

THE MINISTRY OF QES GUDINA TUMSA IN THE KAMBATA/HADIYA REGION

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Abstract: This paper highlights Qes Gudina Tumsa's efforts in the Kambata/Hadiya region with special bearing at integrating the Kambata Evangelical Church 2 (KEC-2), which had broken away from the Kambata Evangelical Church (KEC) in 1954, into the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY). The KEC-2 attended the annual Conference of Ethiopian Evangelical Churches (CEEC) from 1955 to 1961, when the EECMY "Home Mission" with the Kambata Home Mission Program (KHMP) was launched. Qes Gudina's efforts in the region can be divided into two periods. The first was in 1963 when he tried to integrate the KEC-2 into a synod of the EECMY. As we will see, this approach generated some problems. His second attempt, together with the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) in 1967-69, was more successful.

NOTATION AND THEOLOGICAL METHOD

The footnotes at the bottom of the pages refer mainly to my Doctoral Dissertation (Grenstedt 2000), on which I ground my paper.¹ The title is: *Ambaricho and Shonkolla – From Local Independent Church to the Evangelical Mainstream in Ethiopia. The Origins of the Mekane Yesus Church in Kambata Hadiya*, published by Uppsala: Uppsala University in 2000. For convenience's sake, I let the Ambaricho Mountain symbolize the Kambata ethnic group and the Shonkolla Mountain, the Hadiya.

I will make use of the "Theological Typology" of the Norwegian scholar Einar Molland and elaborate on it for my own purpose. Turner and Daneel have employed Molland's typology for independent churches in a similar way.²

In order to characterize a Christian community, Molland identifies four basic aspects in his structural, theological analysis: doctrine, polity, worship, and ethos.³ There is an organic correlation between these aspects but different communities display a characteristic emphasis on one of them. For example, doctrine is the dominating (and unifying) characteristic of Lutheran churches. Molland furthermore defines ethos as a characteristic lifestyle linked to a confession. It is thus wider than ethics. I elaborate on Molland's scheme and add relation to EECMY, ecumenism and size as further aspects for comparison.

¹The footnotes come in a somewhat different order in this paper than in the Dissertation, but can easily be found there. The Dissertation can be ordered from "The Swedish Institute of Missionary Research", P.O. Box 1526, SE-754 41 Uppsala, Sweden. It can be downloaded from internet by www.uu.se/en click on: research; search publications; Ambaricho.

²Molland 1961, p.19; Turner 1968, see Grenstedt 2000, p.24; Daneel 1987. On Weber's "ideal types", see Burke 1992, pp.28ff.

³In the English version Molland uses "constitution" and "church order" not polity. Molland 1959, p.6. Turner prefers the more comprehensive concept "polity". Turner 1968. I follow Turner and include Molland's concepts as part of my concept "polity".

HISTORICAL AND ETHNICAL PERSPECTIVES IN THE KAMBATA/HADIYA REGION

THE KAMBATA/HADIYA REGION

The area between the River Omo in the west and the River Bilate in the east, which I call the Kambata/Hadiya region, has its own complicated history.⁴ Originally the Kambata peoples, in a "general sense", were peasants and the Hadiya were semi-nomads. Their internal history has to be differentiated into the history of their sub-groups. The relations between Kambata in a "narrow sense" and the Hadiya sub-groups Shashogo and Badowacho, for instance, were quite friendly.⁵ By the end of the 16th century one can use Kambata not only as a political term for a people, drawn together from heterogenous groups, symbolised by the number **seven (sebat** in Amharic; **lamala** in Kambatissa) and with a king at its head.⁶

Relations between the two strongest Hadiya sub-groups, Lemu and Soro, however, have been strained from time to time, the main reason being their need of grazing land for their herds. Soro and Wollamo became enemies of the Kambata "proper", whose kingdom started to expand c.1810. It is thus too simplistic to talk about tensions between the Kambata and the Hadiya just in a general sense. The situation has been more complex than that. In fact, the Kambata peoples in many cases complemented the products of the semi-nomadic Hadiya through their skilled farming techniques.⁷

The good agricultural conditions in the Kambata/Hadiya region led to a population density up to more than 300 per square km. Many conflicts in the region were due to scarcity of land. This was also the case in the conflicts along the southern borderland to Wollamo.⁸

EARLY MISSIONARY VENTURES, REVIVALS AND SCHISMS

The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) started its work in the Wollamo (Wolayta) region in 1928 and among the Hadiya around Hosanna in the Kambata/Hadiya region in 1929.⁹ In 1933 a station was built in Durame among the Kambata. The missionaries were forced to leave the two regions due to the Italian occupation in 1936 (Kambata/Hadiya region) and in 1937 (Wollamo region). When they left Ethiopia in 1937-38 just ten converts from the Kambata/Hadiya region had been baptized by the SIM missionaries. Another twenty had been baptized by Ethiopians.¹⁰

When the SIM missionaries resettled in Wollamo (1945) and in Kambata/Hadiya (1946), they recognized that in the meantime there had been a remarkable church growth of approximately 15,000 baptized members (adults), in what I hereafter call "the Wollamo Church", and approximately 10,000 in

⁴See below, Map 3, p.3. In 1977-87 the region was called "the Kambata/Hadiya Awraja". From 1987 it belonged to the so-called "Southern Shoa". Negussie 1988, pp.109, 119. Today the area belongs to "the Hadiya zone" and "the Kambata, Alaba, Tembaro zone" in the wider "Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region" (SNNP), or just "Region 7". *Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE)* article 47, 1994.12.08.

⁵Braukämper 1980, pp.202ff.; 1983, pp.51ff., 61ff., 81, 294ff. The terms Kambata in a "narrow sense" and the "Kambata proper", are used for the Kambata living around the mountain of Ambaricho, in contrast to the three Kambata groups with origins from Sidama.

⁶Characteristically the districts of the KEC, the KEC-2 and the Kambata Synod were originally called **sebats**, that is, "**sevens**". See below, pp.5, 9, 11-15, 17-18, 20-22.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Braukämper 1983, pp.10, 61ff., 70, 294.

