a relapse in 2009.

Alcoholics Anonymous has been present in Nairobi since the early 1970s. It is a disease that afflicts all races, ethnicities and economic classes. Treating this has naturally been an objective of companies and organizations such as the United Nations which have highly-trained officials working for them. AA groups were initially started in Nairobi to reach out to more highly-paid individuals. It was Fr. Laurenti Magesa (c.f. Part Four) who brought AA to parishes for the average Kenyan, beginning in the late 1970s. These groups have continued till the present. AA in Nairobi officially lists seventeen groups as actively meeting every week. There has been much success with alcohol recovery, although it is mixed. An outpatient program at the slum of Kibera, where Conway presently works, has only moderate success, whereas the expensive residential program at Red Hill in Limuru has a very good record. Success, according to Conway, is a high rate of sustained recovery after leaving the residential program.

In 2005, a former Dominican priest, Bill Schtenkel, formed a non-governmental organization called Support for Addiction, Prevention and Treatment in Africa, or SAPTA for short. An office was set up just outside of the Kibera slum, the largest informal settlement in Africa and a place where the brewing and sale of illegal liquor is a major source of income. The office, which is funded by USAID and other international donors, employs four addiction counselors and other people who do educational and prevention outreach. Conway has been working at SAPTA from 2005 till the present and says:

Schtenkel asked me to join his program in a non-salaried position. Four days a week I assist as a clinical supervisor and a counselor for some clients and on weekends I go to Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish, at Adams Arcade not far from Kibera, to do individual counseling and attend an AA meeting. We rent space at this parish for these activities.

SAPTA has a Prevention Awareness Program that works in the various villages of Kibera, raising consciousness about the abuse of alcohol and drugs and about the interface between substance abuse and HIV infection. Additionally, Kenya has a National Council for Drugs and Alcohol which has done a lot of education in the country, certainly in Nairobi. The two national newspapers, *The Nation* and *The Standard*, have had very informative and enlightening features on the disease of alcoholism, and church publications have done the same. As a result, there is much more general awareness that alcoholism is a disease and Kenyans realize that with intervention and treatment alcoholics can recover. Proper understanding has also reduced the stigma associated with alcoholism, as many people no longer view it as a moral problem. Nationally there has also been the development of many more residential rehab centers, which have good rates of success.

The program at Kibera is an intensive ten-week outpatient treatment program, and also hosts AA meetings in the afternoons. Conway explains why a comprehensive program is required to address Kibera's multitude of social problems.

The problem in Kibera is that the whole environment is toxic, in terms of drugs, alcohol, unemployment, overcrowding, and lack of infrastructure. This is a combustible mix that leads to violence and to addictions.

Fortunately, churches and many other organizations are investing in Kibera, that is, in the people. The Jesuits have built a great high school there; the Guadalupe priests, who staff both parishes next to Kibera, have organized many small Christian communities and other programs in the settlement; Maryknoll has had several people serve here, such as Lay Missioners Vicky Smith and Christine Bodewes, and Fr. Bob Jalbert. Maryknoll Sisters also worked here in the past, as did Brother Jim Fahy. I am not directly connected to the parish, since SAPTA is an independent non-governmental organization, which means we have no representation on the parish council. But communication with the parishes is very good.

The churches and NGOs also have very cooperative relations with government officials, a huge advantage in Kenya. An element missing, though, is an institutional relationship between the Kenyan Catholic Church and these problems. Parishes provide space for AA meetings and educational gatherings, and many priests are advocates for a proper understanding of this disease, but there is nothing at the Church's institutional level.

The high rate of relapse in Kibera is a matter of concern and people regularly die from alcohol-related causes, including accidents and homicides, as Conway explains.

We don't have any way to help someone to re-gain employment nor challenge the toxic nature of the environment. Trying to help with employment is too complex an issue. We do have an on-going follow-up program for those who have finished the ten-week program, in which they come in once a week. This has an indefinite time frame, so they can continue for as long as they wish. About forty percent come to the on-going program. We also refer people to other programs, such as those run by Doctors Without Borders or Save the Children Fund.

There are other areas where more needs to be done. It has been difficult to extend AA to rural areas and even to some cities outside of Nairobi. But people who have gone through residential programs are taking back to their homes knowledge about alcoholism. So there is some progress.

Another area where we have to do more is in schools. Use of drugs and alcohol, and early sexual activity, is significant in universities and in boarding schools for secondary school students. We don't know whether this was part of the post-election violence and subsequent unrest in secondary schools in 2008. The Kenyan government is very concerned about this situation.

Kenya has become a transshipment country for drugs going from Asia to Europe, due to an apparently high level of corruption at the international airport. While there may be police, customs agents, and some government officials involved in this, Conway says that the government itself is not implicated. Top officials in the government want to abolish drugs from Kenya. Unfortunately, drugs are infiltrating into the country. Many secondary students, perhaps even over half, have at least experimented with marijuana (called *bangi* locally). Conway adds, "It is surprising that not a few Kenyans use heroin, which is expensive. This would seem to be beyond the means of even middle-class Kenyans, but it is being sold in the country." A more concerted effort is underway to take educational programs into secondary schools about drugs and their harmful effects.

Conway is also involved with some religious personnel in looking at the worldwide clergy sexual abuse crisis and its pertinence to the Kenyan context. He has given seminars to religious superiors on this, and in 2009 he met with five Bishops, five Superiors of men, and five Superiors of women.

They agreed that the question of inappropriate behavior is a ticking bomb. We are trying to formulate a policy, similar to what was done in South Africa, on what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior and what the response should be. There are pockets of deep resentment on this, among some women religious and some laity.

Conway says that he is happy to be in Kenya at this time, despite the many challenges. Kenya's challenges are not only poverty, disease and ethnic tensions, but also these social issues as enumerated above. He has encountered many people from all walks of life who want to find ways to confront these challenges, and bring about improvements one step at a time.

Social Communications

Exemplifying the diversity of ministries that Maryknollers were engaging in during the 1990s and in the decade after the year 2000, several Maryknoll priests worked in various aspects of social communications. As has already been covered in Part Four, Fr. Dick Quinn continued as Director of Ukweli Video Ministry up to the year 2008, at which time Sr. Agnes Lando became Director. In 1993 Fr. Bill Knipe was asked to leave Sudan and come to Nairobi to work for AMECEA, which he did up to the end of 1995. In 1996 he was elected to be Kenya's representative to the Chapter and spent much of that year in Chapter preparation. He also worked for People for Peace in Westlands from 1996 to 1998, at which time he accepted a transfer to work in China. In 1997, Fr. Don Doherty was assigned to Nairobi after having worked for the Maryknoll Social Communications Department in New York for a number of years, and in February, 2007, Fr. Joe Healey transferred from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to Nairobi, to continue his work on several communications and publications projects.

Doherty had worked in Tanzania for seventeen years up to 1985 and then went to New York to assist with video production and television ministry. From 1992 to 1997 he worked in a Latino parish in Manhattan, New York, primarily in Spanish, practicing what he called *mission ad gentes* (i.e. mission to non-European people in the U.S.). Doherty insisted that the word *gentes* means 'people' rather than 'place,' although this was not accepted by all in Maryknoll. In 1997 Maryknoll leadership persuaded him to return overseas, since the 1996 Chapter had decided that *mission ad gentes*, in the context of Maryknoll's self-definition as a missionary society, means overseas. Thus, after twelve years away, Doherty returned to East Africa and went to Nairobi seeking an assignment.

His initial six-month period was a confused, unsettled jumble, in part because there was no assignment for him and in part because there was no place for him to live. On the very night he arrived at the airport after twelve years away he was taken directly to the Maryknoll-staffed parish in Athi River, because one of the priests was away. Doherty stayed there only briefly. At the center house he was told that he could not live at the center house since it was for guests only, and he was also told not to live at the Gleason Residence, since it was only for retired Maryknollers and those few doing special ministries. Apparently, the Regional Superior hoped that Doherty would accept an assignment at one of the parishes staffed by Maryknoll. (At that time there were four possibilities: Dunholm, Athi River, Kilifi, and possibly Umoja, although Maryknoll was in the process of handing over Umoja that year.) Doherty did help at Dunholm, but it was finally agreed that he could live at the Center House, which he did for six months, helping Fr. John Lange in the slums ministries. Finally, he moved to live with Fr. Martin Kivuva, who was the Co-Director of Ukweli Video. Doherty explains further:

I had to really go search for a job myself. Eventually, I found a good position teaching, as a visiting lecturer at Tangaza College. It's a theological college for all the different missionary communities around Nairobi or in Kenya. It also had students from forty-three countries, mostly Africans, but also from the Philippines, India and Latin America. Tangaza was connected to the Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA).

I taught public speaking and homiletics. Then, in my last semester there, I also taught public relations and advertising. I admit that it is difficult to make a connection between advertising and theology, but that was the course I was asked to teach.

The students were mainly seminarians, but there were some lay students also. Most of the seminarians, after completion of their theology studies and ordination, were going to other countries in Africa, to many different countries.

Doherty taught for two years at Tangaza, finishing up in June, 2000. He then returned to the U.S and retired, in order to be able to resume his ministry with Latino people in New York.

Fr. Joe Healey had worked in Nairobi from 1968 to 1974, setting up the Social Communications Department of AMECEA. After that he went to Tanzania, doing both pastoral and some communications work in Rulenge and Musoma Dioceses for many years, after which he went to Dar es Salaam in 1994, to resume social communications work and publishing full-time. He became well-known for publishing books on proverbs, stories, and Small Christian Communities. In 2005, he found himself living alone in the Maryknoll Society House, since Maryknoll had given up its parish of Mtoni and the Africa Regional Superior, Tom Tiscornia, was living at Muhumbili Hospital. Healey preferred to live with a community of Maryknollers, in order to share prayer, liturgy and gospel reflection, and began communicating with the priests at the Gleason Residence in Nairobi if he could join them. This was readily accepted and in February, 2007, he moved to Nairobi.

It had been over thirty years since he worked in Nairobi, although he had often visited there over the years, and even though he was able to resume old friendships, it was necessary for him to contact new acquaintances.

When I arrived I thought of a famous line from a Shakespeare play, “The wheel has come full circle,” which is what has happened in my career in Africa. I arrived in Nairobi without a fixed plan, but a number of things have emerged. Because of my interest in African proverbs, stories and sayings, I first devoted a lot of time to web sites on these areas and also contacted researchers at the universities of Nairobi and Kenyatta and other researchers. Over the next few years I was able to do more writing on these topics.

What emerged as my main ministry, however, has been teaching at local theology colleges, such as Hekima, run by the Jesuits, and Tangaza, the school of theology for a consortium of missionary and local congregations, on Small Christian Communities (SCCs). My course is called ‘Small Christian Communities as a New Way of Being Church in Africa Today.’ This is a pastorally oriented course, not primarily academic.

Since 1973 SCCs have been the first pastoral priority of the Church in eastern Africa, according to AMECEA documents. And there is as strong body of opinion that this should be taught at the seminaries, theological colleges and Catholic Universities of Africa, but not primarily as an academic course.

Archbishop Rafael Ndingi once said to me, “All seminarians should study and experience SCCs while they are in training.”

Healey originally offered this course at the two colleges as an elective in their second semester (January to May), drawing about twenty students each year. However, in May, 2009, Tangaza College informed him that beginning in January, 2010, the course would be a required, compulsory course for all students in the school of theology.

That meant I would have 120 students in the class, although my goal was to have only twenty, so that we could model living and being in an SCC. It forced me to figure out creative ways to accommodate all those students.

Healey believes that it is necessary for all expatriate missionaries to be members of an SCC, and that it is even advisable for every priest and even Bishop to be a member of at least one SCC. In Nairobi he made inquiries through the local parish where the local SCC was. Very near the Maryknoll Center House and Gleason Residence is a neighborhood called Waruku and the Catholics there had formed an SCC called St. Kizito SCC. Healey joined them and attends the meetings on each Sunday afternoon that he is in the area. He explained his reasoning further.

Whenever I am asked to give a talk to a large group or an international conference and am asked what I am, I answer that I am a student. This of course stuns them, since they think I am a professor. But I answer that every expatriate missionary in Africa is a student and that our teachers are the African people.

I believe that it is not just in the classroom that you discover the life of SCCs but by being part of one. Likewise, in our residence with my fellow priests we have community liturgies every morning with shared gospel reflections. Our goal is to reflect on how the bible relates to daily life.

Healey is also developing a web site on SCCs with good quality material. He believes that one contribution that Maryknoll can make to the Church in eastern Africa is in the area of the internet, web sites and E-mail.

He has also offered to assist the current Director of AMECEA’s Social Communications Department, a Tanzanian priest, and has been appointed to the advisory board of the National Mirror, the monthly newspaper of the Kenya Bishops Conference, and to the Jesuit Center journal, called in Swahili *Haki na Amani* (Justice and Peace). But he clarifies what he thinks the role of an expatriate missionary is today.

It’s very important that we assist the local Church in its leadership role and in its planning role for the future, but our role is supportive. I want to be open and generous, but I think they have to make the decision of how and when I participate. There are some areas in which we can be of service, such as in finances and in open and transparent accounting procedures.

Another area is in English and I am often called on to edit articles in church publications and to train people in writing good English, which is not the

first language of the people of East Africa. So, this is a role that I see as helpful to the local Church.

In the early months of 2008 Kenya was convulsed with horrendous tribal or ethnic violence, after the disputed election of late December, 2007. Healey commented on how this has both affected and challenged the Church.

Tribalism is like our Achilles heel, an evil and a disease in African society and in the African Church. We have to rise above it. If the Church takes sides during the election or during the post-election violence, then its credibility is compromised. So, we have to regain the high ground, although this will be very difficult because some dioceses and religious congregations have really struggled with tribalism.

I recently gave a talk and quoted the famous saying, used in Africa as well, "Blood is thicker than water." I said, "No, that's not what we're about. The water of Baptism has to be thicker than the blood of ethnicity." This has to be our message today.

I remember back in 1973 President Kenyatta spoke to a large gathering of leaders of many church and faith denominations and he said, "The Church must be the conscience of society." That's a dramatic statement that has been quoted many times. I think that communication media can make a big impact on informing people about social conscience and civic responsibility, and in mitigating ethno-centric stereotypes and passions.

Healey's focus on SCCs is on their being a means to reflect on and draw out the implications of the gospel in everyday life, and he has noticed that more and more SCCs are being used by priests and even Bishops as being primarily an instrument to raise funds. He offered some pertinent reflections on this trend.

This has been an interesting pattern, in which bishops and priests see SCCs as a more efficient vehicle for running the parish, basically through fund-raising. The Swahili word for collection is *mchango*, and people are saying that it has become an *mchango* church.

The annual parish tax is called *zaka* in Swahili and was instituted by the first missionaries to foster financial self-reliance. Parishioners were expected to go into the church office to pay, two or three times a year following the liturgical seasons, and have their cards signed and stamped showing they had paid. In outstations people would pay the catechist, who would then give the money to the priest when he came for Mass. However, people were not paying.

So, beginning this decade priests began giving this responsibility to the SCCs and immediately the *zaka* went way up. So, they started making the SCCs responsible for all other church collections that are done during the year, such as for the diocese or seminary education or church-building fund or whatever.

When Maryknollers were starting SCCs in parishes in the 1980s we forbade any collecting of money in SCCs, but we might have been too rigid in

this. There are some legitimate reasons for SCCs to collect money, for instance to help a needy family in the neighborhood or to have a small party or celebration for some reason specific to the SCC. So, pendulums swing and previously it was too far to one side, but I think now it has swung too much to the other side. I met one woman and asked her if she was going to an upcoming SCC meeting and she said no, because all they were going to do was talk about money. Even at Sunday Mass they often have two or three collections. People are getting tired of being used for collections.

The core of the SCC is bible reflection. My SCC is called a lectionary-based community, which means that we read the gospel and other readings for the following Sunday, reflect on them, and then apply them to our lives.

Healey is now teaching many future priests about the purpose of SCCs and perhaps the pendulum will swing back into a proper balance in the future.

Since the 1970s Healey has published a number of books, a contribution to the Church that he has continued to the present. In the past six or seven years he has published several more books, such as “Once Upon a Time in Africa: Stories of Wisdom and Joy” (2004), “African Stories for Preachers and Teachers” in both English and Swahili (2005 and 2006), and “Small Christian Communities Today: Capturing the New Moment” (2005). He helps write and edit the Africa Region Newsletter that comes out three times a year for all Maryknollers in Africa and others who previously served in Africa. He has also set up websites for African proverbs and sayings, at www.afriprov.org, and another on SCCs called www.smallchristiancommunities.org.

In 2007 Healey was interviewed and commented at length on current trends in Africa, both in the societal sphere and in the area of religion, with relevance to much of sub-Saharan Africa but more so to East Africa and especially to Tanzania, where he had been working for thirty years. Since he made many comments, it is best just to present them in summary form.

“The biggest factor in Africa is urbanization,” Healey stated, “the dramatic movement of people from the rural to urban areas, causing a rapid rise in population of cities like Dar es Salaam and Nairobi.” He went on to say that this has been accompanied by changes in value systems, such as growing secularization in cities, the emergence of youth culture that mimics behaviors seen on television and now through information technology, and the growing gulf between the rich and poor through the creation of a small, super-rich class. Coinciding with the phenomenon of urbanization has been the explosive growth in the number of cell phones. First of all, cell phones work, unlike land-line phones in East Africa, secondly they are not expensive, and thirdly they keep urban-based family members connected with their rural relatives.

Healey also talked about the economic stagnation that East Africa has experienced since 1980, following on the hopeful decades of the 1960s and 1970s, exacerbated by corruption, patronage and collapse of many factories. He mentioned that American and European investors are frustrated by the different ethic of subsistence farmers/herders, who value kinship, reciprocity, personalized exchanges and gift, rather than the impersonal, monetarized exchanges of the western globalized market. He noted that the Calvinist work ethic of “time is money” does not yet seem to have made an

impression on rural subsistence farmers. He did not comment on the international factors of speculative flows of money, structural adjustments, trade imbalances or the intricately connected forces of the globalized economy.

[Editor Note: a year after Healey offered his reflections, two crucial events in 2008 adversely affected Kenya's economy, first the post-election violence which is estimated to have reduced Kenya's GNP by one billion dollars, and second the global economic downturn that began in the U.S. in September, 2008. Despite this adversity, Kenya and also Tanzania have both seen impressive economic growth in 2009 and 2010, and expect to continue this trend in 2011 – if they are not hurt by rising oil prices. It is interesting to note, though, that slow economic growth does not increase poverty, although it might reduce urban employment opportunities, and fast economic growth does not reduce poverty, nor even create large employment gains. Job creation and poverty alleviation will need a multi-faceted approach, rather than a mere emphasis on national economic growth.]

Healey went on to say that other trends with economic consequences have been the increase in natural disasters, such as floods and droughts, which seem to be occurring more frequently and with greater severity. There has also been a transition to different cash crops, such as horticulture, replacing traditional exports, especially coffee, and the emergence of tourism as the main source of foreign exchange.