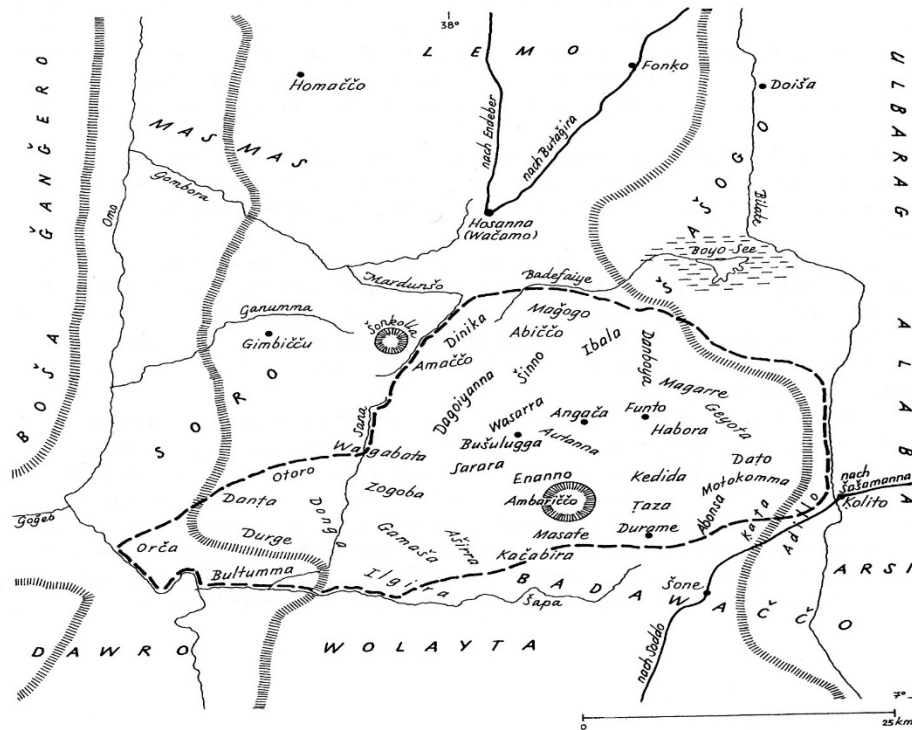
⁹Wolayta is from 1976 the name for the former Sidamo sub-province of Wollamo. Before this year I use the latter name. *Ethiopian Herald* 1976.03.10.

¹⁰Italy invaded Ethiopia in October 1935. By "the Italian occupation" I mean the time, from the fall of Addis Abeba in May 5, 1936 until May 5, 1941 when the Emperor returned to Addis Abeba. Marcus 1994, pp.147ff.; Prouty 1994, pp.181ff.

the Kambata Evangelical Church.¹¹ These remarkable revivals were led by indigenous Ethiopian Christians in the densely populated regions in southern Ethiopia.¹²

After the return of the SIM missionaries in 1946, however, there occurred schisms within the KEC. In 1951 a group of seventeen churches broke away from the KEC. In 1952 the two dissenting groups were reconciled. Again, in 1954 another group broke away. It is this latter group I identify as the independent KEC-2.

Map 3 Topography of the Kambata/Hadiya Region¹⁶



- Grenze des Wohngebietes der Kambata-Völker
- Funto Ortschaften und Gemarkungen
- Ungefährer Verlauf der 2000 m-Höhenlinie
- Bergmassive
- Sumpfgebiete
- Allwetterstraßen 1974
- ALABA Ethnische Gruppen

Karte 2 Topographie des Kambata-Gebietes

¹⁶ From Braukämper 1983, *Die Kambata*, p.6. Used by permission of Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.

¹¹Counting 100 members a church. Cotterell 1973, pp.27ff., 170; Braukämper 1983, p.103; Balisky 1997, p.190; Duff 1980, pp.243, 327. When speaking of baptised members, it should be remembered that the SIM did not acknowledge the EOC baptism. A number of the converts were thus "rebaptised", from an EOC point of view. SG-A: Lundgren to Grenstedt 1995.06.25.

¹²The revivals in southern Ethiopia and in Wollega under and after the Italian occupation support the theory that the main agents of Africa's Christianisation were the Africans. See Sundkler 1987, pp.75ff.; Sundkler & Steed 2000, pp.2f.; Walls and Bediako in Bediako 1995 pp.204ff.; Ogbu U. Kalu quoted in Verstraelen 1996, p.325; see below, p.64. A pertinent example in southern Ethiopia is the Wolayta evangelists. Balisky 1997.

EVANGELICAL CHURCH FORMATION

As hinted above, annual conferences called the Conferences of Ethiopian Evangelical Churches (CEEC) were arranged by Ethiopian Evangelicals from various parts of Ethiopia in 1944-63.¹³ They were signs of the ecumenical climate, which prevailed among Ethiopian Evangelicals after the Italian occupation. Owing mainly to later missionary influences, causing a growing denominationalism, the importance of the CEEC decreased. In 1957 the SIM-affiliated groups stopped attending the CEEC meetings in Addis Abeba. This is a clear indication that the Ethiopian Evangelical movements went in different directions.¹⁴

Instead of firmly establishing one united Ethiopian Evangelical church ("EEC") or a federation of Ethiopian Evangelical churches, the road to establish confessional churches was set. The evolving Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, which traces its roots via the CEEC to the "Evangelical Pioneers" from the 19th century and to even earlier influences, established itself in 1959.¹⁵

SIM missionaries and SIM-related churches, like the KEC and the Wollamo Church, met in May 1956 and founded "the Fellowship of Evangelical Believers" (FEB). The FEB, which from its inception had a doctrinal statement, started to meet annually and was later joined by churches connected to the Baptist General Conference Mission.¹⁶ The Fellowship of Evangelical Believers was registered with the Ethiopian Government in 1964.¹⁷ From 1969 the name "the Kale Hiywot Churches" (KHC) began to be used by members of SIM-related churches.¹⁸

The Presbyterian Bethel Church, which was initiated by the American United Presbyterian Mission (AUPM), preserved its Ethiopian Evangelical legacy and attended the CEEC until 1963. In 1974 it became a part of the EECMY.¹⁹ A common experience, which both the EECMY and the KHC share as the two dominant Evangelical churches in Ethiopia, is a long-felt critique from the venerable EOC.²⁰

THE KEC-2 EVOLVES AS A NEW LOCAL INDEPENDENT CHURCH

As will be recalled, Ato Biru Dubale was the strong leader in the early Wollamo Church. His "new" indigenous church in Wollamo started to grow when it received financial support from the Swedish Mission Bible-True Friends (SMBV) in 1951. In 1954-55 it comprised approximately thirty to forty congregations.²¹ The Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM) policy of paying salaries attracted KEC members and generated discussions between the KEC and the SIM. Even if an agreement was reached between the NLM and the SIM in 1953, the situation was still tense. The presence of the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) in nearby Shashamene, and its intensified contacts in the region, and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church's (EOC) attitude towards Evangelicals, did not improve ecclesiastical relations. To use an understatement: religious dynamics inside the region were complex in 1953.²²

¹³The KEC took part in the annual conferences of the CEEC held in Addis Ababa in 1947, 1948, 1952, 1955 and 1956 but not in 1949. See Grenstedt 2000, p.89.

¹⁴Grenstedt 2000, pp.89ff., 121ff.

¹⁵By "even earlier influences", i.e., the 17th century Peter Heyling. Arén 1978, pp.34ff., 409ff.

¹⁶PB-A: Minutes of Meeting held at S.I.M. Headquarters, A.A. on 21st May, 1956; Fargher 1996, p.301, n.6. In Amharic it is referred to as "*b'wengeil amanyotch andinet*". SG-A: Balisky to Grenstedt 1994.02.17; Cotterell refers to it as "*andinnet*". Cotterell 1973, p.164.

¹⁷Balisky 1997, p.256.

¹⁸In 1974 all the SIM-related churches agreed on the name the Kale Hiywot Churches, translated as "the Word of Life Churches". In Feb.1994 no official recognition had been received from the Government. SG-A: Balisky to Grenstedt 1994.02.17. In 1971 a crucial decision on forming a denomination with this name was made according to Fargher 1996, p.301.

¹⁹EECMY-A: *Inception*, p.3, n.d. (1982).

²⁰Movements inside the EOC have often had more positive relations with Evangelicals than official attitudes may indicate. Arén 1978, pp.13ff., 409f.; see Grenstedt 2000, pp.220f.

²¹Pedersen (Aasebø Rønne) 1989, pp.103ff., 108f.(Danish).

²²Grenstedt 2000, pp.88ff.; 106f.

A discontented group in the KEC reacted against the KEC's sharpened discipline on drinking since 1953. It looked at the church of Ato Biru Dubale, and in 1953 several deputations from "Kambata" visited the NLM center in Sidamo and asked for an alliance. They were, however, let down by the Norwegians, who were more concerned about comity principles than the SMBV.²³

It seemed as if the new dissenting group in the KEC was very concerned with gaining an outside supporter. It was pressed from two sides: the KEC (SIM) and the EOC. It understood that it could hardly survive on its own and was discussing "... how to obtain the missionaries who could support their work".²⁴

It was this discontented group that I identify as the evolving Kambata Evangelical Church 2. It had its strongholds around Dodoba, close to Mt. Shonkolla, and in Mishgida (Durame), close to Mt. Ambaricho. Two of its early leaders were men of some wealth: Ato Mersha Tesema from the Dodoba area and Ato Ashebo Wolecho, a coffee trader from Mishgida. Ato Mersha was active in connection with the Addis Ababa Mekane Yesus (AAMY) reconciliation attempt of the KEC in 1952. Furthermore, he presented a letter to the Emperor on religious freedom. He obviously mastered Amharic and became the new spokesman of the KEC-2.²⁵

The SIM-related churches had probably received special invitations to the 1955 CEEC to discuss and decide on a federation among Evangelicals in Ethiopia. This was also in the interest of the evolving KEC-2. The determined preparations of this dissenting group in 1954 to attend the 1955 CEEC in Addis Abeba under the leadership of Ato Mersha, as a church in its own right separated from the KEC, marks the final split within the KEC and the birth of the KEC-2.

The KEC-2 primarily reacted against the KEC (SIM) foreign cultural pressure on drinking, that is on **ethos**, otherwise it was very similar to the KEC. Moreover, it was founded in Africa, by Africans, and primarily for Africans. The KEC-2 had the characteristics of a local African Independent Church fighting for its cultural freedom.²⁶

After breaking away from the SIM-related KEC, the KEC-2 found a platform in the CEEC from 1955 onwards. When the EECMY was founded in 1959, one of the big challenges of this church was how to relate to the KEC-2. Describing its engagement in the KEC-2 as a "Home Mission", the EECMY deliberately bypassed missionary comity principles and involved itself in the Kambata/Hadiya region.²⁷ In 1962 the Kambata Home Mission Program (KHMP) was launched. It was mainly financed by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). The KEC-2 gained a new status as the Kambata Synod in the EECMY in 1969 and the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) became its supporting mission. The Kambata Synod changed its name to the South Central Ethiopia Synod (SCES) in 1977. It was later amended to the South Central Synod (SCS) in c.1983.²⁸

²³SEM-A: Tausjø to Lundgren/Arén 1953.09.27 (Norwegian). Not all the NLM missionaries shared the view of Dr M. Tausjø, that is, to discard the Kambata petitions for help. SG-A: Lundgren to Grenstedt 1995.06.25.

²⁴MYS-A: Beredo Bekalo 1990, p.12. Grenstedt 2000, p.81.

²⁵GA-A: CEEC minutes 1955, List of Delegates; SG-A: Tarekegn Adebo o.i.1995.07.26. The strongest "sevans" in the KEC-2 were later on Dodoba and Abonsa. See Grenstedt 2000, pp.150, 164ff., 169, 185, 191. On Ato Mersha, see Grenstedt 2000, pp.102, 106; SG-A: Donald to Grenstedt 1998.06.15. Peter refers to Ato Mersha as a *neftanya*. Peter 1999, p.345.

²⁶Sundkler 1961, pp.38ff.; Turner 1968, pp.22f. See Grenstedt 2000, pp.23ff., 110, 114ff., 128. On cultural freedom as part of Human Rights, see Tergel, 1998.

²⁷Just like in colonies in Africa and in other continents "spheres of interest" or "comity areas", i.e., areas which the missionaries considered belonged to a special mission and where other missions were supposed not to work were discussed and clarified among missionaries in Ethiopia. Ethiopia of course was not a colony but an independent country.

²⁸From 1984 the English name of the FMS is the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM). Forslund 1993, p.60. Throughout this study I indicate translations of quotations etc. from an original source in Amharic, Danish, Finnish, German, Norwegian and Swedish by putting this language in brackets after the source, e.g. (Amharic). These translations have been done by myself, except from the Finnish language in Part IV, where I have translated from Swedish to English.

THE EECMY'S "HOME MISSION" IN THE KAMBATA/HADIYA REGION

ETHIOPIAN EVANGELICAL SOLIDARITY IN PRACTICE

The EECMY Executive Committee was called at short notice for its second meeting on June 12, 1961. The main issue was to discuss and come to a final decision on questions relating to the KEC-2. The four founding synods of the EECMY were represented by eight men. In addition to the five EECMY Church officers, Qes Badima Yalew had been invited as a guest.²⁹

The history of the Kambata churches was presented to the EECMY Executive Committee in four ways:

1. The EECMY President, Ato Emmanuel Gebre Selassie, gave a short introduction on developments from 1947 to 1961. These concerned the conflicts in the KEC and the Kambata churches' petitions to the CEEC and to the EECMY. The final decision on how to relate to the KEC-2 was now going to be made, he declared.
2. The report of the Special Commission to Kambata was handed out to the Executive Committee's delegates and read, probably by Ato Amare Mamo. He was the only one of the Special Commission attending the meeting.³⁰
3. The CEEC minutes from 1947 to 1961 were read in short.
4. Qes Badima Yalew was asked to speak on what he knew of the matter.

This was the background given to the Executive Committee to act upon.

Qes Badima and Ato Emmanuel were indeed the right men to relate the history of the CEEC contacts with the Kambata churches. The written report of the Special Commission to Kambata provided a fresh illustration of the situation.

The EECMY presentation provided an elaborate basis for decision-making. The importance of the CEEC legacy to the EECMY was highlighted by the reading of the CEEC minutes since 1947. This was the first year of KEC attendance at the CEEC.³¹ The links of the EECMY leaders to the CEEC, which the Kambata churches were part of, were spelled out by this elaborate indigenous Ethiopian presentation.

The main decision of the EECMY Executive Committee was to help the KEC-2 "according to its capacity" and to approve of a provisional budget for this purpose.

Another decision was to call some church leaders from the KEC-2 to Addis Abeba for education in church administration and an introduction to the constitution of the church. The Executive Committee delegates were also encouraged to take a copy of the budget and try to find support for it in their synods.³² Lastly the delegates unanimously decided to inform the SIM of the EECMY decision to help the KEC-2 according to its petition.