In politics, multi-party democracy has been unfortunately relegated to parties being ethnic based. (Healey made these comments prior to the outbreak of extreme ethnic violence that followed Kenya's December, 2007, election. Ethnic-based politics remains a huge sword looming over Kenya's upcoming 2012 election.) Healey observed that Tanzania has been able to avoid ethnic-based politics, despite having 134 language groups. Even with greater democracy, East Africa seems unable to shake off winner-take-all politics, strong-man governance, corruption and nepotism.

There are several religious trends that Healey mentioned, one being the growth of Small Christian Communities in the Catholic Church, as discussed above. Another disturbing trend has been the fault line between Christianity and Islam along the Sahel belt in Africa, such as northern Ivory Coast and Nigeria and in the middle of Sudan, although Healey said that the East African coast, where most Muslims of Kenya and Tanzania live, has been spared from conflict. "You take Dar es Salaam, which is seventy percent Muslim. They are peaceful. They want to live in harmony with their Christian neighbors and with each other." Threats to this harmony, he added, could come from certain militant groups, still very small, or from the improper use of oil money, which might be used to militarize young Muslims.

Within the Catholic Church the word mission is coming up for more incisive definition. Healey says he is an expatriate missionary, to distinguish him from Africans who are local missionaries. Maryknollers are now very few in number in East Africa and are grateful that Africans are responding to the call of being missionaries to other parts of Africa.

Some other religious trends that he commented on were the emergence of African leadership not only in dioceses but also in communities and organizations of international religious orders, the growth of evangelical and Pentecostal churches, which are alluring Catholics to their folds, and the rising emphasis in the Catholic Church for solid bible teaching and reflection as an integral part of its catechesis.

This is probably not an exhaustive list of trends, but demonstrates both challenges and hopeful signs for the African Church and society as the second decade of the century begins.

Hospital Ministry

An excellent contribution has been made to hospital care by Fr. Bill Fryda, who is also a medical doctor, and who unfortunately has not been interviewed for this history. He did his medical residency and post-residency practice at the famous Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, in the 1970s, and in September, 1980, he joined the Maryknoll Lay Mission Program. After working in Tanzania for some years as a Lay Missioner doing medical work, he joined the Maryknoll Seminary and was ordained a priest in June of 1988. He returned to Tanzania and worked at Sengerema Hospital, which is across a large bay of southeastern Lake Victoria from the city of Mwanza and in a rugged, rural part of Tanzania. In the early 1990s he transferred from Tanzania to Kenya, and became the Chief Medical Officer at Nazareth Hospital, located in the northwestern suburbs of Nairobi about fifteen miles from the center of the city. This hospital was begun by the Consolata Missionaries and many Consolata Sisters were on the staff while Fryda was there.

In 1998, Fryda was able to obtain a large plot of land in Langata, just a few miles southeast of the center of Nairobi and adjacent to the enormous Kibera informal settlement, on which he planned to build a large hospital that would emphasize inexpensive, quality hospital care for Nairobi's working class and the poor of the slums. In addition to Kibera, the Mukuru slums were also not far away, less than ten miles. Nairobi has several high quality private hospitals, including Mater Misericordia, which is a Catholic hospital, and Kenyatta Hospital, the huge national referral hospital. Kenyatta is overcrowded and difficult to be admitted to, although it provides wonderful medical service for the more difficult medical problems, and Fryda thought that a Catholic hospital that was readily accessible, affordable and treated the full gamut of everyday medical problems would fill a particular medical niche that was lacking.

Through many of his own contacts and donors in the U.S. and with the help of Maryknoll, Fryda was able to raise over \$20 million, enough to construct the hospital, called St. Mary's, which has over 100 beds and a very large outpatient section. Patients, almost all of whom come by public transport or on foot, pay an initial charge of a permanent registration card and another charge for each new medical condition. These charges are around one dollar each. The payment for a new medical condition covers diagnosis, lab tests and treatment, but prescribed medications have to be purchased at the hospital pharmacy, which usually comes to less than five dollars. In-patient care is also relatively inexpensive, to the point that it is often cheaper than at government district and provincial hospitals, where in addition to official charges it is not unusual for bribes to be elicited, especially for surgical procedures. The poor and working class, who make up over half to probably two-thirds of Nairobi's population, do not have any medical insurance and many in the so-called middle-class (not to be confused with the middle-class standard of living in the U.S.) also do not have insurance. Some with insurance go to St. Mary's, but those with insurance usually go to the private hospitals, which are beyond the means of the bottom three-quarters of Nairobi's population.

Assisting Fryda at St. Mary's were the Assumption Sisters. One feature of this hospital was the setting aside of several in-patient rooms for use by this congregation of Sisters for their own members and also some rooms for Sisters of other congregations and diocesan priests. African dioceses and congregations do not have medical insurance, so this arrangement was of great benefit to them, even though most of their members are young, healthy and well cared for, and not requiring the type of care that older people need.

In 2006 or 2007 Fryda obtained another very large plot of land in the Rift Valley, on a bluff overlooking Lake Elementaita adjacent to the major highway leading to western Kenya, between the town of Gilgil and the city of Nakuru. Nakuru is possibly the third largest city in Kenya (it vies for number three with the cities of Eldoret and Kisumu) and has a population of over a half million. The plot, on which Fryda began building a huge hospital, is about twenty-five miles from Nakuru, and most of the patients come from that city. Again, he raised over twenty million dollars from the U.S. and by 2008 the hospital was open. Policies similar to those of St. Mary's in Langata regarding the affordability of fees were also put in place at this hospital.

Since the hospital at Elementaita has ample land it extends outward rather than upward, enabling each ward and medical department to be separated by and adorned with bountiful displays of flowers, grass and trees. There is also well-built and sufficient housing for all the staff of the hospital, from workers to technicians to nurses to doctors. To see what a hospital should look like in East Africa, it is worth a stop at this hospital, which is only a two-hour ride from Nairobi. Unlike Langata, the Elementaita hospital has a huge parking lot. The hospital also has a large chapel, religious statues and other insignia, making overt its Catholic status. Although Fryda's primary role is doctor he has always felt that his priestly role complements in an essential manner the medical care he provides.

Fryda has also been given (or purchased or obtained, it is unclear) another huge plot of land in Sagana, which is on the main north-south highway about sixty miles north of Nairobi. As of 2010 he had not yet begun any preparation for building a hospital on this plot, although that seems to be the long-term plan.

Eastlands Deanery AIDS Program

As was mentioned in Part Four, Fr. Ed Phillips was Chaplain of Kenyatta University on two separate occasions, from 1990 to 1993 and again from 1997 to 2000. In the intervening years of 1994 to 1997 he had been pastor of Umoja Parish, at a time when the Eastlands Deanery was forming a coordinated response to the AIDS pandemic. Thousands of people in the various estates of Eastlands, which included the slums of Mathare Valley, Korogocho, Mukuru and Lunga Lunga, had by the mid-1990s been infected with HIV. This infection usually exhibited itself in full-blown AIDS after about five years and at that time there was no cure, at least not for the poor. In the United States wealthy people and those with premium insurance policies were able to be treated with AZT and other medications, all of which were very expensive – certainly far beyond the means of everyone in Eastlands.

Two Maryknoll Brothers, John Mullen and Tim Raible, who were stationed at Umoja Parish in the early and mid-1990s, joined in the deanery response to provide

palliative care, counseling and spiritual accompaniment to those dying of AIDS, by going out to the homes along with community health workers and other members of Small Christian Communities on a daily basis. Similar efforts were taking place in the other parishes of the deanery.

In 1999 the deanery was able to get ample funding, from the various missionary congregations working in Eastlands Deanery and from Catholic Relief Services, on the order of about a million dollars a year, and requested Phillips to be the Director of their program. Phillips, who unfortunately has also not been interviewed for this history, had a background in accounting and organizational management, and had been the Treasurer of the Maryknoll Region in Tanzania for a number of years. He finished up as Chaplain at Kenyatta University in 2000 and was replaced by Fr. Lance Nadeau. Phillips moved into the Gleason Residence and threw himself into the work of setting up a comprehensive program for each of the parishes.

The program included having a Catholic clinic in each parish, although the main clinic was at the parish in Eastliegh. Each clinic had at least one nurse, a social worker, lab technician and auxiliary staff. People were able to come into the clinic with other diseases, although the emphasis was on detecting AIDS and beginning a full course of treatment. For the first two years there was still no treatment that could cure AIDS, but people infected with HIV or AIDS were assured of compassionate treatment and accompaniment at their homes. In addition to this outreach, the Deanery also had an extensive program of education in each parish, especially for youth, seen as the most effective way to reduce infections.

In 2002 the United States government approved the PEPFAR program, which made available to millions of people throughout the world, but especially in sub-Saharan Africa, inexpensive Anti-Retroviral (ARV) therapies for those infected with AIDS, which have made it possible for millions to get back to full health, resume work, and have the hope of living long fruitful lives. The Eastlands Deanery AIDS Program, given its long involvement in this matter, its grassroots credibility, and its very capable management, was chosen as one of two places in Kenya by the Centers of Disease Control to receive funding from PEPFAR, into the indefinite future. Thousands of adults, men and women, in all the parishes of the deanery began receiving the treatments. Each one comes in every month to their respective clinics to be given the following month's supply of pills, which they take by mouth. The nurses still go out to houses most days in the week to ascertain whether an ill person needs to be tested for AIDS or whether the symptoms show a different clinical problem, to invite the persons to the clinic, and to follow up on certain cases. The Eastlands Program is still running effectively as the year 2011 begins.

In addition to managing this program, Phillips did a lot of reading and compilation of research data, and became an expert in the sociology and pathology of the spread of AIDS. He attended many international conferences, both for further education and also to give talks and report on findings in Nairobi, which was considered one of the hotspots of AIDS in the year 2000. Around the year 2005 he was honored by President George Bush by being singled out for his work during the State of the Union speech.

In 2007, Phillips was requested by Maryknoll to return to the U.S. and do studies in finance, in preparation for an assignment to Maryknoll's Treasury Department.

For a number of reasons that probably need further research, Kenya's incidence of AIDS fell from a high of about fifteen to twenty percent of the adult population (between

age sixteen and fifty) in the 1990s to less than ten percent by the year 2010. The percentage of Kenyan youth (age fifteen to twenty-five) with HIV/AIDS is very low, less than five percent. The presumption is that Kenya's great efforts at widespread education and information entered deeply into the consciousness of Kenya's young population, who made decisions, at both the individual and communal level, to engage in behavior that would not lead to infection with HIV. It can also be presumed that the efforts of the Eastlands Deanery were in part responsible for this good outcome.

Church people engaged in AIDS outreach and treatment in Kenya, and in Africa, hope that the PEPFAR Program will continue to be funded by the U.S. government. Due to calls to reduce deficits in the government budget and to changed priorities away from faith-based organizations (in Africa much of PEPFAR's funding is channeled through faith-based organizations) there are fears that this program will be cancelled, or that funding will continue for those already receiving ARV treatment but that no people with new cases of HIV will be allowed to benefit from the program. As the year 2011 unfolds the final decision on this matter has not yet been made.

MOMBASA

Maryknoll had been working in the Archdiocese of Mombasa since 1980, as was written in Part Six, and as the year 2011 dawns one Maryknoll Brother remains there, Bro. Frank TenHoopen. In 1990 there was a change of Bishop, which resulted in changes in the assignments of Maryknollers working in Mombasa. The changes in Kilifi Parish and the other parishes have been covered in Part Six. As the Maryknoll priests withdrew from or retired in Mombasa, three Maryknoll Brothers began new apostolates that began in or after 1990 and continued on into the new century and it is these that are covered in this sub-section of Part Seven. However, we begin here with a short ministry in Mombasa in 1991, an assignment that lasted only three months.

Somali Refugee Work

In 1990 Fr. Dick Baker was working in Khartoum, Sudan, primarily to perfect his Arabic while waiting to see if there was a more permanent assignment he could do. During that year he and Fr. Carroll Houle, the Africa Area Coordinator, visited Gambela, Ethiopia, at the request of Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), which hoped that Baker would work with Sudanese refugees in Gambela. After their visit to Gambela, Baker returned to Khartoum to the end of 1990, but with the intention of going to Gambela the following year.

In 1991, however, JRS was having difficulties getting permission to work in Gambela, due to the impending overthrow of the Mengistu government in Ethiopia, and it also needed someone who knew both Arabic and Swahili to work in a large camp outside the city of Mombasa for recent refugees from Somalia. After the first Gulf War ended in February, 1991, two JRS personnel were leaving Mombasa to return to Port Sudan, in northern Sudan, where they had previously worked. Since Baker knew both Arabic and Swahili, he was requested by JRS to go to Mombasa. He explains what his work was in the camp:

I was there for three months and started out managing the food distribution. Fortunately, a Jesuit scholastic came to the camp and I handed over responsibility for the food distribution to him. I was then asked to help in starting a new camp in another location, because of my ability to converse with the people in languages they understood. The refugees had been put up in the fairgrounds for the Mombasa Show, which were being destroyed, and the Kenya government wanted the refugees moved to a different place.

My presence there was good because they were having difficulty communicating with the Somali elders. Furthermore, they wanted to move the people right during the high Muslim feast days of Idd El Fitr. When the UNDP officials came I spoke to them and asked that it be postponed at least a week, which was agreed to. As a result I earned respect from the Somali people. There were two Muslims working for the United Nations, one from Bangladesh and one from Pakistan, and they also expressed their appreciation for this. They said that because they were Muslims they would not have been able to intervene in this matter. So, I got off to a good start with the Somalis.

The refugees realized that I was there for them, unlike the salaried officials of the UNDP and Red Cross, who were doing the work because they were paid. Thus, I got along very well with the Somali people. There were several other ways that I intervened. The Somalis do not eat maize, it causes them diarrhea since they are not used to it. One day a huge shipment of maize came and there was no one hired by the UNDP to unload it. They expected the Somalis themselves to unload it, for nothing, which they refused to do. But I knew a few of them and was able to persuade them to do the work.

We also had difficulties regarding medical treatment for the refugees. Some had money and went to private hospitals, but the poor went to the government hospital in Mombasa. A Consolata Sister was treating them and we got some extra money to help her, so she could continue serving them. The Somalis saw that and knew that we cared about them. There was also a Mennonite Doctor and his wife who came from Somalia to treat the people in the camp, and the Somalis felt the same way about them. We had a good relationship with the Somalis.

After three months I had to move on, but the Somali people did not want me to go. But I had to go. But that was a very good experience for me and I got to know some of them very well.

Baker then went to Gambela for three months, but as he was unable to obtain more than a three-month visa, he returned to the U.S. for a sabbatical – studying and getting a degree in library science. He remained in the U.S. managing the library at Maryknoll, NY, up till 1995, at which time he was able to go to Gambela on a long-term assignment, which will be written about below.

Youth work in Mombasa

Bishop Nicodemus Kirima had been Archbishop of Mombasa since Maryknoll first started working in that diocese in 1980. In 1990 Kirima was transferred to the Archdiocese of Nyeri in central Kenya, where Kirima originally hailed from. Bishop John

Njenga was transferred from Eldoret to the Archdiocese of Mombasa. Njenga was a Kikuyu, also from central Kenya originally, and had never worked on the coast of Kenya nor even anywhere east of Nairobi. However, he was very influential and powerful in the Kenya Bishops' Conference, and was able to maneuver to become one of the four Kenya Archbishops. Mombasa was the only archdiocese in which he could be placed. His arrival in Mombasa had repercussions for the Maryknollers working in this diocese.

First of all, Njenga ordered Maryknoll to remove Fr. Phil McCue from Kilifi Parish, due to bad relations from ten years previously when both were stationed in Eldoret Diocese. Secondly, Njenga asked Maryknoll to supply two priests to Kilifi Parish, since he did not want a Brother to be doing pseudo-priestly work. This forced the Maryknoll Superior, John Conway, to search around for two priests to take this assignment. Fr. Don Donovan was moved from Athi River, near Nairobi, where he had been for only a few months, and Fr. Jim Roy was transferred from Marafa Parish, which had to be closed due to this transfer. Thirdly, Njenga expressly asked that Brother Frank TenHoopen be assigned to the diocesan secretariat to administer the Diocesan Youth Office.

There was an existing youth office and someone had been employed there, but it was barely functioning. TenHoopen says:

There were no files, no history of the office, no address of parishes, nothing at all. I essentially had to create a youth office. I started very slowly, trying to figure out what I was supposed to do. This was in June of 1990 and shortly afterwards Brother Tim Raible joined me.

Raible had worked in the Philippines for about six years and from 1986 to 1989 was stationed in the United States getting training in counseling. On his return to overseas mission he was assigned to Kenya, where many Maryknoll Brothers were stationed, both in Nairobi and Mombasa. He stayed at the youth office for six months and set up a diocesan youth newspaper that published every month in Swahili. In January, 1991, Raible moved to Kilifi Parish where he could do direct pastoral work with youth.

TenHoopen at first started visiting secondary schools, but found himself getting exhausted. In 1990 the Archdiocese encompassed five very large districts territorially with a total population of slightly over one and a half million people (in 2010 there are ten districts, with a population of close to two million people). There were 200,000 Catholics, forty parishes and 140 secondary schools (in 2010 there are 250,000 Catholics and forty-one parishes; Malindi District is now part of the new Diocese of Malindi). About sixty percent of the population was under the age of eighteen, according to TenHoopen. He also said that most of the youth were "first generation Catholics, meaning they are the first ones in their family to be baptized Catholics." This statement needs to be qualified to refer to Giriama Catholics and those of other Mijikenda tribes (i.e. the nine coastal Bantu tribes). Many Catholics in the city of Mombasa were of upcountry tribes, such as Luo, Kikuyu, Luhya, Kamba and others, whose children by 1990 would have been second or third generation Catholics. Furthermore, the Taita were evangelized since the beginning of the twentieth century and many of the Catholics in the Taita Hills would have been even fourth generation by 1990. However, TenHoopen's statement also implied that the Catholic youth in the Archdiocese did not have sufficient

grounding in their faith to feel confident in the context of aggressive Muslim questioning and Pentecostal proselytizing. He added that this was a major reason why the new Bishop wanted an active youth office.

Archbishop Njenga discouraged TenHoopen from trying to personally visit every place in the diocese, pointing out that it was physically impossible for one man to visit every parish and school even once in a year.

Archbishop Njenga said that it was my job to help the pastors to visit their schools and to animate the youth in their parishes. So I then rearranged everything and took on the role and title of Coordinator of Youth Ministries. But the actual youth ministers are the pastors. My job then became to help them with their task, especially in the creation of very good youth programs and seminars that parishes could use and the training of people who could conduct these seminars. Three popular seminars were taken to many parishes in the 1990s, each run by different trained teams: on AIDS, on leadership, and on project management.

It is necessary to define the word ‘youth,’ which means something different in Kenya than in the U.S. When TenHoopen uses the word he refers to those aged thirteen to twenty-five, although some Kenyans would include people up to age thirty and a few to even age forty! This terminology does not intend to exclude pre-adolescent children, although the normal meaning of ‘youth work,’ as used in Kenya church circles, refers to adolescents and young adults. In fact, TenHoopen adopted and applied programs for pre-adolescents as well.