This was the final step in a row of decisions taken on by the KEC-2 since the EECMY General Assembly in January 1961. The process of decision-making described above shows what a delicate and challenging question the KEC-2's application for membership was to the EECMY. In fact, it dominated the EECMY second Executive Committee totally. By this decision in June 1961, the EECMY character of an autonomous all-Ethiopian church was reinforced. The somewhat adventurous decision by the KEC-2 rekindled the CEEC legacy of an enthusiastic Ethiopian Evangelical Solidarity in the EECMY. The

²⁹GA-A: EECMY Executive Committee minutes 1961.06.12, pp.54-55, §62-53 to §66-53 (Amharic) is referred to in this section unless indicated by footnotes.

³⁰The "special commission" of the EECMY in April 1961 consisted of three persons elected to an EECMY delegation: Ato Amare Mamo, Qes Gamachu Danu and Ato Zacheus Edamo. They were instructed to study the main cause of the conflict in the Kambata churches and the situation in the KEC-2, and bring a report to the EECMY Church officers. Grenstedt 2000, pp.140ff.

³¹See Grenstedt 2000, pp.89ff.

³²A draft for a budget had already been prepared. At once the Wollo-Tigré Synod enthusiastically was prepared to support the project with E\$ 300 (!).

caution among EECMY leaders, which had been generated by missionary comity since the CEEC in 1956 and onwards, was now definitely on the decline.

ATO EMMANUEL GEBRE SELASSIE LINKS KAMBATA WITH GENEVA

Ato Emmanuel Gebre Selassie was a key person in the CEEC and in the AAMY. In 1952 he had been sent to Hosanna by the CEEC on a reconciliation mission to the Kambata churches.³³ At the LWF/Commission on World Mission's (CWM) annual meeting in Berlin July/August 1961 he, as the first Ethiopian ever, gave the EECMY "Field Report" on Ethiopia. He did it in the capacity of one of the six "members" of the LWF/CWM and as the chairman of "the Ethiopia Committee".³⁴

Ato Emmanuel was indeed the right person to present the EECMY Program on Kambata to the LWF. The minutes speak for themselves:

Upon recommendation of the Ethiopia Committee, CWM, Resolved

a) That CWM encourage the Evangelical Church – Mekane Yesus in its plan of assistance to the Kambata Christians;

b) That CWM refer to the Budget Committee the request for \$ 14,800 - for 1962³⁵

This sum was altered to \$ 13,754, ". . . taking into consideration local contributions of \$ 1,000 . . ." It was included in the 1962 LWF/Department of World Mission (DWM) Program Budget as an expenditure called "Educational Program, Kambata, Ethiopia 13,754.00".³⁶ This meant that the EECMY request for the Home Mission Program 1962, which in Ethiopian was \$36,885, had been approved by the LWF/CWM.³⁷ The detailed budget of the Kambata Program had the following structure:³⁸

1. Evangelist Training Center (12 months)	E\$ 16,875.
2. Elementary School. Elementary School Boarding	7,400.
3. Six Scholarships - Debre Zeit	1,800.
4. Bible School (12 students)	7,210.
5. Teacher-adviser (300x12)	3,600.
First Year Needs	E\$ 36,885.

With this budget, one of the fundamental SIM-principles applied in the Kambata/Hadiya region, i.e., not to pay for Ethiopian indigenous enterprises with foreign money, was abandoned.³⁹ Salaries for an adviser, two pastors, two teachers, and guardians had been included in the budget for 1962.⁴⁰

There had not been much discussion in the EECMY on this change of principles in the Kambata/Hadiya region, in addition to the deliberations prepared by Schaefer and Lundgren.⁴¹ They had posed the question on how to provide help ". . . without destroying the self-governing, self-propagating, self-supporting nature of the Christians already there."⁴² When discussing church-mission relations

³³On Ato Emmanuel Gebre Selassie's reconciliation mission, see Grenstedt 2000, pp.118ff., 124.

³⁴LWF-A: LWF/CWM minutes 1961, pp.2, 10.

³⁵LWF-A: LWF/CWM minutes 1961, p.27.

³⁶LWF-A: LWF/CWM, pp.46, 49.

³⁷The exchange rate used at this time was 2.5, i.e., the Ethiopian \$ (*Birr*) was worth 40 US cents. Ullendorf 1965, p.206. US\$ 14,800 x 2.5 = E\$ 37,000.

³⁸GA-A: *Suggested Budget*, n.d., u.s. (1961 Lundgren); see Grenstedt 2000, pp.166f., Appendix IV.

³⁹Cotterell 1973, pp.70ff. Ethiopians were employed by the SIM in e.g. the SIM school and Bible-school in Durame called "Taza", but this was looked upon as a SIM enterprise not to be mixed up with the indigenous enterprises of the KEC. SG-A: Teferi Sendabo o.i.1995.05. 30. On the SIM "parallel structure", see Grenstedt 2000, p.58, pp.223ff.

⁴⁰The budget was broken down in three parts under the heading: "Budget Estimate". GA-A: *Suggested Budget*, n.d., u.s.; see Grenstedt 2000, Appendix IV.

⁴¹Dr. Schaefer and Rev. Lundgren had prepared a four page paper to the EECMY Church Officer's 9 May 1961 with the title: A Program of Help to the People of Kambata. See Grenstedt 2000, pp.144 ff.; Appendix III.

⁴²See Grenstedt 2000, Appendix III, p.3.

concerning the EECMY on an earlier occasion, Rev. Lundgren was anxious not to build a church that would depend on mission budget. All churches and schools should be built by congregations, and all workers should be employed and salaried directly by the church. This was what Lundgren opted for, but the principles should be used wisely.⁴³

It seems that there was neither enough time nor enough interest for such a discussion in the EECMY, when it came to the point. Here again the EECMY leaders acted pragmatically and with an Ethiopian purpose. From now on, Ethiopians would pay salaries to Ethiopians with foreign funds in the KEC-2.

A PICTURE OF THE KEC-2 IN 1961

In 1961 the KEC-2 had been on its own as an independent church for eight years.⁴⁴ As a whole, it still was very similar to the KEC except on its teaching on moral and traditional issues.⁴⁵

Polity: The KEC-2 consisted of five "sevens" (districts). The two strongest were the Dodoba "Seven" with Ato Zelleke Luke's congregation in Hawora, and the Abonsa "Seven" with Ato Ashebo Wolecho's congregation in Mishgida. The Endara Congregation north of Hosanna in the Lemu "Seven" and the Sorgago Congregation in the Soro "Seven" were places of interest, too.⁴⁶

Four times a year, baptisms were held at quarterly meetings.⁴⁷ These meetings can be compared to kinds of KEC-2 "General Assemblies". The KEC-2 was heavily dependent on local elders. The model was conservative and authoritarian.

Worship: As there were almost no church buildings, the services were held in private homes and thus became dependent on the good-will of the house-owner/house-elder.⁴⁸ Singing and prayer in local indigenous manner dominated KEC-2 services and liturgy.

Doctrine: When the link to the EECMY became stronger in 1961, the interest in following EECMY practices on baptism increased among KEC-2 leaders. But as no mission or the "EEC"/EECMY had yet come to the Kambata/Hadiya region to teach the KEC-2, and as the educational level of the KEC-2 elders and leaders was very low, three years of schooling or less, not much teaching was accomplished in the church.