We adopted two programs, one for the eight-to-fourteen-year-olds and the other for fourteen-to-twenty-year-olds. I found the model for these programs from the Church in Zambia. But I also listened to the youth, of each of these age-groups, in formulating what should be in each program and what it should be called. At that time AIDS had become a very big topic and I suggested the name ‘Behavior Change.’ The youth rejected this name, claiming it implied they were fooling around. So we named the program for the younger group ‘Adventure Unlimited,’ and for the teenage group ‘Education for Life.’ These are not sex education courses but life skills programs that deal with many issues and topics pertinent to positive growth in this rapidly changing world. The most basic theme is that they can choose how they will grow and how they will react to various choices put before them.

The program for younger children is led by women who are mothers. This program is now done in all parishes of the diocese. Twenty women come in to the diocese every year to take the leadership course, which we give ourselves. At first it was just me and a few others running this course, with whatever materials I could find. I attended workshops, both in Mombasa and in Nairobi, and at times invited professionals from a counseling agency to help us give the training. But now we know how to train the women. The women appreciate this training and the seminars we give the youth, much of which is basic health knowledge. One woman said, ‘I wish I knew this when I was that age.’ We now have groups of trained mothers in every parish of the diocese.

The program for teens is led by their peer group, peers who have also been trained at the diocesan level. This program began in the early 1990s and now many of the ‘peers’ are in their thirties and no longer involved in the program. About this group TenHoopen says, “We need to find a way to bring back some of the former peer leaders, to utilize their skills in some way. We gave a retreat for them in 2008, which was a success, but we are still looking how we can call on them more.” It was the peer group in the 1990s who gave TenHoopen the idea of training mothers to lead the pre-adolescent group and helped him devise the training program for the mothers.

The two programs for youth and the training program for mothers are all running very smoothly on their own now, with little involvement from TenHoopen. He says though that “the peers grow up, get jobs, become married, and even move. So, we have to constantly replace them, which has not been a problem so far. The mothers have been very stable.”

The Archdiocese also has a very active program for Young Catholic Students (YCS) at secondary schools, which TenHoopen is proud of.

We were the first diocese in Kenya to have a separate office for YCS. We wanted to adopt one of the Education for Life yearbooks for all the YCS groups, but the YCS has its own structures and program. However, their books tend to be out of date, dealing with issues of thirty years ago. So, we adapted their meditations to make them more current. Today the book we are using for YCS is called ‘One Nation, Many People.’ As a result of the horrendous tribal violence of 2007/2008 the government is talking about ‘One Nation, One People.’ The youth, however, do not want difference to be looked on negatively. To be a member of a tribe is good. They want to acknowledge difference and that it is good. It doesn’t mean we have to fight each other. The problem is that there are political leaders who are highlighting the tribal differences merely to hold on to political power and masking their own complicity in the pervasiveness of poverty. The youth like this book and this program, apparently. We had one session here at the diocese which was attended by three hundred youth.

Over the years there have been some other special programs facilitated by the Youth Office. Unemployment is a huge problem in Kenya – and in many developing countries – and TenHoopen originally thought he could intercede on behalf of youth. He sent letters of reference for selected youth who had excelled in diocesan programs to companies with Catholic executives or supervisors. However, very few youth got jobs. “I realized that this is a worldwide economic problem, much bigger than the Church, even bigger than the Kenya government. How it will be solved I don’t know.”

Four-day DELTA seminars were held at the diocese in the early 1990s. DELTA is a development conscientization program that originated at the Lumko Institute in South Africa in the 1970s and has been taken by the Catholic Church to most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The Archdiocese of Mombasa sponsored a series of these seminars, organized by TenHoopen in the Youth Office, in which each parish sent three representatives for the four days. It was expected that these representatives would carry back what they learned to their parishes.

The Youth Office also helped pastors to plan and organize special seminars in their parishes, informing the priests how much a seminar would cost, depending on whether the youth would sleep at the parish or not, and putting together a team that could go out to present the seminar.

Ten Hoopen also learned early in his role as Youth Coordinator of the value of music and drama in youth programs.

In the beginning I was doing a lot in secondary schools but I wasn't doing too well. At one school I met a Baptist preacher from the U.S. who was attracting many students. I asked him why and he responded, 'You don't use music.' I went to one of his meetings and saw quite a few of our Catholic kids. Yes, it was the music. So, I began making sure that music was an important component of any of the programs that we ran.

We expanded that to once making a musical play based on a bible theme, which we presented at the diocese. Some youth and I were watching television one day and saw a program from Tanzania, from the Sukuma people with whom Maryknoll worked. They used to present musical plays based on bible stories, in which they sang everything, as a way of teaching the bible. Our youth spent three months practicing a musical presentation of the story of Daniel and Susanna, to which we invited Bishop Njenga. He was reluctant to come but ended up singing along with the youth, he enjoyed it so much. In fact, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation came sometime later to make a video of it, to show on Kenya television.

A crucial group in the Archdiocese, the diocesan priests, also gradually appreciated the programs offered by the Youth Office.

In the beginning it was difficult getting them to accept this. Unfortunately, many priests and Bishops don't associate with youth, except for calling on them to clean the parish compound or prepare a party for guests. The money is with the elders and so priests work with and associate with the elders. But most now see the benefits of the programs and set aside time in the holidays for the Life Skills programs. Many of the pastors today were former youth twenty years ago who participated in the programs and saw their value. They promote these programs in their parishes.

The Youth Office is well-funded in the Archdiocese of Mombasa, as are many other diocesan projects. Still, it is recognized that self-reliance must be fostered. The diocese provided very little money in the beginning, and TenHoopen had to ask for assistance from Maryknoll plus seek his own sources in the United States. In the early 1990s he set up an annual raffle for the youth office, to be conducted in each parish. The top three prizes were scholarship grants for secondary school fees, with each parish and the Youth Office splitting evenly the proceeds of the raffle. Later the Youth Office inaugurated an annual charity walk for the office and the Youth Center, which had been started in 2000. After Njenga retired in 2004 and was replaced by Archbishop Boniface

Lele the diocese began receiving large amounts of funding from overseas donors for a number of necessary programs, and the youth formation work also benefited from this.

In the year 2000 Ten Hoopen started a Youth Center on the diocesan compound, but says it was more by accident.

I needed to do some exercising and physical therapy for one of my legs and then some young men asked if they could also exercise in this place. We bought some weight-lifting equipment, started Tae Kwon Do, and before we knew it we had a Youth Center. This was expanded to include a couple of musical bands practicing there, a study room, and a room with several old computers that enabled youth to learn how to use computers.

This is now a full-fledged Youth Center. Early in the morning every day there are five or six young people exercising and they come throughout the day. Many youth come in the evening, Christian and Muslim, for lifting weights, karate, studying, or many other activities. We have no problems; there are no drugs, no cigarette butts, no graffiti on toilet walls, nor any other such things. Parents like this place, because they want to know where their children are and that they are safe. Muslim parents, or in some cases uncles, pay for their children to take the karate or Tae Kwon Do classes, because of the good reputation the center has. Two policemen also asked for special permission to lift weights. They are not youth but we let them come. They come every day.

The Center does not have any registration or fees, except for the specific classes which have a trainer. Even those fees are very low, less than a dollar for a course.

TenHoopen says that there are two things that have had the most important positive impacts on his life. One was living with Fr. Phil McCue in Kilifi, who became essentially a mentor for TenHoopen and helped him immeasurably to understand the meaning and purpose of mission. The other was the great acceptance by the youth of Mombasa to his work and relations with them.

The way the youth have responded to me and told me their stories has had a great effect on me. I enjoy sitting on my veranda watching them every evening. This is my way of relaxing. Young people come by to talk with me and it was through these informal discussions that I discovered, for example, the value of the Education for Life program.

I like to use the gospel story of the hidden treasure in the field. I interpret it that the one who sells everything to buy the field is God and the treasure is the youth. Youth are God's treasure. This is the main theme that I tell the youth everywhere I go.

TenHoopen was interviewed in mid-2009, by which time he had spent close to three decades in a predominantly Muslim milieu, in Kilifi and Mombasa. While some neighborhoods of these two cities would have a number of Christians, the central locations of both places where he has lived for most of the time are overwhelmingly Muslim.

We have never had a problem. Muslims are very generous and have been especially kind to me. They are always bringing food over to my house and notably on Christmas when they want to acknowledge our feast day. The day after the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington a large prayer service was held in the Catholic Cathedral, attended by religious leaders of all denominations, including many Muslims. They all came to pray for Americans. On September 11th itself, as everyone was watching the events on television, I received more than ten telephone calls, all from Muslims, assuring me of my safety. That's why I find surprising the negative comments about Muslims in the U.S. Muslims have good structures, which have laid the foundations for their good qualities and generosity. Sure, not every Muslim is good, but in general Muslim people are very good.

Mombasa's Muslims, mainly of the twelve branches of Swahili people or of Mijikenda peoples who have become Muslims, range in economic class from poor, struggling urbanites to those who are prosperous, even wealthy. Foreign ancestry is traced not only to the Arabian peninsula, but also to India, Persia, and Egypt. Wealthy Muslims, often incorrectly called Arabs even though they are of Swahili ethnicity, became so through trade and regional transport, and today many are professionals. In the nineteenth century there were plantations along the coast, using slave labor to provide agricultural products for trade, which also contributed to the wealth of certain Swahili families. The Muslims of coastal East Africa, including Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya and Tanzania, are of the Shafi'i branch of Sunni Islam. Shafi'i is one of four interpretations of Muslim Sharia (Law). It emphasizes the Koran, Sharia, consensus and analogy. The latter two emphases indicate that to a certain extent law and practice can adapt to changing conditions. For instance, if a large majority of Muslim people engage in a certain behavior, even if it does not come from the Koran or Sharia, then a consensus exists that this is acceptable behavior within Sharia law. Twenty-nine percent of all Muslims worldwide are followers of Shafi'i belief, including most Muslims of Indonesia, the most populous Muslim nation. This religious background explains the lack of extremism among Mombasa Muslims, their propensity for moderation, and willingness to use the benefits of the modern world. At the same time, many Muslim women in Mombasa, including of the wealthy, modern class, wear traditional Muslim dress to show pride in their Muslim heritage.

While TenHoopen was diocesan Youth Coordinator he was also elected Assistant Regional Superior for the newly united Africa Region, an election that had to be approved by Rome. Approval did come and he served in this capacity from 1998 to 2004. This position led to his close encounter with one of the most infamous events in Kenya's history. On August 6, 1998, he boarded a train in Mombasa for Nairobi to carry out some duties for the Africa Region. He arrived at Nairobi's train station at 9:30 AM on Friday, August 7th, walked out the station and along the long plaza to Moi Avenue, which he followed past the American Embassy to the bus-stand for catching public transportation to the Maryknoll Center House. A half-hour later a truck carrying 1500 pounds of explosives blew up outside the American Embassy, destroying it and neighboring buildings, killing 213 people, twelve of whom were Americans, and wounding 5000

people, many by flying shards of glass that became embedded in their eyes. Many people at the train station were badly wounded and some were killed. If he had come a half-hour later TenHoopen would also have been badly injured or worse. He survived, and carried out his duties as Assistant Regional in an excellent manner.

In 2004 TenHoopen was made the Financial Director for the Archdiocese of Mombasa, which will be written about below. However, he remains the Director of the Youth Office to the present.

Community Health Work

Brother John Mullen had been working in Nairobi since early 1991, including both OTP and after he made final oath, living in the parishes of Makadara and Umoja. He was a registered nurse with a Bachelors Degree in Nursing and was certified to do nursing in Kenya. From mid-1993 to April, 1996, he was the parish nurse at St. Theresa's Parish in Eastliegh. Much of the work involved outreach to those who were infected with HIV and dying of AIDS.

He was the only Maryknoll Brother living in a community of Maryknoll priests in Umoja, a not unusual living arrangement in Maryknoll houses. However, in Mombasa there were two Brothers, Frank TenHoopen and Loren Beaudry, forming a Brothers' community and they thought it would be preferable that Mullen join their community. Furthermore, because of his administration of the large diocesan guest house in central Mombasa, TenHoopen had ministered to two priests who died of AIDS. He also had become aware that priests in the parishes were avoiding people with AIDS, out of ignorance of how AIDS is transferred from one person to another and concern to avoid the stigma connected to contracting this disease. Everyone knew that being infected with HIV was in essence a death sentence; most lived only about five years after infection. TenHoopen strongly believed that someone with professional credentials should begin a program of outreach to people with AIDS in Mombasa – criteria which perfectly matched Mullen's certification and experience. After discussion, the Kenya Regional Council fully endorsed this idea and in May, 1996, Mullen moved to Mombasa.

On arrival in Mombasa, he researched three parishes in which to begin this program: Tudor, on the island; Kongowea, on the north side; and Bomu, on the western mainland.

Archbishop Njenga recommended Bomu because Maryknoll had been responsible for starting and staffing this parish and he thought that with a Maryknoll Brother working there maybe Maryknoll would come back. He did not seem to understand our rapidly diminishing number of priests. Furthermore, the Apostles of Jesus had already taken over Bomu, where they remain till the present. But I finally decided to begin my home visitation work in Bomu, which began in July of that year.

The Archbishop's assistant, Fr. Rokech, had some questions about long-term viability of this program if Mullen discontinued. "I told him that medicines may not continue to be available, but the trained people would remain in the communities. So, something would continue." Mullen's concern was very different: to choose people from the community who would be available several hours in the daytime every week. People

with jobs, either in the city or the industrial area, would not be available. He met with Bomu's Parish Council and told them he wanted the Small Christian Communities (SCCs) to choose at least one from each neighborhood. The SCCs chose twelve people to begin with.

I immediately began to train them. I had never done this before, but I had a curriculum from Nairobi. The training period is six months, two hours each week for the full six months. At the end they take an exam, or an oral exam if they are unable to write. I also conferred a diploma and a small badge they could wear. But we were able to start with the home visiting after only two months. They are officially referred to as Community Health Volunteers.

Because of my experience in Nairobi, I was adept at recognizing and distinguishing symptoms of AIDS from other ailments, and within a very short time the volunteers and I were visiting several hundred people. I was looking for people with AIDS and we sure did find them very quickly.

The program received the name 'Community Based Health Care and AIDS Relief,' (CBHC) and was an autonomous program, within the Archdiocese but not directly under it. It was technically under the Medical Department of the Archdiocese, but it had a separate, independent account and budget, so that it would not be mixed in with other diocesan funds. In the 1990s, there was no strict control over diocesan revenues and expenditures, creating confusion in the administration of various departmental budgets. The program started in one parish, Bomu, in 1996, spread to one other two years later and then to three more by the year 2001. Eventually the program was situated in ten parishes, all within the city limits of Mombasa. Despite the enormous geographical territory covered by Coast Province, the city of Mombasa has about forty percent of the province's population.

In poor, tropical countries there are many different health problems, which are compounded by general lack of good health knowledge. Mullen discovered in training the volunteers that they picked up a great deal of good knowledge in a short period of time.

For instance, if a child has a fever and chills the practice was to cover up the child with several blankets, whereas the correct procedure is to use no blankets at all. They have to use lukewarm wet cloths to bathe the baby, in order to bring down the fever. Too high a fever can cause brain damage. It was the same with worms. Children in these slums...[Bomu was and is technically a working-class area, with all properties formally allocated, and not an informal settlement, but it had and still has low-income related characteristics that make it not too different from a slum]...need to be de-wormed every six months, not only other children but even the children of the volunteers. We now have very inexpensive de-worming medications. The volunteers also needed to know some things that they could not wait on, such as serious problems with a pregnancy or a child with malaria. Matters like these needed immediate medical attention. But they picked up these things very well.

I discovered that the first twelve people fit the general paradigm of volunteers: one quarter are excellent, doing above and beyond what's expected, one half do what is expected, and one quarter slack off and eventually drop out of the program. But the volunteers became good enough that I could divide them up, three per day for the first four days of the week, and on Friday they came in to give reports on how the patients were progressing.

On each day, it would be normal for each volunteer to have about five to ten homes to visit, which would be up to thirty homes for the nurse accompanying them (i.e. Mullen, in the program's beginning). The nurse would expect the volunteer to write notes for each sick person seen. Back at the dispensary office, the nurse would put together the medicines for each patient, wrap them in bundles with the volunteer's name on the bundle and in late afternoon the volunteer would take these medicines out to the respective homes. Mullen always stressed to the volunteers the importance of teaching the patients to take the medicines properly, at the correct times of the day, and with plenty of water if this was indicated.

Whereas the religious make-up of the island of Mombasa is over fifty percent Muslim, the western mainland, within ten miles of the island of Mombasa, may possibly be over fifty percent Christian (i.e. both Catholic and Protestant). However, the CBHC program did not discriminate in visiting homes and distributing medicines. The volunteers were all Catholic, which Mullen said was a good thing, as they were able to give Christian witness. He also commented that whereas Catholics give a lot of assistance to Muslims, Muslims very rarely give assistance to Christians. Despite this, he did get good cooperation in general from both Muslim and non-Catholic Christian religious leaders.

The program started very well, but by 1997 Mullen noticed that some of the SCCs were very large, with hundreds of people registered. As a result many neighborhoods were being neglected. The SCCs needed to be divided up into many more than the twelve they had in 1996. In the second half of 1997 Mullen taught a second six-month course, which had eighteen volunteers. However, this meant that he had many, many more houses to visit, which was becoming impossible.

Fortunately, a Religious Sister of the St. Joseph congregation was returning to Kenya from a one-year course in AIDS treatment at Marquette University in Wisconsin, and she agreed to join Mullen.

So, we had two nurses working in the parish and were able to divide up the workload. She also brought on board some of the other Sisters from her congregation and this alleviated our work quite a bit. Before she came I was walking around the neighborhoods from 9:00 AM to 6:00 PM every day and it was getting dark by the time I was able to get back to the office.

In 1997 Mullen also became aware of the need for counseling for victims of AIDS. Another issue was that women were dying, but nothing had been said of what to do with their children, in part because the women did not realize they were near death.

They needed to be told, but people were very resistant to this. So, I knew I needed counselors who could gently help the women – and the men – to know their true diagnosis and that there is no cure. Back then, there were no anti-retrovirals.

Fortunately, a Sister of St. Joseph, Sr. Veronica, came after taking the five-month Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) course in Mwanza, Tanzania, run by MM Fr. John Eybel, in pastoral counseling. She came to Bomu for two to three years to do counseling of people dying of AIDS, going around to people's homes. She was then transferred to the Sisters' Motherhouse to work with retired Sisters. At that point getting counselors was more problematic. A number of their Sisters took the CPE course in Mwanza but would come to Bomu for only one year each. This led to a lack of consistency in the counseling. Also due to my lack of time I was not able to provide any supervision to the counseling program. So, it did not go as good as I had hoped.

In the beginning of 1998, Archbishop Njenga expressed his pleasure in Mullen's work and had his diocesan team send a funding request to Caritas in Germany for a large expansion of the program to twelve parishes. Caritas turned this down, for being too large of an expansion in one year and for lack of information on the extent of the problem. However, Caritas sent a woman doctor from Germany to Mombasa for several weeks. She accompanied Mullen in his walks through the neighborhoods of Bomu, visiting the houses of people with AIDS, and was impressed with the program. "She said that they would not expand to twelve parishes, but would fund the addition of one more parish." This parish was Mikindani, just beyond Bomu, which chose volunteers and had them go every week to Bomu for training by Mullen. The clinic in Mikindani needed its own nurse and fortunately the Sisters of St. Joseph were able to supply a second nurse. Mullen also persuaded Caritas that ordering of medicines for both parishes should be centralized in one place, which he administered.

In 1999 and 2000, the CBHC Program was extended to three more parishes, Changamwe, Chani and Miritini, all on the mainland west of Mombasa, but then expansion stopped for a while.

As our program was becoming very big, I had to hire nurses since there were not enough Sisters who were nurses. Also with regard to counseling, I had to take people who had received a one-to-two-month course here in Mombasa. This course was not as good as the one in Mwanza, but it was something at least. For me, the main point of counseling was to insure that the mothers knew their diagnosis. I encouraged the counselors to tell the women to go for testing, so we would know for sure. Then they could make plans for their soon-to-be-orphaned children. We didn't have much success, although a few got tested.

During his time in Mombasa Mullen lived in four different places. From 1996 to 1999 he stayed with Brother Loren Beaudry in Tudor, where they unfortunately were robbed several times. Tires from their cars were stolen twice. In 1999, Fr. Don Donovan handed over Kilifi Parish to the Archdiocese since Fr. Jim Kuhn came down with cancer and had to return to the U.S. Due to the insecurity in Tudor and the desire of Donovan to

join them, the three of them moved to a larger house in Kizingo, which is in the Muslim section of the island, not far from the central part of the city. At this house they hired a company to provide professional security at night. In 2001, Beaudry returned to the U.S. to do vocation work and for a brief period Brother Ed Redmond lived in Kizingo, before he took an assignment to Mozambique. While in Kizingo both Donovan and Mullen had frightening experiences of being robbed, in the daytime, accompanied by some violence. In 2004 they moved to another house in the Nyali section north of the island of Mombasa. This is the wealthy section of Mombasa and a safer place to live. Furthermore, they received twenty-four hour security at this house. In 2006, Donovan returned to the U.S. with his own health problems and Mullen moved into a very safe apartment complex in Kongowea not far from the Nyali Bridge.

By the end of 2001, Mullen had been walking around the villages of Bomu for five full years. The program had also become very large, covering five parishes, and administration required extra time. Thus, he decided to discontinue home-visiting himself and concentrate on administration, which included hiring of staff, paying salaries, ordering medicines for all five parishes, overseeing the whole program, and fixing up and furnishing the offices used in each parish.

The home visitation program was also identifying many AIDS orphans. Unfortunately, Caritas Germany did not have any plans for funding a program for orphans. Mullen explained how a program was formed:

A Missionary Sister of Africa, Dolores Fortier, obtained about \$20,000 which she put in a Kenya shilling account earning good interest. She used only the interest and the account's value has grown now, in 2009, to three million shillings, about \$40,000. With this money she assisted AIDS orphans from our area – Bomu, Chagamwe – with school fees, for primary school and some for secondary school. She had a small stroke and had to return to Europe in 2001, but Maryknoll Lay Missioner Coralie Salvador assumed responsibility for this program. She was able to get some more money and in 2009 she had about 300 children being assisted in both primary and secondary schools, plus some in post-secondary courses, including a few in university. When the government abolished tuition at government schools it helped somewhat, although there are still a lot of supplemental fees that parents have to pay, especially in secondary schools.

Salvador returned to the U.S. in June, 2010, and was replaced by MM Lay Missioner Mary Oldham. In addition to this program, the Archdiocese of Mombasa started a huge program in 2006 that assists 58,000 AIDS orphans throughout the whole diocese. This term, AIDS orphans, refers to children who have lost one parent to AIDS and the percentage of those with one parent or no parent is not known.

In 2002 Marquette University School of Nursing in Wisconsin obtained a huge grant of money from USAID to train nurses in places with severe AIDS problems, and Mombasa benefited from this. Mullen narrated what happened:

Twelve of us, including myself and two Religious Sisters, were chosen to learn how to train other nurses in comprehensive care of people with AIDS. The training included a trip to Milwaukee for six weeks in early spring of 2003, plus

some other trips there. Two years later, when our group finished the first training course, a second group was chosen for another two-year course. This doubled the number of Kenyan nurses trained to train others.

In 2004 the U.S. Government started the PEPFAR program that began providing anti-retroviral medications to tens of thousands of people with AIDS in many African countries, including Kenya, rendering to them a whole new lease on life. Very quickly they become healthy, the HIV infection becomes almost undetectable in their blood, and they resume working and taking care of their families. So far all indications are that they will live long, full lives, even though there are side effects that have to be closely watched. Not only adults but also children are included in these treatments. PEPFAR also provides substantial funding to upgrade the clinics, buy new equipment, including testing equipment, and to hire sufficient staff at each clinic. The Mombasa Archdiocesan program also was chosen, according to Mullen:

We did not get chosen in the first round in 2004, but were taken in 2005. However, through a Jesuit priest at Marquette, who was on the Board of the Canadian Pediatrics AIDS Foundation, we were able to start getting anti-retrovirals (ARVs) in 2004. At first we started only with children with AIDS, but we convinced Marquette that it was necessary to keep the parents alive. When PEPFAR began helping us we had an abundance of ARVs and could treat many people. The money comes first to Catholic Relief Services (CRS), which then disburses it to the Archdiocese.

Twelve clinics were opened and amply equipped and staffed. With the retirement of Archbishop Njenga, the new Archbishop, Boniface Lele, made Brother Frank TenHoopen Financial Officer for the Archdiocese and he was directed to implement strict accounting procedures for all diocesan money. The CBHC program is now more directly under the Archdiocese, although funding still comes from Caritas, Maryknoll and many private sources in Europe, the U.S. and other places.

The opening of Voluntary Counseling and Therapy (VCT) clinics in 2004 proved to be pivotal in reversing the shame and despair that accompanied HIV infection, as Mullen expressed with joy.

People could be tested anonymously, with full confidentiality, and be told if they have the disease. Numbers of people coming for testing started to increase and stigma began to disappear. They also received counseling. However, the first thing the counselor told each person was that they must reveal this to someone close to them, usually the spouse. If it was a woman who was afraid of her spouse, then she would be required to bring in her husband for the couple to be tested. She would be tested again and both would be told together the findings. They would then begin taking the ARVs each day. Each month their prescription of ARVs would be refilled at the VCT clinics.

Complementing the clinics, the CBHC program continues to do home visiting by the community health volunteers and nurses. The program also

distributes food to families afflicted with AIDS. **Medicine and food;** both are indispensable.

Another advantage to the clinics is that now doctors automatically order HIV testing, so that they can know for sure the true diagnosis and prescribe all the correct medications. Since the tests are accompanied by counseling, very few resist. Some people still panic, but the fear connected with AIDS has gone way down. People do not automatically start getting ARVs when they learn they are HIV positive. They get another deeper test to evaluate how much of their immune response is still active. Only when they reach the point when their immunity is being compromised do they begin the ARV treatment.

Those whose HIV level has not advanced enough are put on a waiting list, called “being on care.” Depending on what the evaluations show there are protocols determining whether they should start ARVs after three or six months, or exactly when. The CBHC Program does follow-up at their homes to monitor whether people infected with HIV, but not yet taking ARVs, are beginning to exhibit clinical signs of the disease.

One crucial question facing the AIDS programs in Africa in 2010 was whether or not the PEPFAR program will continue. It was renewed for 2009 to 2014 with full funding, but after that there may be major changes. In Mombasa, the AIDS relief program has received assurance of funding by CRS to at least 2011 and expects to be funded till 2014. Beginning in 2010 (or maybe 2011) PEPFAR will continue to pay for ARVs for those already on the program but will not allow new people to be registered, meaning that AIDS will again be a death sentence for those newly infected. Those listed as ‘being on care’ are at risk of losing out on the opportunity to receive free ARVs. African countries and African people are too poor to afford to buy even the relatively inexpensive version of generic ARV medications.

According to Mullen, there are two issues bringing pressure for a change of U.S. policy regarding PEPFAR funding. “First is the requirement that the funds must be distributed through faith-based organizations”, such as CRS, Protestant aid organizations, or hospitals or universities with a religious denominational foundation – for example, Baylor University, which runs the largest VCT program in Kenya. Since the money is US AID money, the Obama administration wishes to disconnect assistance to people with AIDS from denominational involvement. “Budgetary matters are a second major hurdle”. Rapid growth of the U.S. national debt, following on the economic collapse of 2008 and necessary allocation of one trillion dollars to save large banks, brokerage houses and companies, and for extensions of unemployment insurance, have made increases in other parts of the U.S. budget difficult to pass. Mullen said, “We’re waiting and watching to see what the U.S. administration decides.”

Mullen pointed out that the AIDS Global Fund, which is funded by the United Nations and the World Bank, disburses funds through each national government, which then goes to government hospitals to provide ARVs to people. He says;

The problem with the government program is lack of home visiting and monitoring of how people take the medications. They also don’t provide food to the families. Government hospitals do not know whether medications are being taken properly or if the person’s condition is changing.

He intimated that this would be the problem if PEPFAR money started being disbursed through governments. Corrupt use of Global Fund money, such as has happened in Uganda, is also an important factor to consider.

By around 2005 the Sisters were running the CBHC home visitation program, which had expanded to ten parishes – on the western mainland, on the island, and north of the island – and Mullen had reduced his role to primarily providing advice. His presence was also necessary in order for Maryknoll funding to continue coming. For one year he was also the Medical Director for the Archdiocese of Mombasa.

The Sisters want the CBHC program to remain independent, even though it has been technically under the Medical Department of the Archdiocese since 2006. PEPFAR fully funds the ACT clinics and distribution of ARVs, but the home visitation program depends on funding from Caritas and Maryknoll. Caritas has already suspended assistance for one six month period and is giving indications that funding will be discontinued in the near future. Mullen said in 2009 that “if I were to leave Mombasa, Maryknoll money would also be discontinued. The Sisters are not able to raise money on their own. The program could be put completely under the Archdiocese, but then the Sisters would lose their autonomy.” As of 2010 this matter had not yet been resolved. The Sister currently in charge has taken courses locally in management and the program has hired a layman to be accountant. CRS also provides constant training to all the staff in management. Thus, skills-wise the Sisters could probably administer the program, as big as it is, in a competent manner.

In 2007 Mullen took a sabbatical for several months in Lourdes, France, and then attended a Maryknoll meeting in Rome for Maryknollers under age sixty. In 2008 he took another sabbatical program in the Holy Land. As he put it, these programs were for discernment, to thoroughly scrutinize in his own mind to where and what kind of new work he was being called to.

I have done all I could do here and have turned the program over completely to the Sisters. I am now just waiting to see if Maryknoll will assign me to another place. I am also trying to discern if the Lord is calling me to another kind of work.

As of January, 2010, no new assignment had come forth. Mullen attended the Regional Assembly that month in Nairobi, at which several Maryknoll priests who hadn't seen him in some time noticed that he looked jaundiced. Unfortunately, at that time no action was taken. By late March, 2010, he had become sick enough that it was decided that he return immediately to New York to be diagnosed and treated. Sadly on April 17, 2010, he died of liver failure in New York.

Grandsons of Abraham street boys home

Brother Loren Beaudry had done his OTP in Mombasa Diocese in the 1980s and then worked in the Archdiocese of Nairobi in the early 1990s, doing youth work in Makadara parish. From 1993 to 1994 he studied at Empire State University in New York, to obtain a Bachelors Degree in Human Sciences. He returned to Kenya at the beginning of 1995 and was presented with two opportunities for ministry by Fr. Carroll Houle, the

Regional Superior – either doing AIDS ministry or working with street children. Houle had started a drop-in shelter for street boys in Westlands, but since his position of Superior required full-time attention he was looking for someone to take over running this shelter on his behalf. Beaudry was offered this assignment. He declined, although later that year Brother Pete Agnone came to Kenya and began working with street children in Nairobi, eventually opening the Ukweli Home of Hope in Kibera.

At the same time, Brother Frank TenHoopen in Mombasa informed Beaudry that he was looking for someone to join a man of French nationality, Paul Furman, who had started doing outreach to street children in that city. Beaudry had enjoyed his time at the coast in the 1980s and thought it of value to be a second Brother in Mombasa. He joined TenHoopen at his apartment in Tudor, where they lived for another year or so. Beaudry also appreciated being able to initiate a program independently, rather than having to take orders from older priests. In 1996 TenHoopen moved into the diocesan compound to administer the diocesan guest house, and Beaudry moved to a house in Makupa with John Mullen. They lived there for three years, when security concerns forced them to move to a much safer house in Kizingo not far from the city center.

By the mid-1990s the street children phenomenon had become widespread and very visible in all cities and towns of Kenya. Beaudry commented:

If you just walked down the streets, especially in the business center of Mombasa, you would see gangs of kids. Kids would come up to you on all of these streets asking for money. Most were true street children, although a few lived at home and were sent out by their parents to beg for money. Small children could actually earn good money, even more in one day than an adult could earn in a week.

Little was being done for them, although it was at this time that churches, religious orders and non-governmental organizations were beginning to open day shelters and homes for street boys and girls. Most were legitimate operations, with two caveats: first, this was very new work for religious missionaries and they had to learn how to do this properly, often without sufficient funding. Secondly, some clever Kenyans believed they could get overseas funding if they started an NGO, claiming they were helping street children. Their real aim was just to receive money for themselves. They sent professional-looking letters to Europe and other places, but fortunately bona fide funding agencies do a lot of in-situ investigations before committing to fund a local NGO.

Beaudry started slowly in Mombasa, at first just trying to meet the boys on the streets. Down the main road from the Cathedral and diocesan compound, which are in the most central part of Mombasa, is a large field, across the road from Star of the Sea Primary School for girls. In the middle of the field was a big tree where Beaudry began meeting the boys, to provide lunch every day and morning classes in basic subjects. After some time, he found out the terrible places where the boys were sleeping and he and Furman decided to build huts in which the boys could sleep. Unfortunately, there were some problems. One boy went into town, got high sniffing glue, came back and accidentally burned down the huts. Some months later, after the huts had been re-built, young men who liked to play soccer on that field burned down the huts.

Fortunately, a charismatic Kenyan priest had become pastor at Tudor Parish, which Maryknoll had staffed from 1980 to 1986, and he invited Beaudry to use a large field a block away from the parish. This land was owned by the Archdiocese, but unused at that time. (Today the Archdiocesan Pastoral Center is located on this land.)

The United Nations donated a huge tent in which the boys could sleep and eat. The area was a middle-class area and many local people often came by giving us food for the boys. In addition, there were usually two adults, whom I paid a salary, who slept with the boys. We later added some smaller tents, established a good feeding program, had no security problems, and our efforts were progressing well. We did have one problem once. Some of the older boys had hidden pangas under their mattresses, for what reason I don't know. A rumor went around that they wanted to kill one of the workers. I doubt that this was true, but the police were called and those boys forbidden from coming near that area again. I felt bad that we had to make a harsh decision like that.

In 1997 a woman came to the plot and told Beaudry that she knew a German priest who had money, which he wanted to donate to build a center for street children. The Archdiocese donated a moderate-sized plot in Mikindani, on the western mainland about six miles from the center of Mombasa. With the money Beaudry was able to build a large building that had offices, a large kitchen and dining area downstairs, and on the second floor two classrooms and a very large room sufficient to sleep up to forty boys. Only boys stayed there, with the exception once when two sisters of boys at the home had nowhere else to go and stayed at the home for some months. Beaudry hired social workers, teachers and house parents, both for daytime and nighttime. The age level of the boys was nine to sixteen. Beaudry soon discovered that boys older than this would not take instructions from the house parents.

Some missteps occurred at the beginning. TenHoopen recommended a man in his twenties, who had been a former street boy, to be on the staff, but Beaudry stated:

This was a bad decision. He still had the gang mentality of the streets, that he would now be the leader of a group that would go against other groups. We quickly dropped him and made sure to hire trained social workers. I also sought house parents who would get along with the kids. Some were hitting the boys and I had to let them go. Eventually we had a good staff, whom we sent on every year for further training.

The home was given an imaginative name, suggested by Paul Furman: Grandsons of Abraham. The boys were both Christian and Muslim, so the name was all inclusive. Beaudry states emphatically:

The home was not a long-term residential home but a rescue center. This was a place where they could sleep, eat, get medical care, receive basic education, be safely cared for and receive other necessities. But the objective was to rehabilitate the boys back to their parents, preferably in the time frame of six

months to one year. Most did get rehabilitated, although some came back to the streets, especially those who had originally been on the streets for a long time.

There was a primary school across the street from this home, but the boys did not go to school there, for several reasons. First, they were not going to be at the home for any length of time, making it unwise to buy uniforms and pay fees at the government school, and secondly they were quite a bit older than the other children. Street boys aged twelve and older had in general reached only second or third grade. The pejorative Swahili word used to describe street boys is *chokora*, which in English means ‘trash.’ And that is literally how most people looked on street boys – refuse that can just be thrown away. The boys internalize this perspective, greatly explaining why almost all boys who remain on the streets are dead by the age of twenty-two. Beaudry also noted that street boys are very street-wise and could influence younger children at primary schools in an adverse way.

Beaudry worked with street children for eight years, six at the home, and learned many lessons about the boys and how to rehabilitate them. The most important lesson he and the staff learned is that,

Street kids do not tell the truth. Once on the streets there is a fundamental psychological change in the boys. When they would come to the home we would give them a first interview and they would tell their story. Several weeks later we would interview them again. This story would be completely different from what they said the first time. We would challenge them about the contradictions in their two different stories. We learned to take everything they said with a grain of salt – make that a whole shaker full of salt.

Beaudry enumerated a long list of other things he learned from his years of running the Grandsons Home.

One, usually when a boy comes to the home the first time he will run back to the streets after a few months, especially if he had been on the streets for some years. The boys lack structure and want to be independent. But they would usually come back again after a while.

Two, on the streets the boys form groups (probably with similar dynamics to gangs in the United States, but without the violence). Older boys would use the younger boys to get money, but would in turn protect the younger boys. Young children get money more easily than older boys, from tourists and even from Kenyans. Even though they protect the younger boys, there is also a lot of abuse in the groups, both physical and sexual.

Three, the staff has to let the boys themselves make the rules in the house, such as no fighting or no smoking. If the staff makes the rules it is like imposing them on the boys, whereas if the boys make them then they take ownership of the program. This insight, which the staff was already learning, was reinforced when one staff member went to a workshop in Nairobi at which this very point was made.

Four, the kids choose a leader, just as on the streets. If a younger boy has a complaint he first goes to the leader, who usually can solve it. If not, the matter is then taken to the staff.

Five, the boys must do all the housework, cooking, cleaning, etc. This is scheduled and officially divided up amongst them.

Six, the social workers do a lot of one-on-one talking and counseling with the boys. Every day they meet with several boys each. This individual work is absolutely necessary, to instill in the boys a sense of structure and to enable them to discover their self-worth, value and dignity.

Seven, it is important to network with other good programs. The Grandsons of Abraham Program networked with a program in Dar es Salaam, plus some others. There are several reasons for this, such as learning what works well plus finding out information about boys who might be from a distance.

Eight, when the boy is ready to be rehabilitated preparations are done not only with the parents, but also with the government child welfare officer (either for Mombasa District or Coast Province). Staff from the home also contact and talk with the teachers at the rural school where the boy will resume studies, so they will know who is coming and what special matters they must understand about this boy. These preparations are also considered to be a part of networking.