Instead, the legacy of the SIM, where confession was emphasised in connection with the sacraments, still lingered in 1961. The KEC-2 form of baptism was immersion in a river and a baptisand was expected to profess ". . . Jesus Christ as his personal Savior publicly . . ."⁴⁹ Then he also became a communicant.

Because liberalism on moral issues was common, the KEC-2's legacy of public confession became formalistic and confusing. The contradiction between profession and practice made the KEC-2 vulnerable.

Ethos: The KEC-2 attitude on drinking and polygamy was liberal.

Ecumenism: At a national level, the KEC-2 delegates had been attending each CEEC in Addis Abeba from 1955 to 1961. The CEEC at this time functioned as a lifeline of moral support to the KEC-2 but the CEEC representatives did not involve themselves actively in the Kambata/Hadiya region. Since 1961 the KEC-2 was happily aware of an increasing support from the EECMY. Ato Zelleke and Ato

⁴³Lundgren 1960, pp.189f. (Swedish).

⁴⁴This section refers to GA-A: Amare May 1961 unless indicated by footnotes; see Grenstedt 2000, Appendix II.

⁴⁵See Abebe Bushero's argument above, p.128; KM-A: Hodges to Donald 1960.07.18.

⁴⁶The Dodoba "Seven" was a middle-ground, where Kambata and Hadiya ethnic borders met. According to one of my maps, the Shonkolla Mt. was situated inside the Dodoba "Seven". It would be too simplistic to refer to this "seven" as only Kambata. MP-A: Palmu 1977; see Grenstedt 2000, p.51, pp.164, 219.

⁴⁷GA-A: Amare May 1961, p.2; see Grenstedt 2000, Appendix II, p.2.

⁴⁸GA-A: Djalatta 1966.01.21.

⁴⁹GA-A: Amare May 1961, p.3; see Grenstedt 2000, Appendix II, p.3.

Ashebo and others met with AAMY elders in Addis Abeba on January 18, 1961. This was the final step of the KEC-2 open acceptance by the EECMY.⁵⁰

In April 1961, the EECMY Special Commission to Kambata visited all five “sevens” of the KEC-2. In June, when the EECMY support to the KEC-2 received official status, six elders were invited to come to Addis Abeba in July to study the EECMY Constitution and church administration.⁵¹ These things were anticipation of what was to come, and filled the KEC-2 leaders with optimism.

At the local level, the KEC-2 leaders’ opinions of the SIM and the KEC were critical. The KEC-2 felt discriminated against.



Map 1: The KEC-2 Five “Sevens” in 1961
[approximate scale 1:1,000,000]

Size: In 1961 the KEC-2 claimed to have twenty congregations in each one of the five “sevens” and a membership of 25,000. This was probably a huge exaggeration as 100 congregations normally would be estimated to approximately 10,000 members.⁵²

⁵⁰The EECMY second General Assembly was Jan.18-22, 1961. GA-A: CEEC 1961, pp.37f.

⁵¹GA-A: EECMY Church officers’ minutes, p.57, §73-53, Hamle 12, 1953 E.C. (July 1961, Amharic); EECMY Church officers’ minutes, p.59, Introduction, Pagume 3, 1953 E.C. (Sept.1961, Amharic).

⁵²5 x 20 x 100 = 10,000 using “the rule of thumb”. See Grenstedt 2000, p.67.

QES GUDINA TUMSA'S CONTRIBUTION IN THE KAMBATA/HADIYA REGION

THE DOUBLE STRATEGY OF THE EECMY

The framework of the Kambata Evangelical Church 2 (KEC-2) since 1962 was the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) with its four synods and church officers/officers in Addis Abeba. In 1962 the EECMY developed what I call a "double strategy" in its contact with the KEC-2.⁵³

One part of the strategy was to release Qes Gudina Tumsa from the Shoa and Eastern Wollega Synod (Nakamte) for some time and make use of his talents in the KEC-2. His task was to integrate the independent church KEC-2 as a synod of the EECMY. This was a primary concern of the EECMY strategy.

The other part of the strategy was to ask Ato Zacheus Edamo to leave the Wollo -Tigré Synod and be appointed to the local Kambata Home Mission Program (KHMP) as executive secretary in the Kambata Hadiya region. His task was to implement various indigenous EECMY projects in KEC-2 within the KHMP budget.

The process of communication between the KEC-2 and the different EECMY representatives would prove vital for the future. In this next part I will follow developments from 1962 to 1964 on the basis of EECMY minutes.



Photo 1: Qes Gudina Tumsa, photo by Leif Gustavsson, Upsala

QES GUDINA TUMSA'S ATTEMPT AT INTEGRATING THE KEC-2 INTO THE EECMY 1963

As has been mentioned earlier, the EECMY already in July 1961 had begun to educate KEC-2 elders in church administration and in the EECMY constitution in accordance with the EECMY Executive Committee's resolution in June 1961. This indicates an interest from the EECMY side to integrate the KEC-2 as a synod from the very start of the more active EECMY support.⁵⁴

⁵³"Double strategy" is not an EECMY expression but seems to have been the way followed.

⁵⁴GA-A: EECMY Church officers' minutes, p.59, Page 3, 1953 E.C. (Sept.1961, Amharic). See above, p.6.

A year later, in 1962, Qes Gudina Tumsa paid a first visit to the Kambata/Hadiya region and met with KEC-2 elders.⁵⁵ Accordingly, the link between Qes Gudina and the KEC-2 leadership was already well established when, in November 1962, the EECMY church officers wrote a letter and asked the Shoa and Eastern Wollega Synod to send him to the KEC-2 for a longer period of time.⁵⁶

Qes Gudina proved to be an excellent person to bring trustworthy information on local developments to the EECMY church officers and, above all, to start the integration of the KEC-2 into the EECMY. In February 1963 he went to the Kambata/Hadiya region with the view to prepare the KEC-2 for its integration as a synod into the EECMY. As aforementioned, this integration was the primary concern of the EECMY with regard to the KEC-2. The KHMP was meant to serve this purpose, too.⁵⁷

Qes Gudina Tumsa was from Boji in Wollega, born in 1929. He had been working as the first indigenous pastor in Nakamte since his ordination in 1958. He was a strong preacher referred to as "our Billy Graham" by Ato Emmanuel Gebre Selassie. With the Mishgida center in the Abonsa "Seven" as his base, Qes Gudina started his new venture, which would go on for about six months.⁵⁸

The charisma of the tall Qes Gudina, when teaching and preaching, made a strong impression on KEC elders. But they (and KEC-2 Christians) were confused because he smoked a pipe. They were told that he had been advised by his doctor to smoke due to health reasons.⁵⁹ Apparently the theological paradigm of Qes Gudina and the SIM ethos on "worldly practices" differed on this point.⁶⁰

After three weeks, on March 9, 1963, he returned to Addis Abeba, where a "special session" with the EECMY church officers was arranged. Qes Gudina gave a short report on how KEC-2 congregations were starting to "establish themselves" and arrange their work "properly", as he put it. Qes Gudina presented a plan on how congregations should be organized and the work be directed.⁶¹