After several years the home was becoming well organized and the staff more accomplished. Every year all the hired staff – social workers, teachers, and house parents – were sent to short courses and seminars to gain better understanding of their work and the social and psychological dynamics of caring for street children. Beaudry says, “The Social Workers especially had become very professional, not only at working with these boys but also at being able to detect the truth from their deceptiveness.”

In addition to hired staff there were many volunteers who came to help, both Kenyan and expatriate. Some might come one day a week, others came every weekend. There were two American women who came every day for a period of time, helping in various ways. An organization from Nairobi used to send students from a college in Nairobi to Mombasa for two to three months to enable the students to gain experiential learning about street-child ministry, for which they would gain college credit.

Beaudry talked about one discovery they made, related to the number of children of school age who had dropped out of school.

Many of the boys came from the Miritini section of Mombasa, about twenty kilometers (12 miles) west of downtown. One of our hired social workers, a Kenyan woman, left work at the home and went to Miritini to try to address the sources of the problem. She did not set up a home, but just worked on the streets – and she did this without a salary. She worked hard at getting the local community involved along with government officials. Eventually donors began helping her. The fundamental problem in Miritini was that many children were not in school.

In 2003, the Kibaki administration abolished primary school fees, and millions of children returned, or tried to return, to school. Unfortunately, the local school committees had to retain certain fees, for building, maintenance, school watchmen, and other local

expenses. These fees have kept some children from attending school, although a very high percentage of Kenyan children now attend primary school, especially in the urban areas. One also no longer sees many children out on the streets during school days, and very few if any street children in the downtown part of Mombasa. Enabling all of the country's children to remain in school may not be the only factor in the reduction of the observable numbers of street children, but is probably one significant factor.

In addition to volunteers, visitors would come to the home now and then, as Beaudry commented:

We gave each child clean clothes and fed them well. So, they looked nice. They would also sing songs for the visitors and even put on shows, smiling all the time. The visitors were amazed. One expatriate woman once said, 'They are just like our kids!' The boys seemed like such happy kids that visitors couldn't believe that they had recently been on the streets.

In 2002 Maryknoll leadership asked Beaudry to plan on returning to the U.S. the following year, for Society service doing vocation work with a new Vocation Team Maryknoll was beginning in the U.S. The Grandsons of Abraham Home had by then been in existence for about five years, was being well managed, had good sources of funding (but primarily from Maryknoll), and had a well-trained staff. Beaudry was told to begin a one-year transition of handing over management responsibilities to a new Director.

I approached the Sisters of St. Joseph, the diocesan Sisters' congregation, to forward someone for Director. They chose Sr. Jane Francis, who had been working with women's groups in Nakuru. Unfortunately, she had not had any training specifically for work with street children. And even though the Program would hire and pay the salary of the new Director, it was the Sisters of St. Joseph who would decide who that person would be. This was one weakness in this transition process right from the beginning.

Another weakness was lack of funding after I left. Maryknoll quickly reduced its funding for the Program, which was not made up by any other source. The Program was expensive because of the need to go out to the rural areas to rehabilitate the boys back with their families. There were times when the Sisters had so little money all they could do was rent a bicycle to go out to the rural areas. At that time, due to some financial irregularities, the Archdiocese had no money and no outside funding.

In any event, after I departed the Program changed dramatically. I had put Shs. 1.5 million (over \$200,000) in an account in order to maintain the Program and Home. The Sisters, though, first used this money to purchase a plot of land and then they built a boarding school. Even the Home for the street boys became part of the new boarding school. Working with street children had never, in fact, been a priority for the Sisters and they furthermore expected Maryknoll to continue full funding of the Program, even though they had been clearly told that Maryknoll funding would stop. So, the "big" program came to a halt, although there is still a small program for street children in Mikindani.

Beaudry did vocation work in the U.S., living in Chicago, from 2003 to 2006, and then went to Namibia to resume his foreign mission work in Africa.

Diocesan Administration

In June, 2005, Bishop Boniface Lele, who had been Bishop of Kitui for ten years, was installed as the new Archbishop of Mombasa, replacing John Njenga who retired. Lele is of the Kamba ethnic group and comes originally from Kitui, 110 miles east of Nairobi, a district and diocese of rolling hills, smallholder farmers who engage in mixed agriculture and dairy farming, and an area prone to periodic severe droughts. He had been the first African Bishop of Kitui, replacing long-time Kiltegan Bishop William Dunne, who had done a lot for the diocese and the Kamba people. In his ten years, Bishop Lele proved a very worthy successor, and both the Kenya Church and Rome decided to acknowledge his competence by making him one of the Archbishops.

The practice in Mombasa had been that the Archbishop makes appointments on his own, with little or no counsel. In his first meeting with all the priests, Sisters, and many laity, Lele announced two new directions for the Archdiocese. First, he would not be a political nor financial leader, but a leader of the faith, and secondly that the priests as a group would nominate and choose a financial officer for the diocese. Everyone laughed at this strange announcement. However, at the very next meeting he had with the priests alone, he told them to elect the Financial Officer. Brother Frank TenHoopen was chosen, an election that seems to still astonish him.

The priests narrowed the nominations down to two names, of which I was one, and then I won the election. This was a total shock to me, as I never expected it. I was surprised that they would have all that trust in me, in part because I did not know much about handling accounts, especially at a diocesan level.

The Archdiocese of Mombasa has an annual budget of \$5 million, almost all of it from major funding organizations, such as Misio, Misereor, US AID, CRS, AIG (yes, the same insurance company that got in so much trouble in the U.S. in 2008), and the Bill Gates Foundation, plus others. TenHoopen explained what being a diocesan financial officer includes.

These donors want regular reports, request sheets, receipts for every expense, and photocopies of each check that has been signed by four people. Auditors get thirty copies of every piece of money moving anywhere in the diocese. But I have a staff of six full-time accountants who do all the accounting work, plus my own personal assistant, a man who is a computer technician and an expert on data. I don't have an accounting background, but have learned how to keep abreast of everything that is happening. In many cases, it is just a matter of common sense.

Auditors come every year to Mombasa from Europe and the United States, and no auditor has ever found any problem. They are very satisfied with the use and reporting of all money the Archdiocese receives. The donors trust Archbishop Lele. He doesn't touch anything. He earns only his monthly salary, about \$250

per month, plus budgets for transport, housing and office. His office is very simple, just another room in the secretariat and a symbol of his simplicity.

Diocesan funding is naturally for a number of religious activities throughout the diocese, such as catechetics, youth programs, stipends for priests and religious, etc., but most of the funds are aimed at addressing a host of social problems at the coast. Visitors from Europe and North America – including the auditors who come every year – find Kenya's coast to be a tropical paradise. But as is typical of many paradises, if in poor countries, there can be myriad social problems that accompany the blessings of great climate, pristine beaches, and scenic opportunities.

There are scores of hotels along the Kenya coast, both north and south of the city of Mombasa. About one million foreign tourists come to Kenya every year and, despite the famous game parks in the western part of the country, over two-thirds come to the coastal hotels for inexpensive winter vacations. Most are average Europeans – couples, newly-weds, families – coming to enjoy the warm weather, great beaches, splendid accommodations, and warm hospitality of the Kenyan people. Some, who unfortunately number in the tens or hundreds of thousands each year, come to exploit East Africa's poverty, in what they deem a cheap, sex holiday. The results are enormous social problems, such as prostitution, venereal diseases, AIDS, orphans, loss of self-esteem, cultural dislocation, family instability, child run-aways (called street children), drugs, crime and other social problems. Tourism can be a double-edged sword.

The Archdiocese of Mombasa is not the only religious based institution trying to confront these social challenges and reach out to the people of the coast in a healing, holistic manner. Muslims, especially the Aga Khan Foundation, Hindus and Protestant organizations all do the same. But the Catholic Archdiocese may be the single largest and most broad-based institution at the Kenya Coast. The number of programs it is administering can make Catholics all over the world proud. TenHoopen listed some of the programs:

We care for 58,000 orphans in the diocese, primarily those whose parents have died of AIDS. We don't directly care for them, such as keeping them in institutions. They stay with relatives and we help with education needs, such as school uniforms, books, and maybe some food when we can. Orphans, particularly infants, need to have their health regularly monitored, and we have had to construct buildings in which to do this. We have sixty social workers in the diocese and many nurses, all of whose wages we pay at market rate. Some of these are Religious Sisters. Another project we completed not long ago was to build pit latrines in every Catholic-sponsored primary and secondary school in the whole Archdiocese, which was funded by the Aga Khan Foundation. Previously, children were just using nearby bushes at 95% of the schools. To oversee this project the Diocesan Education Office staff went from one person to twenty because we continue to provide aid to schools.

Another program is called SOLGIDI, in which three hundred children of prostitutes are given comprehensive assistance in many areas, including formal school education and informal education in social growth, through annual seminars for all the

children and their mothers, covering many topics that will facilitate positive growth choices. The mothers, who are prostitutes, are also helped in a separate program, and it was they who requested that help be given so that their daughters would not become prostitutes in the future.

Similar to this is another special program started around 2007, for children trafficked for sexual exploitation. TenHoopen reported:

This happened by accident when I was at a hotel in Malindi and saw a group of children there. It didn't look right and I complained. I talked about this with a man named Michael Kamau, who apparently is well connected. Later he called me and said that the U.S. Ambassador wanted to meet me and Archbishop Lele the next morning at 7:30 AM in Malindi. That meant we had to leave Mombasa no later than 6:00 AM and I wasn't even sure which car was available for our use.

The Ambassador wanted to know what the problem was and he offered to help. He got us started and we now have a center where the children can be taken and cared for. The Kenya Police are also contacted and there is a policeman assigned to monitor each child. These children are all Kenyans, boys and girls, aged four to twenty-two. The Sisters of Charity are providing counseling for the children, since many suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). For boys it is even worse than for girls, since they have to re-make themselves in terms of self-identity. It is as though they have been treated as little girls.

Trafficking of minors has become a major world-wide calamity. In West and Central Africa hundreds of thousands of children are trafficked, mainly to work on plantations (rubber, cocoa, etc.), but also to become child soldiers or sex slaves in rebel armies. In all poor countries children are transported from poor, usually rural homes to be farm-workers or domestic servants in the cities. "However," comments TenHoopen, "in Kenya it is mainly for sexual exploitation, which I consider the most damaging for young children."

In July, 2010, the Kenya Parliament passed the Counter Trafficking in Persons Bill, which was later signed by the President. This was a bill that was several years in drafting, following Kenya's ratification in 2004 of the Palermo protocol on trafficking, which obliges Kenya to act in accordance with the UN Conventions against Transnational Organized Crime including the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children.

Kenya has passed other laws which deal with the protection of children and promotion of their rights, although not dealing specifically with the question of trafficking.

The new law defines trafficking, with special reference to trafficking children, and also delineates the penalties for any involvement in trafficking, whether recruitment, duping of victims, coercion, concealment, or receiving trafficked persons. It also has other special provisions geared to the possible or even probable involvement of organized crime in this phenomenon. Other provisions relate to the victim's rights, to confidentiality, to the protection of the victim, and to the eventual return of the victim to his/her home.

Several weaknesses in the bill are lack of ‘safe havens’ for victims while awaiting the outcome of court proceedings and insufficient resources for repatriation, rehabilitation and reintegration of the victim to his/her place of origin. Likewise, there is nothing said about providing psycho/social accompaniment to someone suffering lingering effects of trauma, including psychological counseling and spiritual renewal.

Whether Catholic Church personnel and institutions can be of service in this sphere is a question facing the Church in Kenya at the present time.

Diocesan Financial Officer is not the only position that TenHoopen has in the Archdiocese. Archbishop Lele has also made him the Human Resources Manager, which is primarily to establish policies and procedures for choosing diocesan officers, hiring people, paying just wages and benefits, setting out mutual responsibilities of employer and employee, and ensuring a safe, harmonious work environment.

We spent two and a half years developing a Financial Policy Handbook, followed that up with a Personnel Policy Handbook, and are now developing a Priests’ Policy Handbook. Priests are not accustomed to having policies define their work, responsibilities and salaries, but they will have to get used to it. Beginning in 2011, they will have to pay income taxes to the Kenya government for their salaries, their houses, and even the cars they drive. Priests are also expected to come to the diocese on a regular basis with complete parish reports. Some refuse. But their allowances will be penalized if they do not come. The financial policies refer not only to the Archdiocese, but also to each Catholic institution in the diocese, each Religious Congregation, each parish and even the Small Christian Communities. As of now (July, 2009) about half of the parishes are sending in financial reports, which Archbishop Lele checks on, but the number keeps going up.

While developing the policies, we called all diocesan employees in for a huge workshop at which all these policies were discussed. We recorded their suggestions and recommendations, and included all those of value in the handbooks. One thing we forgot was about the issue of harassment. So, harassment policies were not put in the original handbook. But as soon as they were put in, a case arose. Most of our employees are in their twenties and early thirties, and young men don’t understand how their behavior and teasing talk is coming across. These policies are directed at explaining what proper man/woman relationships are.

To further emphasize the importance of this issue, the Archdiocese of Mombasa had a diocesan-wide Harassment Workshop in August, 2009, at which every priest was expected to attend. [Editor’s note: The Kenya government needs to have similar workshops in every District, for all Kenyan politicians, government officers and employees. Patriarchy is still a crucial problem in Kenya, and government leadership in confronting it could go a long way towards its eventual demise.]

Mombasa is not the only Catholic diocese that is developing financial and other policies as the second decade begins. The Dioceses/Archdioceses of Nakuru, Nyeri and Kisumu have also developed similar policies. The Archdiocese of Nairobi has not

developed handbooks. TenHoopen explains, “In Nairobi matters are different. Their accounting system is different, their finances are different, so they have a different approach to this.” Whatever the case in Nairobi, it is a good sign of the growing maturity of the Kenya Church that such policies are now being deliberated on and written down by the local Kenyan people themselves.

Another task included under the umbrella of Human Resources Manager is that of conflict mediation of interpersonal disputes. Once again, when the Archbishop asked the priests to choose someone to be the diocesan mediator, they unexpectedly chose TenHoopen. He explained:

For most of the priests, I had been in the diocese longer than they had been priests. Some were even in secondary school when I was visiting schools as part of my work in the Youth Office. They also know that I have no hidden agenda and no need for money for any personal matter. So, I will be neutral. Actually, the Bishop rarely asks me to mediate and I do it only when he asks. I told the Bishop that my condition was that I have to listen to both sides and that the solution has to be acceptable to both sides. So far it has worked out well.

At first blush, it does seem uncommon for an American to mediate interpersonal conflicts between two Africans, but it does indicate a high level of trust that the personnel of the Archdiocese of Mombasa have in TenHoopen.

As the year 2011 approaches, Brother Frank TenHoopen continues to be diocesan Financial Officer, Human Resources Manager and Youth Coordinator. He has lived in Mombasa for twenty-seven years. It has become his home. He has seen many changes, especially along the main road from Mombasa to Kilifi and on to Malindi, and he will probably continue to see many more changes.

ETHIOPIA

Gambela, Ethiopia

In 1990, while Fr. Dick Baker was working in Hajj Yusuf Parish in Khartoum, Sudan, he was asked by Fr. Carroll Houle, the African Area Coordinator at that time, to join him on trip to Gambela, a district of western Ethiopia that bulges into Sudan and because of its low altitude and hot climate more resembles Sudan than Ethiopia. In fact, the indigenous people of Gambela are Nilotic, typical of Southern Sudan, rather than the Cushite, who are the majority in Ethiopia. Because of the war in Sudan, many Nilotic refugees had moved into Gambela, where they were protected by President Mengistu of Ethiopia for his own geopolitical purposes in opposition to the government of Sudan.

At that time the Maryknoll Society had made work with refugees one of its prime criteria for missionary work and was interested in researching areas with refugees. Houle knew that there were thousands of refugees in Gambela and he also had heard that the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) was looking to assign someone with knowledge of Arabic to work with the Sudanese refugees, particularly in the area of education. However, traveling to and working in Gambela would present many problems, as Baker relates:

We had difficulty getting permission to go to Gambela, because it was a very strong security zone. But a Lazirist priest working in Addis Ababa, Fr. John Amhurst, was able to get us permissions. He also provided us a car and driver. The driver provided us further help, since he was related to one of the security officers in Gambela. So, we made it to Gambela and began visiting the refugee camps, such as Yugo, Itang and Punyido.

In Punyido there was a priest – I think his name is Benjamin Mudo; he is now working in the Diocese of Rumbek in southern Sudan – and he was assigned to the church there, which was next to a huge refugee camp that stretched along the Gilo River and had thousands of refugees. Many of the refugees were boys, even young boys, who had been recruited by the SPLA (Sudanese People's Liberation Army), which in fact ran the refugee camp. I could even see military training going on in the camp.

Of course, that was the time when the combined forces of Eritrea and Tigray in northern Ethiopia were moving southwards to remove Mengistu from power. Once he was removed the new government established relations with the government in Khartoum and shut down the refugee camps in Gambela. Those were the boys who walked the thousand miles or so through Sudan to northern Kenya, to the camp in Kenya called Kakuma. They became known as the lost boys of Sudan.

In Punyido we saw the serious health problems that the refugees had, such as tropical ulcers, caused by a combination of lack of nutrition and infected wounds. We also stayed one night at Itang camp, where another Dinka priest, who is now deceased, was working. But our trip was short and after returning to Addis Ababa, I returned to Khartoum. It was actually during this visit that we heard that JRS was interested in working there in Gambela.

At the end of 1990 Baker left Khartoum and went to Nairobi, Kenya, to await word that he could go to Gambela. However, permission was difficult to get and at that time JRS asked him to go to work with Somali refugees in a camp in Mombasa (c.f. above). After three months in Mombasa he finally obtained a three-month visa to work in Gambela.

He moved into a house that had two parts, sort of like two apartments, with the Missionaries of Charity Sisters living in the second part. This congregation will not go somewhere unless there is a priest present to say daily Mass for them. "So, I became their chaplain and prayed with them. But it gave me the opportunity to look at the situation there and see what it was."

Baker discovered that because of the change of government in Addis Ababa the refugee camps in Gambela had been closed and all the refugees had been forced to leave, but not without serious hardships, such as in crossing the wide Gilo River on their own, causing the death of many of the boys. After three months, as he was unable to secure a longer visa to stay in Ethiopia, Baker went to the U.S., studied library science, and spent three years setting up the library system at Maryknoll, NY.

In 1994 Fr. John Amhurst, the Lazirist priest mentioned earlier, had become the JRS country director for Ethiopia and was taking a course in Connecticut. He visited Maryknoll, NY, and requested Baker to return to Gambela, as many refugees had gone

back there. In 1995 Baker was able to get a longer work visa for Ethiopia and went to Gambela, where he remained till the end of 2002. His visa stated that he was there to do educational development, but he also did church work.

Gambela was under the Prefecture of Jimma-Bonga, which had just received a new Prefect Apostolic (i.e. Bishop), Abba Berhaneyesus Souraphiel, a member of the Lazarist Fathers and who is now the Archbishop of Addis Ababa, and he took me to Gambela himself. In my first three months there I located two plots which would be good for church expansion in Gambela town, construction which was done after I left in 2002.

At first I lived with an Ethiopian diocesan priest, Fr. Rohadi Mariam, but then I got my own place, a government place, since I was not technically doing church work but refugee work. He was serving a number of villages in resettlement areas for the Kambata people, where we discovered there were some Catholics. He spoke Amharic, which those people understood, although they were not Amharic people.

In my first three months I went with him and helped register all the people, to find out who they were and what service they needed. John Amhurst also came down for a week and visited all these villages. So, we were reviving a community that had not seen a priest in seven or eight years.

I left for a short break at Christmas and on my return I began the educational survey for JRS. I came up with four recommendations, the first being the need for hostels for older students. The village schools go up to only mid-primary school and after that the students have to walk long ways to the upper primary and secondary schools. Even if they could find a place to live near the school there was no food for them. So, we set about opening hostels, with meals, for these older students.

A second recommendation I made was for a typing and computer training school in Gambela. There were no people in Gambela available to do these tasks and there was no training program either.

The third area concerned the educational system itself. After the change of government each Region of Ethiopia was permitted to conduct primary school education in local languages. In Gambela there were three main languages, Anuak and Nuer, which are Nilotic, and Majangir, which is called pre-Nilotic. All three, despite considered Nilotic, are very different languages not mutually understandable, with different grammars and only a few words that are the same. So, we set up a program to produce materials in local languages for those who had finished school, so they could continue learning in their own languages.

The fourth recommendation was for DELTA education in the area, a form of adult education aimed at enabling people to set their own priorities in bringing about development in their local communities.

We wanted to introduce some of these programs into the refugee camps, but the government administration running the camps, called Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), refused to let us do anything like this inside the camps – for reasons that I never understood. They were always very

uncooperative. Maybe it was a security zone or they were suspicious because I was an American, I don't know.

Baker was also the Catholic chaplain in the camps and was allowed into the camps to conduct religious services, although even in this role he ran into occasional difficulties with ARRA. In addition to saying Mass he was able to run training sessions for the Catholics. He went through interpreters, who were catechumens for the most part. The largest camp was Punyido, about 110 kilometers (70 miles) from Gambela, to which Baker went twice a week. The road was rough and during rainy season it could be very difficult to pass, but he persevered in this for the seven years he was there. His constant presence in the camps doing priestly work brought an unanticipated request.

There were Anuak and Nuer living outside the camps and when they saw me regularly saying Mass in the camps, to which they could not go, they asked me to also say Mass for them in their own churches. There were three camps, Punyido, Itang and Lare, in which I had double Catholic communities.

Gambela had and still has very few Catholics and was considered in 1995 a primary evangelization area. In fact, much of the church work I did, particularly outside the camps, was in primary evangelization. When I first started none of those Anuak and Nuer people were Catholics. The only Catholics were those inside the camps from Sudan, some people the Missionaries of Charity Sisters had worked with, and the Kambata people who had been resettled in Gambela.

Although it was a lot of work, I enjoyed it. The people were very good and I made many friends. There were also people who spoke English, which helped for socialization. The climate was tough; it was always very hot and humid, although you get used to it. It does wear you down, though, without you knowing it.

Our church work went very well. Maryknoll was very helpful and with its funding I was able to start three parishes outside of Gambela, in which we put a church, rectory and usually a multi-purpose hall.

When Baker arrived in Gambela the only other priest there was Fr. Mariam. In the mid-1990s, though, Mariam went to the Gaba Catechetical Center in Eldoret, Kenya, for most of a year, leaving Baker alone. Fr. Mariam, an Amhara, was not indigenous to the Gambela area and felt culturally isolated there. Thus, he was not anxious to return to Gambela right after his course ended. While he was gone, Baker had to serve the church in Gambela town, in addition to going out to the refugee camps, each of which he reached at least once every week, and overseeing the educational development programs he had instituted. Baker continued to serve the three places that eventually became parishes, Punyido, Itang and Lare, until the Yarumal Fathers came at the end of the decade to take these parishes.

In addition to church work, Baker oversaw several projects or programs that provided assistance to the general community. One was to treat people who had glaucoma, a condition that was causing many to go blind.

The glaucoma would cause an infection in the eyes, leading to the eyelid being turned under and hair scratching the cornea, resulting in blindness. A simple operation, about forty-five minutes, could get that situation taken care of, followed up with application of tetracycline cream to heal the infection. Each operation cost about \$20.00 and I was able to get money from Maryknoll and others, including several Maryknollers. I hired technicians to do the surgery, for which the government supplied sterilizers. We used the new hall I had just built in Lare (about twenty miles from Gambela) and people came in from all over. In all we helped 3,400 people. After a week or so the eyes were healed and people could see. They could walk on their own without having to be led. Everyone was amazed and it was great.

I also had another on-going program to vaccinate cattle against trypanosomiasis, also called sleeping sickness, caused by the tsetse fly, which was prevalent in Gambela. Every three months the herders would bring in their cattle to be vaccinated. We charged a fee only to cover costs, the cost of the medicines and to pay those doing the vaccinations. We made no profit. This program also worked out very well.

There were also some doctors who came to do research and I did some follow-up projects based on the results they found. People had very low blood counts, which were due to a combination of hookworm, malaria, which affected the spleen, and malnutrition. A lot of women would die in childbirth, due to their poor blood counts. I encouraged people to build pit latrines and to wear sandals, and other things. So, those were some of the community projects that I did.

Baker also had another successful project that he engaged in over his seven years, which has made a long-lasting contribution to the church in Gambela. When he first started serving the Christian communities outside the refugee camps he discovered that there were hardly any Catholics. Thus, the first things to be done were evangelization and catechesis, for which he needed catechists with some training and also written materials – in each of the three local languages. It was within the refugee camps that Baker found catechists, as many of them were long-time Catholics. They went with Baker from the camps to the churches outside. The written materials had to be produced there in Gambela.

I didn't know these languages but I was able after some time to learn the basic structure of each language. I had some books on each of the languages and through the use of interpreters we were able to produce a number of church books in each language: the prayers of the Mass, a book containing the rites of each sacrament except Holy Orders, the catechism called 'Our Journey Together,' a prayer book, and a book on AIDS in each language. These books are still being used today and it has been a great contribution.

Additionally, through a stroke of luck, an American woman working with the Presbyterian Church had come to translate the Old Testament into the Anuak language. Presbyterians were suspicious of the Catholic Church but I was able to get to know her and she was very cooperative. She gave me all the Old Testament passages that are used in the lectionary of the Mass. The New Testament had

already been translated. So, we were able to publish the complete lectionaries of the Mass, for all three cycles, in Anuak and also in Nuer.

At the end of the 1990s four Yarumal priests from Columbia came to work in Gambela and Baker set up language courses for them in two of the languages. Two studied Anuak and two studied Nuer. Baker hired informants to train them in pronunciation, intonation and correct grammar, while he taught them the structure of each language. “This was a lot of work and basically my only job for about two months. But all four of them were fantastic in learning the languages. After six to eight months they were all very comfortable in speaking the languages, which I was amazed at.”

Baker also offered these courses to the Salesian priests who came, starting in 2001. At that time Bishop Souraphiel had become Archbishop of Addis and he and the Apostolic Nuncio collaborated to make Gambela an apostolic prefecture. A Salesian priest from Italy, Msgr. Angelo Moreschi, SDB, who had been working in southern Ethiopia for some years, was appointed Apostolic Prefect and the Salesian Order was given responsibility to staff the prefecture. The new Salesians also studied the local languages, although Baker commented that it had not been decided whether local languages or Amharic would be used in the diocese. Amharic is definitely the language used in Gambela town and parishes in the highlands east of Gambela, but the current diocesan website indicates that local languages are used in parishes serving a particular ethnic group.

The new Prefect probably would have preferred that Amharic be used in all the parishes, since that was the language he knew and it was the national language. The local people, however, did not know Amharic, mainly because they studied in lower primary school in their own languages and then after that in English. English is the language of secondary school all over the country. Since we had all the church books translated into the local languages and the Catholics were used to celebrating Mass in their own languages, it would have been difficult to convert over to Amharic. Even in the refugee camps people wanted either their own languages or English. I knew Arabic – that was why I was assigned there – and most of the Sudanese refugees knew Arabic, but they considered that the language of the oppressor and preferred to speak English if they knew it.

There are five local languages in Gambela. I don't know what they are doing now in the parishes there, although certainly Amharic is the language of Gambela town. But I am glad that there is an emphasis in the church on local languages.

Baker remained in Gambela for one more year, until 2002, and then returned to the U.S. for six years, again managing the library at Maryknoll, NY. The Salesians assigned a number of priests and Brothers to Gambela and the prefecture has expanded to eight parishes now (Baker thought that there were at least twelve parishes; some churches may be run as independent sub-parishes, but are not parishes). The Salesians, who are very good builders and expert at youth work, also put in a large technical school in Gambela and a brand new primary school. Most of the parishes have youth centers, for youth recreational needs and for after-school-hours' private study.

Gambela Prefecture has come a long way from what existed in 1995, but it is still considered a region that is economically and socially under-developed and for church purposes an area of primary evangelization. The Prefecture has a total area of 20,000 square miles, about twice the size of the State of New Hampshire, and a total population of 1.3 million, the same as New Hampshire, illustrating its relatively sparse population. There are only seven thousand Catholics in the Prefecture, many of them quite poor. To help make the Prefecture self-reliant Msgr. Moreschi established a huge coffee plantation near the town of Gore, in the highlands 6,000 feet above sea level, about 150 kilometers (90 miles) east of Gambela. In addition to the Salesian and Yarumal priests there are also now about a half dozen Ethiopian diocesan priests in the Prefecture.

With a stable government in Ethiopia and peace in Sudan there are no more refugees in Gambela and it is now merely a typically remote and marginalized part of Africa. Roads are still very rough and often impassable, and the climate can still be oppressively hot, but the church is persevering in its service to the people.

Benishangul-Gamuz Region, Ethiopia

After leaving Ethiopia in 2002, Fr. Dick Baker worked in the Maryknoll library at Maryknoll, NY, for six years. During that time he maintained communications with Archbishop Souraphiel, who was the former Bishop of Jimma-Bonga and had in the meantime become Archbishop of Addis Ababa. Through this relationship, Baker was informed of a new possible assignment in a remote area of Ethiopia where primary evangelization would be the initial goal. This was in the Benishangul-Gamuz Region of northwestern Ethiopia, to the north of the Blue Nile River near the Sudanese border. The actual place for a prospective new parish was 600 kilometers (370 miles) from Addis Ababa, but was part of the Archdiocese. The Archdiocese had obtained a very large plot and wished to introduce various educational and development programs in that area, as part of the effort at primary evangelization and establishment of the church. The Archbishop knew that this was very similar to the work that Baker had done in Gambela some ten years previously.

In 1994 the government under President Meles Zenawi, who had replaced Mengistu in 1991, restructured the country into new provinces, called regions, which conformed more with the ethnic make-up of the country. Under his administration, the Amharic language has not maintained its former premiere position in the nation, although it is still the common language throughout the country, and local languages have received greater encouragement. Zenawi is a member of the Tigray ethnic group, which has in the past been in opposition to Amhara control of all government institutions and explains his motivation for greater devolution of authority to the new Regions. The Benishangul-Gamuz Region is a new Region, carved from several former regions, and occupied by people who share features partly Sudanese and Ethiopian. In 1994, the Catholic Church also reconfigured the ecclesiastical boundaries and has added new dioceses (actually Apostolic Prefectures). The Benishangul-Gamuz Region is half within the Archdiocese of Addis Ababa and half within the Diocese of Nekemte.

The Gamuz people are, according to Baker:

A pre-Nilotic people, who probably lived in Sudan centuries ago but then fled into the forest in what is today Ethiopia, in order to escape enslavement. The

geographic area is much lower in altitude than Addis Ababa but higher than neighboring Sudan, probably around 2000 feet above sea level. The climate ranges from warm to hot, but the area does get decent rainfall and the soil is good for farming.

According to historical references the Gamuz people were agriculturalists in the distant past, both in Sudan and Ethiopia, but when they fled into the forests they changed to what is called Swidden agriculture, also called slash-and-burn agriculture, that is they move in to an area, cut and burn down the trees and other vegetation, and cultivate the area for a temporary period, maybe three to five years, and then move on to another area. The Gamuz also provide for their subsistence living from hunting, and one could almost call them hunter-gatherers.

Today, however, the Gamuz seem to be undergoing rapid cultural change, opting for education and more settled methods of agriculture. This is the reason that the Archdiocese thinks it is an opportune time for the Church to be involved with them. Most of the Gamuz are followers of traditional African religious beliefs, although a few are either Muslim or Orthodox, and a few are members of various Protestant churches.

The Catholic Church is very recent in that area. In the year 2000 the Comboni Sisters started a health clinic and the Comboni Fathers have a parish about 60 kilometers (37 miles) away.

Baker also commented on the general development that has happened since Zenawi came to power.

You can be deceived by the visual progress that is going on, especially the number of new buildings that have been built in all the major towns and cities. The national road system has also been greatly developed and there are loads of new high schools, colleges and universities throughout the country. So, right away you see a country that appears to be developing.

There are two enduring problems, though. One is food security for the overall population, since there are many people who depend on rainfall for harvesting their food crops. When the rains fail or are insufficient, especially for those living on marginal lands, then there will be people in need of food.

The other is the question of hydroelectric power. This is the main source of electricity for Ethiopia, but when drought hits then there is a shortage of electricity. This affects industrial production, which reduces foreign exchange earnings, which leads to less purchasing and construction, and which this past year led to the closure of cement factories. There are also environmental questions connected to hydroelectric dams, some of which have ramifications for neighboring countries. For example, the dam in southern Ethiopia on the Omo River, which flows into Lake Turkana in northwestern Kenya, is very controversial. It will disrupt the lives of those who live along the river, some of the most undeveloped, traditional people in Ethiopia, and threatens to dry up much of Lake Turkana.

These national, structural and ecological issues are things that I hope to introduce to the young people of Gamuz, such as with the regular showing of videos about nature and ecology.

Ethiopia is also planning to put new dams on the Blue Nile itself, which can lead to serious conflict with Egypt. Most of the water that flows into Egypt from the Nile River actually comes from Ethiopia, rather than from the White Nile that comes from Uganda and southern Sudan. If Ethiopia starts diverting huge quantities of Blue Nile water for hydroelectric use and especially for irrigation in northwestern Ethiopia then Egypt may feel obliged to respond, certainly with diplomatic and political pressure but also with possible military action. When it comes to Nile River water flows, even the new Egyptian government will share with the same amount of horror as the Mubarak regime any threats to reduce the amount of water. For the past ten years or so there have been persistent negotiations among all stake-holder countries to draft and ratify a Nile River Treaty.

These factors are part of the context in which Baker has begun his work with the Gamuz people. He arrived in Ethiopia at the end of 2008, but as of mid-2009, when he was interviewed in Nairobi, Kenya, he had not yet received a Visa from the Ethiopian government. So, the interview was able to note only his Objectives and Goals for the work with the Gamuz. He finally did receive the work Visa in late 2009 and has been in Benishangul since then, although it has not been possible to interview him again about the beginnings of his work.

However, even prior to starting work in Benishangul he was doing some preparation. He wrote funding requests and received generous funding from Maryknoll for a residence and for the projects he intended to start. His Visa is tied to development and education projects, and without funding for these it would be difficult to obtain a Visa. He also started the study of the Amharic language, even though that is not spoken in that remote part of Ethiopia, as he explains:

None of the Gamuz people speak English, but there are a few who speak Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia. I intend to learn Gamuz also, but at first I have to learn Amharic well enough to have these Gamuz informants help me learn their language. This is tough work, because Amharic is a difficult language, but it is all part of going to a new area with different languages. For the Gamuz language there is a grammar written by one of the Comboni priests that live in the next parish and I can contact him on occasion to make sure I am on the right track.

Baker said that there was no church in the place he was going nor any Catholics, except maybe for the random one or two. With regard to establishment of a church he said he will see what happens over the next few years. Given his age, he informed Archbishop Souraphiel that he will agree to stay there only about six years, that is up to about the year 2015. Perhaps he will be able to get some kind of evangelization or catechetical program in place by then, but his immediate tasks are in the area of development, which is what his Visa is for. Baker said, though, that “one of the men said

to me, ‘development is good, but we also want to pray.’” So, he will be doing some kind of religious work as well. He talked about some of his initial development plans.

One of the very first things I will do is have a non-formal learning center constructed and put into operation. With the availability of construction materials, improvement in the road system, and presence of good builders, construction will not be a difficulty.

The center will be a place for students to come in to study English, to study math, etc. I will also have learning aids available in video form that they can use to help them learn. These will be primary school and secondary school students and even adults who did not finish school. There is a secondary school near where the center will be, with a good road connecting the two, and they are the ones who will be the main beneficiaries. In addition to the study area, there will also be a library that they can use. The center will have electricity and be a place to study with resources.

There will also be an English course, which I will teach. In addition to this there will be a hall for showing educational films, mainly videos or DVDs, for instance about the environment. We will also have a digital camera for making DVDs, for example of them teaching one another how to learn to read and write their own language. With these aids, they can also use computers to learn how to read and write.

Another thing we will construct is hostels. Students walk to school for two or so hours in the morning and back home for two hours in the evening. With hostels, they will be able to stay near the school during the week. We have plenty of land on the property to do this.

The presumption is that the Gamuz, as a people or community, have made an elemental decision to change their culture and join the wider national or even global culture. The first step in this is education, which the young want. Despite this decision, Baker commented that they are still suspicious of outsiders, particularly those they consider Ethiopian highlanders or anyone who looks like them. This suspicion does not carry over to Americans or Europeans. But, as is well-known, the transformation from a subsistence economy to being a part of the global market economy comes with wide-ranging social and cultural changes, usually with wrenching consequences. Baker noted the possibility of exploitation. So, it will be of interest to view how he and the Catholic Church in general in Gamuz meet these challenges.

SUDAN

Maryknoll had sent a team, an official Society Unit, of five priests to El Obeid Diocese in northern Sudan beginning in 1986, with the hope that they would be able to serve this diocese and the Sudanese people for many years. Four of them learned Arabic and also appreciated the warm relations they had with the Sudanese people, regardless of whether they were Christian or Muslim. They were always able to differentiate between the Muslim people and the fundamentalist government in Khartoum.

After the overthrow of the Sadiq al Mahdi government in Khartoum in June, 1989, by Omar Hassan al-Bashir, the conditions in Sudan became precarious for southern Sudanese, the war reached horrific proportions, and it became almost impossible for expatriate missionary personnel, especially Americans, to work in Sudan, either in the north or south. As was written in Part Three, two of the five Unit members had departed Sudan by 1990, one to leave Maryknoll and the other for serious health reasons. One other, Bill Knipe, stayed in Sudan until 1993, at which time the constant harassment by Sudanese authorities made it difficult for him to work in Sudan. He went to Nairobi, Kenya, for a few years and then on to a new type of assignment in China.

The other two, Frs. Dick Baker and Tom Tiscornia, had learned Arabic well and wanted to find ways to continue working with Sudanese people. As was written just above here, Baker worked with Sudanese refugees in western Ethiopia for many years. When Tiscornia left Sudan in 1992, he first worked in the U.S. for three years and then went to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. However, it was not long before he was able to return to Sudan, to the Nuba Mountains, to resume his service to Sudanese people.