His ambition was to visit as many congregations as possible in all the "sevens" and teach EECMY doctrine and worship. His idea on polity was to organize the small KEC-2 congregations into larger units. Thus the dominance of the house-fathers in the family-based churches of the KEC-2 would be broken, and a more democratic system, similar to the EECMY model, would be introduced. He also aimed to introduce a synod structure of EECMY model in the KEC-2.⁶²

THE KEC-2 ELDERS SPEAK THEIR MIND

Qes Gudina was accompanied to Addis Abeba by a delegation of elders from the five "sevens" of the KEC-2.⁶³ They were angry and disappointed with the current development of the KHMP because of two reasons. One was that the EECMY school was built in Mishgida, close to Durame south of Mt. Ambaricho. The other was that they felt forgotten by the EECMY as a partner. They asked ". . . why don't you ask us for advice, when you give your support?"⁶⁴

⁵⁵GA-A: EECMY Church officers' minutes, p.83, §75-54, Hamle 10, 1954 E.C. (July 1962, Amharic); see EECMY General Assembly minutes 1963, p.52, *The President's Address*.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷GA-A: EECMY Church officers' minutes, p.89, §21-55, Hedar 10, 1955 E.C. (Nov.1962, Amharic); EECMY Church officers' minutes, p.100, Yekatit 30, 1955, E.C. (1963.03.09 Amharic); see above, p.10.

⁵⁸MYS-A: Beredo Bekalo 1990, pp.19ff.; Sæverås 1974, p.138; Bakke 1987, p.173; Sæverås 1992, p.30; GA-A: Arén 1972, p.10.

⁵⁹SG-A: Yacob Baffa o.i.1997.06.23; Teferi Sendabo o.i.1993.09.02.

⁶⁰On SIM view on "worldly practices" see Grenstedt 2000, pp.57, 83 et.al.

⁶¹GA-A: EECMY Church officers' minutes, p.100, *A Special Session on Kambata* 1963.03.09 (Yekatit 30, 1955, E.C. Amharic, English).

⁶²*Ibid.*; GA-A: Djalatta 1966.01.21, p.6; see MYS-A: Beredo Bekalo 1990, pp.19ff.

⁶³GA-A: EECMY Church officers' minutes, p.100, *A Special Session on Kambata*, 1963.03.09 (Yekatit 30, 1955, E.C. Amharic, English). The following section is based on this source unless indicated by footnotes.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

The elders, except for the one from the Abonsa "Seven", maintained that there had been an agreement in the KEC-2 to build a school in Dodoba, northwest of Ambaricho. The elders explained that they had not wanted to bring this matter up before, as they ". . . did not want to oppose the man, whom the EECMY had chosen and sent." Now, however, was the time to take an "authorised letter" from "the five sevens" of the KEC-2, asking for a Bible school and a synod center to be established in Dodoba.⁶⁵

As we saw above, the two strongholds in the KEC-2 were the Abonsa "Seven" and the Dodoba "Seven". The EECMY General Assembly, held in January 1963, had resolved to buy a "centrally located plot of land" in the Kambata/Hadiya region. The KEC-2 elders then wanted to challenge the EECMY on that decision.⁶⁶ In fact, Dodoba is situated in the center of the region and, in 1963, was in the actual center of the KEC-2. Some of the elders obviously meant that Dodoba ought to become the center of the synod-to-be.

This KEC-2 approach to the EECMY was an important event. It was in fact a demonstration of its local legacy of independence, with links to Ambaricho and Shonkolla. The KEC-2 elders wanted to re-establish a direct contact with the church officers of the EECMY to regain their authority with regard to the KHMP representative.⁶⁷

After all, the real leaders of the KEC-2 were the elders. They had been accustomed to attending the CEEC meetings since 1955 and to consulting the EECMY directly. Qes Gudina obviously was in favor of the direct approach of the KEC-2 elders to the EECMY. He understood that his plan on integration would not be successful, if it did not get the support of the majority of the KEC-2 elders.

What is illustrated here is a failure of the EECMY in its early communication with the KEC-2 on at least two points:

1. The EECMY church officers neglected the importance of a direct contact with the KEC-2 elders instead of unilateral contacts with their own KHMP representative. This made the KEC-2 elders frustrated.
2. The relation between the KHMP "Director," Ato Zacheus, and the KEC-2 elders had not been sufficiently spelled out by the EECMY. Thus, Ato Zacheus did not base his decisions on proper consultations with the KEC-2 elders.

The EECMY's lack of communication had brought the KEC-2 elders to Addis Abeba. As an "outsider" Qes Gudina sensed their disappointment. Now the KEC-2 elders used Qes Gudina as a spokesman in an indigenous KEC-2 effort to get things sorted out with the EECMY church officers. I identify their interaction as a test of Ethiopian Evangelical Solidarity.

RESTRUCTURED CONGREGATIONS

Qes Gudina's option provided a comprehensive attitude towards his attempt to integrate the KEC-2 into the EECMY. He returned to the Kambata/Hadiya region together with the KEC-2 elders. Soon after, he set up a team in order to implement his plan to reconstruct the KEC-2 into a less family-dominated form and to introduce democracy in accordance with the EECMY constitution and by-laws.⁶⁸

The team was led by Qes Gudina himself. Ato Tamru Segaro was used as his interpreter, as Qes Gudina spoke Amharic and not any of the local languages. He could not use his own mother tongue, Oromiffa. Ato Marqos Gobebo from Dodoba, and the evangelist of the Abonsa "Seven", Ato Mattheos Dattago, were the other members of the team. Ato Zacheus was just an outside supporter.⁶⁹

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶Grenstedt 2000, p.158; see above p.8.

⁶⁷EECMY-A: Meeting on Kambata, Schaefer 1963.03.09.

⁶⁸The section below is based on GA-A: Djalatta 1966.01.21; MYS-A: Beredo Bekalo 1990, pp.19f.; Sæverås 1992, pp.50f.

⁶⁹GA-A: Djalatta 1966.01.21, p.6. Ato Mattheos is the father of Dr. Misgana Mattheos, teacher at EGST and MYS in 2011.

An ambitious visiting program was arranged in order to preach, teach on the EECMY constitution, and rearrange the KEC-2 at the local level. The five "sevens" were visited in turn. However, neither the effort to rearrange the KEC-2 "family churches" into larger units was a success, nor the so-called "organisation" of the "sevens" into EECMY parishes.⁷⁰

As already mentioned, the KEC-2 congregations usually met in ordinary houses or huts. The house-father accordingly had a strong influence on the congregation, which he was not willing to discard. If a so-called "proper" church was built outside his land and a new set of elders was chosen, he and his colleagues might risk losing their influence. It seems as if the team members had to abandon the idea of bringing smaller congregations together, owing to a stubborn resistance to this enterprise. Instead they concentrated on rearranging the KEC-2 at a higher level.⁷¹

A SYNOD STRUCTURE

In April and August 1963 Qes Gudina arranged two conventions where he tried to apply a synod structure to the KEC-2. At the first "Synod Assembly" at Mishgida in April (Miazia 17-19), the purpose was to introduce the constitution and by-laws of the Shoa and Eastern Wollega Synod in the KEC-2, and to elect a president and a secretary.⁷² From the sources available, I identify three administrative levels of a kind of "EECMY set-up":⁷³

1. A "Synod Assembly" with two representatives from all the congregations in the KEC-2 was the wider base. The number of delegates could amount to approximately eighty delegates.
2. An executive committee, consisting of five church officers plus eight other delegates. It was called: "The Board of the Kambata Church".
3. The KEC-2 conventions first elected three church officers, who soon were extended to five.⁷⁴

The first church officers of the KEC-2 were the following:

President	Ato Tamru Segaro	Abonsa "Seven"	Mishgida
Vice-President	Ato Zelleke Luke	Dodoba "Seven"	Hawora
General Sec.	Ato Marqos Gobebo	Dodoba "Seven"	Dodoba
Assistant Sec.	Ato Wondafresh Selato	Lemu "Seven"	Endara
Treasurer	Ato Erjabo Handiso	Dodoba "Seven"	Dinika

We note that the stronger "sevens" Dodoba (3), Abonsa (1), and Lemu (1) were represented among the church officers. Qes Gudina's interpreter Ato Tamru, who was the best educated of the five men, was elected President.

Most of the Church officers were probably of Kambata origin, but as already mentioned, Dodoba created a middle ground for both Kambata and Hadiya. Dinika, for example, is close to Mt. Shonkolla. Ethnic borders were less strict in such areas and sometimes even hard to define. According to my sources, Ato Erjabo Handiso's father, for example, was Kambata but his mother Hadiya. Ato Erjabo speaks both

⁷⁰*Ibid.*; EECMY-A: Gudina Tumsa, Nehase 6, 1955 E.C. (Aug.1963, Amharic).

⁷¹In June 1971, when commenting on the situation in the Kambata Synod, Qes Gudina states that special efforts are needed to pull small congregations together. This needs careful study, a good deal of propaganda and money, he maintains. GA-A: Gudina Tumsa, June 1971.

⁷²EECMY-A: Gudina Tumsa, Nehase 6, 1955 E.C. (Aug.1963, Amharic).

⁷³GA-A: Ezra Jan.1965, p.1; FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, p.27 (Finnish); GA-A: Djalatta May 1965, p.1; MYS-A: Beredo Bekalo 1990, pp.20f.; see FELM-A: Kambata Synod 1st Convention 1971.02.12-14, List of Delegates. This section refers to these sources unless indicated.

⁷⁴Ato Tamru and Ato Marqos were first elected (Apr.1963), then Ato Erjabo (Aug.1963). EECMY-A: Gudina Tumsa, Nehase 6, 1955 E.C. (Aug.1963, Amharic).

languages well. From a patriarchal point of view, he is a Kambata but one may ask what such a definition really explains. Mixed marriages and other close relationships make the picture rather complicated.⁷⁵

With the new arrangement the KEC-2 elders' desire to regain influence had been satisfied. The outline of an EECMY synod structure had been introduced to the KEC-2, at least on paper. From now on, the KEC-2 was now and then referred to as "the Synod", by the EECMY.⁷⁶

The transformation of the KEC-2 into an EECMY synod structure had been a very fast process. The rearrangement of the KEC-2 congregations into larger units created new tensions. The future would prove how wise the new measures were.

AMBIVALENT PRIMARY CONCERNS

The "double strategy" of the EECMY influenced the KEC-2 to a great extent. Its primary concern was to integrate the KEC-2 into the EECMY synod structure. Accordingly, the EECMY strategy favored an integration of the KHMP and its "Director" into the "new" KEC-2, or the so-called "Synod", and under the KEC-2 Church officers.⁷⁷

Ato Zacheus implemented the KHMP strategy through the support of various projects. He was a key person in the process of communication between the EECMY and the KEC-2. He felt content with his position as "Director" of the KHMP. It is apposite to suggest that his primary concern was not to reduce his own influence in favor of the newly elected KEC-2 Church officers.

Qes Gudina's arrangements for a KEC-2 synod model created a new leadership structure in the KEC-2. On the one hand, the KEC-2 elders were eager to transform the KEC-2 into an EECMY synod. On the other hand, the KEC-2 had a legacy of a congregation-centered **polity** and a mobile leadership of elders, which was appreciated by many. Thus, Qes Gudina's rearrangements were not happily received by all KEC-2 members. When he left the KEC-2 in the summer of 1963, he left two strong bodies of the KEC-2 behind him.

One body revolved around the KHMP leader Ato Zacheus and the Abonsa "Seven". The other body was the new KEC-2 "Synod" led by the Church officers with a majority of its members from the Dodoba "Seven". They were keen to demonstrate the "central" importance of Dodoba compared to Abonsa. The former body was then expected to coordinate its efforts and projects more closely with the latter. In fact the KHMP was subordinate to the KEC-2 and its Church officers. At that time, there was also a third disappointed "body", i.e. the elders, who had lost their positions because of Qes Gudina's new arrangements. They were "the losers" and fanned the flames of discontent with the new order whenever an opportunity occurred.⁷⁸

Indeed, the EECMY "double strategy" was hard to realize.⁷⁹ In fact Qes Gudina's short, intense campaign opened up an implicit tension.

⁷⁵Grenstedt 2000, pp.25f., 150, n.108; In the 1980's the Dodoba Sebaka ("Seven") was divided into two *sebakas*: The Shonkolla Sebaka (Hadiya) and the Ambaricho Sebaka (Kambata). The division was made mainly along ethnic lines. SG-A: Mauranen to Grenstedt 2000.06.08.

⁷⁶EECMY-A: Gudina Tumsa, Nehase 6, 1955 E.C. (Aug.1963, Amharic); GA-A: Djalatta May 1965, p.1.

⁷⁷The section below is based on the following sources, unless indicated. GA-A: Attachment, Suggestions for Remediating Problems in the Kambatta Program, n.d., u.s. (Dec.1964); Djalatta May 1965, p.1.

⁷⁸GA-A: Ezra Jan.1965, p.3.

⁷⁹For the expression "double strategy", see above, p.10.

AN ISSUE OF RELEVANT CONTEXTUALIZATION

The KEC-2 was a church that earlier had reacted to pressures from outside. Its negative reactions to the KEC (SIM) were mainly generated by cultural reasons. As already has been mentioned, the KEC-2 evolved as an independent church owing to such reasons.⁸⁰

The problems confronting the EECMY in its realization of its "double strategy" in the KEC-2 can be described from different perspectives. One perspective is to describe them as due to a lack of EECMY understanding of the KEC-2 context and thus a failure of "contextualization" of the KHMP efforts into the KEC-2 reality.⁸¹

As already mentioned, the young EECMY showed little interest in the "Schaefer and Lundgren" deliberations, which emphasized a preservation of the KEC-2's indigenous legacy. The shift of principles from not paying salaries from external funds to indigenous work, applied by the SIM for years in the Kambata/Hadiya region, to the opposite, was not carefully assessed by the EECMY.⁸²

The centralized EECMY approach with a dominant KHMP leader was foreign to the KEC-2 collective **polity** built on elders. The KEC-2 elders may have asked: Is it recommendable to let one man employ people and pay their salaries in a fast-expanding program? The idea of collecting money into a centralized budget had been a main reason for the KEC split in 1951. When this idea eleven years later came dressed in KHMP "clothes", it did not look much better to the KEC-2. Why, did the EECMY introduce such a foreign idea anew? The collecting and sending of money to an "unknown" place filled KEC-2 Christians with suspicion.