Some at Maryknoll, NY, had lamented in the 1980s and 1990s that the Society Units assigned to specialized ministries in parts of Africa where Maryknoll had not previously worked did not last many years, such as in Juba and El Obeid, Sudan, in Nekempe, Ethiopia, and in Zambia, unlike Units in other parts of the world, which have for the most part lasted right up till 2011. But the other Units did not encounter the horrendous conditions of civil war and violent government repression as was the case in Sudan under Bashir and Ethiopia under Mengistu. In any event, the promotion of special Units in Africa had much greater success in places like Mozambique (c.f. History of Maryknoll in Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique) and Namibia (c.f. Part Eight of this history), and furthermore the Sudanese Unit in fact never ended, it just engaged in ministry and service in alternative, creative ways. Beginning in 1998, Tiscornia has worked in the Nuba Mountains for two terms of three years each and is presently teaching at the Catholic University in Wau, South Sudan. In addition, Fr. Ken Thesing worked in Juba, Sudan, from 2006 to 2009. The following sections will look at their apostolates.

Nuba Mountains

Fr. Tom Tiscornia left teaching in the seminary in El Obeid, Sudan, in 1992 and then returned to the United States to do formation work at Maryknoll's seminary in Chicago, residing there up till 1995. On his return to East Africa in 1995, he went to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where he had previously worked, to join with Frs. John Waldrep and Mike Snyder to establish the parish of Mtoni in a working class neighborhood of Dar es Salaam. However, he had not lost contact with the Bishop of El Obeid, Macram Max Gassis, who in 1998 was living in the Nuba Mountains. Macram Max wrote to Tiscornia requesting him to join him in the Nuba Mountains, as Tiscornia explains:

Bishop Macram Max and I have known one another for a very long time, dating back to 1973, when he was still just a priest and I had no thought of ever working in Sudan. We both were just by chance on the Maryknoll television

program produced by Fr. Ron Saucci in New York, got to know one another, and remained good friends ever since.

In 1991, Macram had been declared persona-non-grata by the Bashir government, due to his persistent criticism of government repression and human rights violations and particularly its oppression of the Christian minority, in both the north and the south. Macram is unique, in that he is an Arab Christian, whereas almost all Sudanese Christians are of Black African ethnicity, and so it was difficult for the government to figure out how to deal with him. But in addition to official withdrawal of his Sudanese civil status, there were also death threats against him which were very serious. Thus, he had to leave Sudan.

Rome appointed an Apostolic Administrator in El Obeid, an Italian, Bishop Menegazo. In the meantime, Macram was able to go to the Nuba Mountains, which is in the north and a part of El Obeid Diocese, but populated mainly by Nilotic peoples who were sympathetic to the south's demands in the civil war. A good percentage, by Sudanese standards, of the Nuban people were Christian. As a result, there was a constant low-level amount of warfare going on in the Nuban Mountains, mostly by high-altitude bombing of villages, sowing fear, anxiety, destruction, deaths and flight from settled villages. There were two parishes with a lot of Catholics and only one other priest, which was why Macram wanted me to go there.

However, when I discussed this with the Tanzania Regional Superior, John Sivalon, we weren't clear on whether my move to Nuba would be officially accepted by Catholic authorities. We asked the Nuncio in Dar es Salaam and sent a letter to the Vatican, which advised me to avoid Bishop Macram. However, Maryknoll's Superior General, Ray Finch, was going to Nairobi and he and the Kenya Regional Superior, Carroll Houle, went to see the Apostolic Nuncio in Nairobi, who knew the situation in Sudan much better. He recommended that we write directly to Bishop Menegazo in El Obeid, who responded that he would be happy to have me join Macram in Nuba. He said that he can not go there because of the war, but is happy that priests are serving the Nuban people.

So, I got permission from the SPLA to go to southern Sudan and flew on small planes through the back-door, sort of, via an airstrip in Lokichogio in northern Kenya to an airstrip in the Nuba Mountains, a two and a half-hour flight from Kenya on a small plane. I was met by Bishop Macram and we walked two or so miles to one of the parishes, a place called Kauda. So, that's how I began.

Conditions in the Nuba Mountains in the 1990s, in the midst of civil war, were arguably the most precarious and the most primitive that any Maryknoll priest has ever lived through anywhere in the world. There were no cars, although the parish did have an old motorcycle, and the priests walked everywhere. Naturally, there was no running water or electricity. Tiscornia settled at a place called Gidel, on top of a small hill, and from there to the river where he could draw water was a fifteen-minute walk one way (close to a mile). Getting supplies of any kind and even food was always difficult. There was also the ever-present danger of being bombed in their village, a danger exacerbated by the lack of bombing accuracy, which made it impossible to decide where to hide.

Tiscornia describes the three parishes in which he shared ministry with two other priests for the next three years.

Kauda had an old, colonial-style primary school, a few teachers' houses and a church that was being used by the school, and that's about all. In the past it had been a market place, but there was no development there when I arrived, just some mango trees.

Another parish, Lumin, was completely abandoned. There had been two Apostles of Jesus priests there but they left the Nuba Mountains after government Apache helicopters attacked Lumin village one day. I am lucky that I never experienced an attack by these helicopters, because that would have been very scary.

The third place, Gidel, was on top of a hill, but no people were settled there and there was no development of any kind, nothing at all. Two priests and a seminarian were living there: one priest was a member of the Apostles of Jesus, Solomon Wat, and the other priest's name was Abraham Abut. All three of them were Sudanese. So, I joined them there. We each lived in our own little mud-walled, thatched huts. The local commander of the SPLA and some soldiers also lived there, adjacent to us. They too had a very simple existence.

Our main ministry was just walking around to visit people at their homes, on foot. We went everywhere on foot, including to distant outstations, where we would walk for miles, to say Mass. We were always accompanied by a couple of soldiers when we went out. They actually turned out to be good company. They were armed, of course, with rifles and hand grenades, and at times I would think to myself while walking out to say Mass how strange this was. It was not a life that I had expected or planned for, yet there I was.

Because of the difficulty of getting water, we moved the church compound down near the river. There was also a plan to have a school there and maybe some Sisters come to teach in the school.

There was no money exchange in the area, since there was no money at all. However, Bishop Macram arranged to have basic items brought in to the priests for distribution, some of which were used as payment for work done, such as hauling water to the priests' houses and for housework. The items ranged from soap and salt, needed since many people had developed goiters from lack of iodine, clothes and blankets, very necessary in the high desert climate of Nuba where the nights often got very cold.

Tiscornia was the only White person in the area, although two German doctors used to come to Kauda for emergency medical treatment. As a result, many children were called by his first name, Tom, which was an easy name to remember and means twin in Arabic. Everyone called him Abuna (meaning Father) Tom, and he was remembered years later when he returned to Nuba in 2007, after six years as Africa Regional Superior. The people greatly appreciated that he was with them during the war years.

The Nuba Mountains area has about twenty ethnic groups, all Nilotic to some extent or other, but the priests worked with only two ethnic peoples. The people of Gidel and Lumin were Tira, related peoples who spoke slightly different versions of the same

language. The people of Kauda were Toro, whose language was very different. But, according to Tiscornia, they were all basically the same type of people.

They were farmers and herders, mainly of goats although they had some cattle. They had to farm and keep their animals up in the hills, where the land was rockier and not as good. But the government soldiers were in the lowlands, which had much more fertile land, and the soldiers would destroy their crops and take their animals if they went down there – and would probably kill the people.

Sorghum was their staple crop, but they also grew okra, beans, groundnuts and sesame. They terraced their gardens in the hills, to capture the rainfall and try to compensate for the lower fertility of the soil compared to the valleys. Nuba is basically a dry, arid area, but during the rainy season can look green and beautiful. Because of the plentitude of rocks in the hills, their houses were constructed of a mixture of rocks and mud, and the thatching on the roofs was made of sorghum stalks or grass.

Many of the men had joined the SPLA, even though they were not paid, and many of them had been killed, with the result that we had many widows and orphans in our area. Our little pocket of Nuba was only about ten percent of the total area of the Nuba Mountains, but it was never controlled by the government. There were guns everywhere; it seemed that everyone had guns and ammunition. Sometimes people would use their guns to hunt guinea fowl. But it was a real rag-tag army. Once some Catholic dignitaries came for a visit, including one Bishop and Ken Hackett, the Director of CRS, and the soldiers stood in formation to welcome them. But they were all dressed in rags.

Very few of the soldiers were Christian, but they appreciated that the Catholic Church was there with them in their struggle for liberation. The Church was not only with them but also was providing many basic goods to help with survival. They remember that.

A major factor in the lives of the priests and the people was the constant insecurity and anxiety, caused by the infrequent but sudden and unexpected bombing runs of the government's Antonov bombers, an old Russian plane. The bombers would roll out canisters filled with shrapnel and explosive material. The bombs would be dropped from high altitude making it impossible to know the exact spot the bombs would go off. At one point the SPLA was given an anti-aircraft gun and whenever they heard an Antonov plane coming – the Antonov engine gives off a distinctive sound that can not be confused with another plane – they would start shooting into the sky, but none of the bombers was ever hit. Tiscornia experienced the bombing runs from time to time, including on the day he left from Nuba in April, 2001, when the bomber tried to blow up the small cargo plane he and Bishop Macram were going to fly in. They managed to take off and fly safely to Kenya, but the bomber turned around, dropped some more bombs and killed several people that day.

Tiscornia also narrated about one of the more heinous bombing attacks that took place on February 8, 2000, the feast day of St. Bakhita, the patron saint of Sudan.

It happened at the school compound in Kauda. The teachers heard the plane coming and hustled the children out of the school buildings to hide under a tree at the edge of the school compound. Four bombs were dropped although one didn't explode. The other three exploded in the school compound, sending out shrapnel in all directions. In all, thirteen First-Grade children and their teacher were killed.

We priests all happened to be in Nairobi at that time, for procedural meetings with the Bishop. On the day itself, I was in Lokichogio waiting to catch a plane to Nuba, but all flights were immediately suspended for several days. I finally was able to fly there on February 10th, along with a television crew from the BBC who wanted to report on this atrocity. When we landed, though, the plane was returning immediately to Kenya and they couldn't go on to Kauda. Instead, they interviewed me, which appeared on the BBC that night.

When I arrived at Kauda, the bodies had already been buried. It was totally quiet and still, and had the serene aura of a sacred place. There was still a lot of shrapnel around and I took two pieces, which I still have as sacred mementos of that event.

I stayed at Kauda, since there was no other priest there. I went with the Headmaster to visit the families of all those who lost children. One child was the son of one of our catechists. We then had Mass right at the grave site. I said that Bakhita was in heaven welcoming all of the children to join her.

In 2001 Tiscornia was elected the Regional Superior for Africa and returned to Dar es Salaam, where he lived for six years. He lived with an African priest, Appolinari Ngeriwa, who was chaplain of the Muhimbili Hospital and Medical School, which is part of Dar es Salaam University. In addition to his duties as Regional Superior, he also did some pastoral work, such as visiting a cancer ward connected to the hospital and counseling at a nearby Catholic secondary school. One of the more elemental decisions that Tiscornia had to make was to close the Maryknoll Society House in the wealthy Oyster Bay section of Dar es Salaam. The only one living in the house was Fr. Joe Healey, who decided that he wanted to live with a community and moved to the Gleason Residence in Nairobi. It thus became incumbent on Tiscornia to sell this house. It had served its time.

In 2007, at the conclusion of his two terms as Superior, he returned to the Nuba Mountains, but this time things were very different. The war had more or less ended in 2003 and in 2005 north and south Sudan signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which gave the south semi-autonomous authority over its own domestic matters and initiated a process leading to the vote in January, 2011, for full southern independence. South Sudan will be inaugurated as the African continent's 54th country on July 9, 2011.

When Tiscornia went to Nuba in 2007 he was again met by Bishop Macram Max, who asked him to consider working with a different people, the Vinca people. However, Tiscornia decided to return to Gidel, where he had previously been. The personnel staffing this parish were different than before: there was one priest, a Ugandan, and a religious Brother, both members of the Apostles of Jesus. There were also six Comboni Sisters living in a brand new convent and staffing a new hospital, which was still being

developed and expanded. These were all constructed with cement blocks and galvanized iron sheets on the roofs. An American doctor was working in the hospital. In addition to these developments, Italian funding had built both a primary and a secondary school. Tiscornia explains how much things had changed.

There was a lot of stuff happening around there. There were many deep wells, called dry wells, that had been put in, since Bishop Macram had obtained many resources and a lot of aid from America. It was not only the diocese doing these things but there were many NGOs, such as Concern, Save the Children, and UNICEF. There were also vehicles, even if not many, and new roads, although some could still be quite bad in the rainy season. Stores were selling basic things, such as salt, sugar, soap, bread, even Coca-Cola. None of those things were available when I was there previously.

The most important thing was no Antonovs, no more bombing or insecurity. People could resume their lives. The only challenge was the sandy soil as they tried to grow their crops. Many of the people moved back down to the valleys where the soil is much more fertile.

Church work was still primarily going to outstations and working with catechists, but one big change was in the growth in numbers of people around Gidel, because of the hospital. Most of the teachers in the schools were from either Kenya or Uganda, another interesting change. Another huge difference from before was that everything could now be done in money – Sudanese Pounds. Every Saturday was a market day and lorries would bring lots of items for sale and local people would slaughter animals to sell meat.

In our rectory we had solar electricity, powering our lights, refrigerator, and television – we could watch Oprah Winfrey in the morning! We could also get the BBC and Al Jazeera network. After I was there a year, cell phones also came in, although at first the connections were not so good. But by the following year even that had been cleared up.

The parish also had a very good four-wheel drive vehicle, which we used to go out to the outstations. So, things had really changed.

After two years, though, in part because being a witness or sign of support was no longer needed and the physical demands were not so challenging, Tiscornia began to question the need of his presence there. He also in part felt a need to be within a Maryknoll community again. There was another facet of the church work in Nuba that was causing him to question whether he should remain there.

Church work in Nuba was very traditional, whereas I wanted to work in leadership training or work intensively with catechists, but that was not part of the work in 2008. I was there just to be a support person, not to be in charge, so I could not attempt to challenge the focus of church work or direct it towards other areas. So, I came to the conclusion that it would be best for me to withdraw from the Nuban Mountains.

Thus, at the beginning of 2010 Tiscornia went to the Africa Regional Council to discern whatever possibilities existed in the Africa Region. The Regional Superior at that time was Fr. Dave Smith, who was living in Mwanza, Tanzania, and Mwanza had become one of the Maryknoll priorities. However, a very new possibility had just come up and it was back in the Sudan, teaching at the new Catholic University in Wau, South Sudan. Although this would again entail his being distant from any Maryknoll community, Tiscornia felt God calling him to go back to the Sudan. He explained: “I am going back there basically because it is a hard place – nobody wants to go there – and it is a needy place. Also, I have no problem with Sudan or the people and I think it will be fascinating to be there during the transition to whatever is going to happen over the next year or so.”

In September, 2010, Tiscornia began a new mission assignment in Wau, which will be briefly written about below.

Juba: Jesuit Refugees Services Country Director

Fr. Ken Thesing had worked on Development in the United States and in Tanzania for many years, prior to his being elected to the General Council in 1984. He then served on the General Council for two terms, one as Secretary General and then from 1990 to 1996 as Superior General of Maryknoll. On his return to Africa in 1997, he accepted to be part of the new team going to Mozambique – a new area for Maryknoll in Africa – where he was stationed up to 2006.

After leaving Mozambique he spent time discerning new possibilities for his work in mission in Africa, but felt strongly inclined to refugee work.

Our parish of Metangula in Lichinga Diocese of northern Mozambique had been in the heart of the war zone of liberation and more than ninety percent of the people had had to leave the rural areas of the parish during the war, either living in the few garrison towns, like Metangula, under Portuguese Army control or going into refugee camps in Malawi or Tanzania. So I came out of my time working in Mozambique with a refugee/internally displaced people (IDP) frame of mind. I knew there were still camps of Angolan refugees and remaining camps of refugees from Burundi and Congo. With my knowledge of both Portuguese and Swahili, I felt that I could be of help in one of these places.

In the fall of 2006, Thesing visited the Regional Director of Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) for Eastern Africa, whose offices are in Nairobi, Kenya, to discuss various possibilities and present the Director with his Curriculum Vitae. Thesing was called back for a second meeting and asked to consider another possibility: to go to Juba, Sudan, and establish a Country Office for JRS in that city.

With the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005, the new Interim Constitution established a semi-autonomous region of South Sudan and already a South Sudan government was in the process of being formed. JRS decided that its educational projects in southern Sudan should be supervised and directed directly from within Sudan. Up to then, they had been under the JRS

Country Office of Uganda, since JRS had projects in northern Uganda as well as in southern Sudan on the border with Uganda.

I accepted and began reading as much as I could about the history of Sudan, including its independence from Great Britain in 1955 and the subsequent conflict between north and south Sudan. I also applied for a residence permit for Southern Sudan through its office in Nairobi, a document which allowed me to be present only in the ten States of Southern Sudan. I also obtained a Residency Permit for Kenya, which I never had, and a Kenya Driving License.

Thesing went to Juba at the beginning of 2007 and began living on the compound that was being shared by JRS, CAFOD (the Catholic Fund for Development from Great Britain) and SCIAF (the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund). Little had been set up and living conditions were still very simple, almost primitive. There was a set of six by thirteen foot cabins and Thesing lived in one of the cabins and used a second for his JRS office. There was no running water, true for most of post-war Juba, and he regularly filled up an overhead tank with 1,000 litres of water that he bought from a water-tanker. The toilet and a room for washing were outside, at the end of the block of cabins. Likewise, there was almost no electricity in Juba and the compound used a small generator that supplied electricity for a few hours in the day and again in the evening up to about 10:00 PM. He took a simple breakfast and another meal at his cabin, but was able to take a main meal every day at a restaurant operated by Catholic Sisters near the PALICA (Pastoral Liturgical Catechetical) building three-quarters of a mile away. The PALICA Center Building had been set up and run by Maryknoll Fathers and Sisters from 1976 to 1981 (c.f. Part Two of this history) during one of the few eras of peace in southern Sudan, but during the war of 1983 to 2003 it had been almost completely destroyed. It was being re-built and was to become the secretariat for the Sudanese Catholic Bishops Conference. Thesing had no internet connections at his compound, but was able to use his laptop at a building maintained by the United Nations for Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO).

Fortunately, he was able to share a community spirituality with the Comboni Missioners – priests, Brothers and Sisters – whose compound was across the street from his cabin and whose residences were also being re-built and renovated. He daily attended morning prayer and Mass, taking his turn at presiding at these rituals. Thesing says, “This was an important part of my life as I started my work in Juba. It gave me a point of spiritual and community insertion with the local Church.”

As rustic as the living and working conditions were, at least in the beginning, the hassles of setting up the Country Office were far more complicated and Thesing commented that:

I appreciated how much we owe a debt of gratitude to those who were pioneers and established our first Maryknoll sites in Africa. I had no Maryknollers whom I could ask to get answers to my questions or find out who the people were who could help me. I also appreciated how much our first missioners in Tanzania must have learned from the Missionaries of Africa in the beginning. I learned to write out the steps I was taking and make files on each new thing I was doing, as this would save time the next time we did this.

Thesing says that there were three tasks he had to accomplish:

First, I had to sort out and set up the administrative details, such as registering JRS with the South Sudan government, and then get a bank account, post office box, South Sudan driving license, and sim cards for cell phones, mine and for our office staff, which was not easy due to high demand. We also had to get details for the tax system, insurance for our vehicles and property, and set up a health insurance program for our employees.

I also had to get to know and liaise with people in the government ministries and in other NGOs working in education. The Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (SRRA) had been the 'de-facto government' for services in the 'free' territory of south Sudan during the war years. But in 2007 this had become the responsibility of the South Sudan government, which SRRA was finding difficult to adjust to, making it hard for NGOs to find out whom to work with. With regard to the other NGOs, I wanted to learn from them and ensure we did not have duplication of plans and services.

In my second year the administrative matters related to setting up our new residence and offices, hiring some more people, such as a housekeeper and driver, procuring furnishings and other equipment, including vehicles, and working out the shared costs of services and utilities with CAFOD and SCIAF.

We also had to work out details of exams for those finishing their final years of primary and secondary school. They unfortunately had to go to Uganda to take exams, since we were following the Uganda syllabus. In all, there were hundreds of students whom we had to transport and I always had nightmares that a lorry or bus might roll over. Luckily we never had an accident.

In all we had about 20,000 children in JRS schools in the four Projects. Each Project had from 12 to 25 schools, with about 300 to 600 students in each school, although fewer children in the newer schools. We also had about fifteen to twenty secondary schools in all, by the time I finished in 2009.

In addition, we were very much involved in establishing the primary school curriculum for the new country of South Sudan. In the north schools followed the Sudan curriculum in Arabic, but there were schools in Eastern Equatoria State, not JRS schools, which followed the Kenya curriculum, some other schools in the east that followed the Ethiopian curriculum, and schools in Western Equatoria State that followed the curriculum of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). South Sudan had already begun preparing a South Sudanese curriculum, introducing it one class per year, so that eventually they will have their own curriculum for all primary school years. South Sudan has adopted the 8-4-4 system, similar to Kenya, i.e. eight years of primary school, four years of secondary school, and four years of university level.

A second matter that I dealt with was working with the Regional Director in setting up protocols for hiring executive personnel for our country office: a Country Education Officer, a Country Finance Officer, and a Country Programs Officer. We also had to establish the office regimen.

The third area I was involved in was to establish contact and work with the four in-country on-going education Projects in Lobone, Nimule, Kajo Keji and Yei, by helping to organize the Project Directors into a Country Team, and working with them to draft an in-country plan and to foster contacts within the government at various levels, from County to national levels. I also continuously worked with the Project Directors regarding staffing issues, planning issues and reporting issues.

In the three years that Thesing was in Juba, the Country Office was able to set up solar electricity at all the Project sites, making their compounds fully functional. Satellite dishes also were installed so that E-mail/internet communications could exist from the Project sites to the Country Office and on to the Regional Office. Thesing also attended the three meetings held each year of the Country Directors of the East Africa Region, representing five countries: Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Trying to serve people in a country that had just emerged from the debilitating effects of constant warfare was hampered by two persistent problems: procuring supplies and banking. In the beginning almost all supplies came from Uganda as there was no manufacturing and little food production. "It was claimed that 1000 trucks came from Uganda every day," said Thesing, "but slowly more suppliers were locating in Juba and we could buy through them rather than going to Uganda to purchase supplies."

Banking was always a hassle during Thesing's three years in Juba.

Formal financial controls had not yet been put in place and often there was no money available for withdrawal, even though our accounts had a credit balance. Getting dollars was especially difficult since our projects near the Uganda border had to pay in either dollars or Uganda shillings, although by 2009 even shillings were not allowed. But Sudanese Pounds could not be used to buy supplies from Uganda and we always had trouble getting dollars.

One advantage that JRS had in implementation of its projects was the large number of young Sudanese men and women who had attended JRS schools in northern Uganda and in IDP camps within Sudan, referred to as JRS 'graduates.' They were grateful for their education and viewed JRS projects positively. Many were joining the new South Sudan government in the years 2005 to 2008, which helped in personal relations for JRS officers. Thesing says that there was only one problem: "They were constantly making requests to us, such as, 'Can't you start a school in my home area. We have no schools there yet.'"

In 2008, according to Thesing, two significant Church endeavors in education were begun in Juba.

Fr. Mike Schultheis, S.J., who worked for JRS for many years, received permission from the government to establish the Catholic University of Sudan, a request that came to him from the Bishops of Sudan. He first established the Faculty of Social Services in Juba, which began classes in the fall of 2008, and then the following year the Faculty of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences in Wau, 400 miles northwest of Juba (c.f. below).

Also, an organization called Solidarity for Southern Sudan opened an office in Juba. This formed out of a request by the Sudanese Bishops in Rome for religious congregations to open a Catholic teachers' training college and to re-establish a Catholic hospital with a nurses' training component. Since no single religious congregation had sufficient personnel, men's and women's congregations accepted this as a collaborative challenge – thus, Solidarity for Southern Sudan. A woman was made Director and I proffered her all my experience in setting up all the administrative functions and details.

South Sudan has extremely rough roads, which caused Thesing to injure his back trying to go out to the various projects he was assisting. He was not able to go out on the long trips and as 2009 began he knew that his chief task was to select a replacement as Country Director. He informed JRS that he would be physically unable to renew his contract at the end of 2009. "I was replaced by an experienced Togolese African man, who had worked in JRS projects in Kenya and Sudan for ten years."

Reflecting on this smooth transition, he cited the JRS motto.

The motto of JRS is to accompany, advocate for and serve the refugee and internally displaced person. Its principal work is to establish, develop and prepare to turn over to trained local leadership community schools in the villages, both primary and secondary. Peace-building, peace education, conflict resolution and support for the girl child were ancillary but essential aspects of the Projects. It was an extremely challenging but fulfilling apostolate.

Thesing also shared some reflections on Maryknoll's diminished personnel and on seeing Solidarity for Southern Sudan as a paradigm for how Maryknoll could function in Africa.

We don't have the number of personnel that we had in the 1970s and yet we are working in five countries in Africa, with another person wishing to return to Egypt, which would make it six countries. Our age profile alone says that we can not think that we can stay so scattered, but maybe we can begin actively looking for alternative creative ways to stay in varied mission works and in varied locations. One way is to operate in a group such as Solidarity for Southern Sudan. That way administration is shared, some type of community life is shared, and the reality of breaking into a new work and area is greased by the experience of others. This example might point to how our Maryknoll charism can continue to be shared in new areas, and how individual Maryknollers can express their creativity while still maintaining a responsible connection to other Church personnel.

Catholic University, Wau

Fr. Tom Tiscornia had completed his second three-year assignment to the Nuba Mountains in the beginning of 2010 and then sought a new assignment in an area where other Maryknollers were working in East Africa. However, he was asked seriously

consider a general request made to all the missionary congregations working in eastern Africa to assist the new Catholic University of Southern Sudan that had just begun operation in Juba and was to open a second campus in Wau, about 400 miles northwest of Juba. Wau is hot and dry, very remote, and offers little in creature comforts or social life. Tiscornia, however, had served in the Nuban Mountains during the civil war, and was accustomed to deprivation. Wau would actually be a step up.

It is paradoxical that just as this history of Maryknoll in the three countries of Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia ends, the new nation of the Republic of South Sudan is just getting started. But just before concluding this history it is worthwhile to make some comments about the new nation and its challenges. It should be noted first and foremost that it is a land-locked country, with very undeveloped transport and communications connections to the outside, and is one of the poorest countries in the world. Ninety percent earn less than \$1.00 per day, despite the fact that Sudan's per capita income is \$1,200 per year. The vast majority of the population are subsistence farmers.

The total area is 240,000 square miles, about equal to Kenya, with a population count that is disputed. The census of 2008 claimed that there were 8.26 million people in South Sudan, but the leaders of the new nation state that there was deliberate undercounting and that the actual population in 2011 is between 11 and 13 million. If we take the smaller figure of eleven million, that gives us a population density of 46 per square mile, very sparse. The country has three huge Provinces with ten States, each of which is also fairly large. These are further broken down into 86 Counties. The leaders of the country are President Salva Kiir Mayardit and Vice-President Riek Machar.

The economy is primarily rural, with subsistence farming, as mentioned above, being the primary occupation. The country has a number of mineral resources although not in large numbers, and exports some valuable timber, especially teak trees. Urban development, being spearheaded by Chinese construction companies, is currently generating jobs and income.

And then, of course, there is oil. It is estimated that South Sudan has 85% of Sudan's oil output, particularly around the town of Bentiu in Unity State, although some of the other States in the northern part of the new country, straddling the Nile River, also have significant deposits of oil. Income from oil accounts for 98% of the government budget of South Sudan. At present the oil pipeline goes through North Sudan to Port Sudan on the Red Sea. The two independent countries of Sudan are supposed to share equally the earnings from oil, according to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005. This will be adhered to, although exact details are still disputed and being hashed out. The oil is produced by the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company, which is owned by a consortium of national oil companies from China (40%), Malaysia (30%), India (25%) and Sudapet (5%), the national oil company of the Khartoum government. South Sudan is seriously planning to add an oil pipeline through Kenya to Mombasa, or possibly to a new huge port and enlarged harbor in Lamu, Kenya.

Agriculture can also become a major component of the national economy, as much of this huge territory has fertile land and access to water for irrigation from the White Nile. However, in recent years millions of acres have been leased by foreign countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Korea and others, for the production of staple grains to be exported directly to those countries. These 99-year leases, which may be

illegal under international law, will prevent Sudanese subsistence farmers from access to fertile land and may also adversely impact the new nation's food security.

The country also has an ethnic challenge: there are some 200 ethnic groups, many very small, which make forging unity in the nation problematic. Most of the people are of Nilotic stock, although there are other generic groups. South Sudan has decided to make English the national language, and this is the language of education. Many still speak colloquial Sudanese Arabic and another form called Juba Arabic. The major indigenous language is Dinka – the Dinka ethnic group number about three million – and other major languages are Nuer, Shilluk, Bari, Otuhó, and Zande. The latter, which is not a Nilotic language, is the third largest language in the country.

The Nilotic peoples of the South have rejected Islam and chosen Christianity as their preferred religion, although the majority of the population are probably still followers of traditional African religion. The actual percentages are not known. In the 1990s it was estimated that ten percent of Sudan's total population (north and south) was Christian, overwhelmingly in the south, but in recent years the Anglican Church is claiming to have four million adherents, a claim that has not yet been verified.

The Catholic Church has seven dioceses in South Sudan, and the Diocese of El Obeid is an eighth member of the regional Bishops Conference. According to the dioceses' own reporting, the total population of the seven dioceses was 13.8 million in 2005, of whom 2.9 million were Catholic, about 21%. The percentage we can probably accept as being a fairly accurate ball-park figure. Why the total population is larger than that given for the new country of South Sudan is not known, unless one or several of these dioceses includes people living in the north. The four dioceses that border on Kenya and Uganda, namely Juba, Torit, Tombura-Yambio and Yei, all claim that Catholics make up fifty percent or more of the population. The Archdiocese of Juba houses the Catholic Secretariat for all of Sudan, including Khartoum, and has many departments trying to implement a variety of programs to complement government and NGO efforts to develop the country.

Juba is the new capital of South Sudan and is one of the fastest growing cities in the world. The population was estimated to be 250,000 in 2008, but is probably above 300,000 in 2011, maybe even around 400,000. The city sprawls out west of the Nile River, since only one bridge connects the city to the eastern side. The original people of Juba were the Bari, and there was an original small market center and port about five miles north of the current city. In 1922 Greek traders arrived and built the current business district. The city grew slowly and was devastated during the war. There is now a tremendous amount of construction going on, for both government and business, hotels and restaurants have sprung up, and main roads are being upgraded, especially the highway to Uganda. The government also wants to build a new highway through Torit down to Kenya. Juba used to be a hot, dusty, sleepy little town on the Nile. It may still be hot and dusty, but it is no longer sleepy.

This was the context when Tiscornia accepted the assignment to be a teacher at the university in Wau, beginning in August, 2010. He was interviewed for this history at the beginning of that month, prior to beginning his teaching, so this section can not comment on his work. He did have a few reflections on what to expect, as related here.

Although I will not be near a Maryknoll community, one fortunate thing is that I will be with the Apostles of Jesus priest with whom I worked in Nuba in 1998, Solomon Wat. He was the one who taught me how to live in a war situation and what to do if a bombing run occurs in our village. So, being united again with him will be a positive.

The Catholic University will be an opportunity for young Sudanese to get higher education in an English medium. I have never been a teacher or chaplain at university level, so we will see how this works out. Just as in other assignments I have had I have wondered if I have what it takes to do it right. Only God knows what will happen and I will have to trust in God that I can do it.

In August, 2010, the referendum vote for southern independence had not yet taken place and there was no certain indication which way the vote would go. Tiscornia thought the people would vote for independence, but he was not sure. Apparently, the Catholic Bishops of Sudan were also not sure. They held an extraordinary meeting at which they did not take a position, either in support or opposition to secession. They wrote a long pastoral letter citing the advantages and disadvantages of each course of action, and enumerating fundamental Christian values that would be involved.

As is now known, the people of South Sudan voted overwhelmingly for independence, which was formalized on July 9, 2011. The Church has been with the long-suffering people of South Sudan for the last fifty-seven years since Sudan gained independence from Great Britain, and will continue to walk with the new nation as it tries to meet the many difficult challenges facing it in coming years.

CONCLUSION

Maryknoll began working in parishes and specialized ministries in Kenya only in the mid-1960s, less than fifty years ago, a surprisingly short amount of time, given the numerous tectonic changes that have occurred, not only within Maryknoll and its presence in the countries of East Africa, but also within Church and society in each country. In 1965 the Kenyan Church was an expatriate Church, with at best 100 African priests and only one African Bishop, and well over 1000 expatriate missionaries serving under a dozen or so expatriate Bishops. Today it is just the opposite.

The 1960s were the immediate post-Independence decade in Kenya, a time of euphoria and hope in the minds of all its citizens, as they experienced full political participation, a rapidly growing economy, and opportunities to own land previously occupied by foreign settlers. Primary school enrollment grew exponentially to almost full enrollment, tens and not much later hundreds of thousands of teens went to high school, and most high school graduates were able to gain employment of some kind, at least in the first two decades after Independence. It seemed that peace and prosperity would last forever. The horrific ethnic conflicts of the last two decades were not foreseen in the 1960s. Nor did anyone predict that by 2010 over fifty percent of the population would live under the poverty level of \$1.00 per day per person. Nor did anyone anticipate that in its first fifty years of independence Kenya would have only three Presidents. Nor was it ever imagined that in Nairobi two-thirds of the population would live in enormous,

degrading slums while in the business districts perpetual traffic gridlock would be the daily norm.

In the 1960s the goals of the Church were the creation of a self-ministering, self-financing locally-led Church and in the social arena the objectives of education, medical care, economic development and social improvement. Some of these goals have been achieved but poverty and other social impediments have prevented thoroughgoing implementation of most of them. Some of the original goals remain; some new goals have emerged as the years went on, particularly regarding the question of the Church's role in the political arena as it tries to apply its teaching on social justice to the concrete contexts of Kenyan society. The Maryknollers who worked in Kenya have tried very hard to play positive roles in aiding Church and society to respond to evolving challenges as the years went on. However, any new American Maryknoll missionary (usually a lay missionary these days) arriving in Kenya in 2011 is taking up residence in a radically changed country than existed in 1965. It is to be hoped that they find the complexities of the current challenges spiritually energizing and faith-enriching.

Sudan has seen similar radical changes. Since the 1960s it has been at war, not at war, back at war, and now separated into two countries that hopefully will see peace as the way forward. Small numbers of Maryknollers have been present in Sudan for most of the past thirty-five years, providing hope and witness to oppressed Catholics, suffering with them at times, and trying to build up the Church and train leaders for this Church. It is unfortunate that Maryknoll does not have more personnel to help South Sudan, both society and the Church, as it enters its first decade of Independence. Local leadership of the South Sudanese Church is strong, competent and morally credible, virtues that probably explain why they would have no difficulty welcoming expatriate missionaries to assist them to address the myriad challenges facing the Church at this time.

Ethiopia, too, has metaphorically gone through steep mountains and deep valleys as its society and polity grappled with the necessity to emerge from medieval to modern forms of social organization, political governance and economic production. In the 1970s, when Maryknoll first went there, it was just taking its initial, tentative steps at modernization, to be shortly followed by the brutal attempts of President Mengistu to revolutionize Ethiopia. This regime lasted only fifteen years. The country has been under stable political leadership for twenty years now, and signs indicate that this stability is finally starting to bring benefits – even if many are still very poor. The main question observers have regards the authoritarian manner in which current President Meles Zenawi rules, even if it might be considered a benevolent authoritarianism.

Ethiopia's Church has changed somewhat, even if not in numbers of Catholics, who still remain a very small minority in the country. But leadership is now mainly local as are the numbers of priests. Local leaders feel confident in themselves but welcome expatriate missionaries in many different areas. Steps towards in-depth training of a whole range of lay leaders in the Church were abruptly blocked by Mengistu's destructive paranoia, which distrusted any people not under his full authority and especially if they were members in what many Ethiopians considered a foreign organization. Since 1991 things have been better, but lack of Church personnel has hampered efforts to do comprehensive training of lay leaders.

Ethiopia remains largely an Orthodox/Muslim country, in which it is difficult to envision what place the tiny Catholic Church has in this situation. The Church seems to have more than miniscule numbers only with marginalized indigenous groups on the extremities of the country and with the Nilotic peoples of western Ethiopia. It is hard to imagine it ever being a mainstream institution in the country. Of course, even with small numbers of personnel, the Church does marvelous work in education and in health, and thus has greater influence than numbers would indicate. The Church can do only what is reasonable, given its small size, try to be respected by Ethiopian society, and foster good relations with the two big faiths in the country.

The American Catholic Church in the year 2011, as Maryknoll celebrates one hundred years of overseas mission, seems disconnected from the concrete reality of overseas mission today. Perhaps the American Church believes that since the Church is established under local leadership in formerly mission territories, mission has lost its relevance and purpose. It may also believe that merely sending funds to overseas churches accomplishes mission. However, on one hand we witness that there are very few Maryknoll missionaries, and very few American Catholics interested in foreign mission, in the year 2011. On the other hand we witness myriad forms of new challenges and opportunities for people of gospel-based faith, just in these three countries of Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia, to say nothing of the rest of Africa. Why are there so few American Catholics interested in responding to the demands of in-depth evangelization (not conversions, not proselytizing, not apologetics), by joining emerging churches to make manifest the values of the gospel in countries struggling to take their rightful places in the world community of nations? Many young and middle-aged people are leaving the Catholic Church in the U.S. – one-third have left according to a recent Pew survey – and one has to wonder if the underlying causes of this exodus are in anyway connected with the dearth of American Catholics interested in foreign mission.

These are mysteries for which there are no facile answers. Only God unravels unfathomable mysteries.