Why, were some prominent people like the KHMP "Director", the KEC-2 President, and the KEC-2 Secretary receiving salaries, while others were not? How could someone believe that the Kambata/Hadiya farmers would support such a foreign idea? The KHMP was interested in quick results. The KEC-2 procedure was slow and demanded considerable time for discussions.

The new synod structure of the KEC-2 was furthermore foreign to the KEC-2 indigenous ideas. The KEC-2 elders were used to a mobile system of meetings, visiting all the "sevens" in turn. The EECMY approach was to make one place, Mishgida, a dominating center. This reinforced tensions with other "sevens", especially with the other KEC-2 stronghold Dodoba.

The EECMY system of a centralized democracy, with five Church officers as dominating representatives, brought new ideas too fast into the KEC-2 pattern of collective leadership. The KEC-2 indigenous leadership with all its shortcomings had the support of the KEC-2 elders and ordinary Christians. This was hardly the case of the new KEC-2 in its "EECMY synod set-up" in 1963.⁸³

ROOTS OF NEW CONFLICTS

It seems as if the centralized approach of the EECMY to the KEC-2 in 1962-64 and the lack of contextualization were major reasons for the problems generated in the early period of more intense EECMY/KEC-2 relationships. One cannot speak of a long-range plan on the part of the EECMY in its

⁸⁰See above, p. 5; Grenstedt 2000, pp.23ff., 108, 123.

⁸¹A simple definition of the concept "contextualization" in a mission process is that the sender (e.g. a mission) must pay careful attention to the receiver's environment and culture, i.e., his "context", in order to communicate successfully. Stress is put on the appreciation and preservation of this context and its indigenous utterances, when conveying the Christian message. The importance of this issue in a mission process is dealt with in brief by the Lausanne Covenant of 1974 ("LC 10") and more fully by the Willowbank Consultation (1978): "The consultation approved the principle that all churches must "contextualize" the Gospel in order to share it effectively in their own culture." Scherer 1987, pp.167ff., 179; see Hallencreutz 1983, pp.127, 145 (Swedish); Hiebert 1987; Bosch 1991, pp.420ff.

⁸²As already mentioned above, Rev. Schaefer and Rev. Lundgren had written a report called: "A Program of help to the people of Kambata", in which the EECMY attitude to the KEC-2 indigenous legacy was discussed. Grenstedt 2000, pp.143. ff., Appendix III, pp.279 ff.

⁸³Grenstedt 2000, pp.124f., 150f.; GA-A: Ezra Jan.1965, pp.1ff. The custom of the independent KEC-2 was to have monthly and quarterly meetings. The latter alternated between "sevens".

behavior towards the KEC-2 in 1962-64. On the contrary, the pace of the EECMY actions seems to have been guided by the LWF budget process. When money was available, EECMY chose a suitable man, Ato Zacheus, and appointed him the KHMP Executive Secretary.

Qes Gudina was sent to the KEC-2 from an unsolved conflict in Nakamte on his way to studies abroad.⁸⁴ He made a concerted effort in the KEC-2 and used a model familiar to him, that is, the Shoa and Eastern Wollega Synod Constitution and by-laws, as a means of reorganizing the indigenous independent KEC-2. He was in a hurry as he was going to leave the country. He probably had little time for reflection on the Kambata/Hadiya context and the KEC-2 legacy.

The lack of understanding of the KEC-2 legacy and its context on the part of the EECMY at this early stage proved to be very negative to the KHMP results in 1962-64. The evident problems of communication experienced by the EECMY Church officers in their contacts with the KEC-2 and local KHMP representatives were signs of this lack of contextualization. Ato Zacheus's central position and his favoring of the Abonsa "Seven" were already established when Qes Gudina started his mission with a view to implement EECMY democracy. His arrangements came both too late and too early. Actually, they reinforced an inherent conflict and further dissonance.

It is tempting to try to find simple explanations and scapegoats when analyzing conflicts of this kind. This can hardly be done in the complicated framework of the EECMY - KHMP - KEC-2 interaction with its various aspects. The idea of the KHMP was to bring educational, administrative and spiritual support to the KEC-2. Furthermore, the EECMY aimed at integrating the KEC-2 as one of its synods. Yet, the EECMY Synods in 1961 and onwards were in fact in need of the same support as the KEC-2 when they now enthusiastically were trying to bring it into the EECMY.⁸⁵

The KHMP generated positive results, too. Yet there were obvious weaknesses in the EECMY approach to church problems in the Kambata/Hadiya region. The results of the KHMP were not as good as the EECMY had expected. From the autumn of 1964, this state of affairs led the EECMY leaders into a period of analysis and reflection on how to continue its operations in the Kambata/Hadiya region.

The EECMY change of attitude to the KHMP can be illustrated by the EECMY reports delivered to the annual CWM meetings of the LWF for the years 1962-64.

Ato Emmanuel Abraham proudly describes the EECMY involvement for the year of 1962 in a written report:

Although the church is a very young church, it has not neglected to initiate its own home mission program. In the Kambata area of Ethiopia, it has established, with the help of the LWF a home mission program which is directed by the church and has no foreign missionary personnel serving in it. There are no exact figures as to how many are now seeking admittance in the church in this area, but estimates run from 25 to 45,000 individuals. The church has instituted a five-year program during which time it hopes to be able to organise, teach and bring into the church those in Kambatta who have declared themselves so interested.⁸⁶

The new EECMY Executive Secretary, Qes Ezra Gebremedhin, made the following presentation for the year of 1963:

The home mission program of the church in Kambatta is proceeding under the leadership of Kambata Christians. In the year 1963 a synod was organised, a new elementary school completed and a literacy campaign launched.⁸⁷

The report for the year of 1964, which was presented by Qes Ezra, did not mention the KHMP.⁸⁸

⁸⁴Grenstedt 2000, pp.153, 166.

⁸⁵Grenstedt 2000, pp.145f.

⁸⁶LWF-A: LWF/CWM Field Reports Africa 1963, Emmanuel Abraham, pp.2f. Ato Emmanuel was not attending the 1963 LWF/CWM in person. LWF-A: LWF/CWM minutes 1963, p.10.

⁸⁷LWF-A: LWF/CWM Field Reports Africa 1964, Ezra Gebremedhin, pp.3f. Qes Ezra Gebremedhin was the EECMY Executive Secretary (General Secretary) 1963-66.

⁸⁸LWF-A: LWF/CWM Church Reports Africa 1965, Ezra Gebremedhin, pp.2f.

A PICTURE OF THE KEC-2 IN 1962-63

In 1962 the independent church KEC-2 had set out for an unknown destiny. This Ethiopian church tried to adapt to an EECMY synod structure. This was especially the aim of some leaders and elders who tried to direct its course. The real dynamics from our point of view, however, were hidden. This part of the KEC-2 was not that easy to influence.

Polity: The transformation of the KEC-2 leadership functions, from a more flexible, collective system based on consensus and long discussions to a more centralized administrative system based on democratic principles of majority voting, was introduced by the EECMY pastor in Nakamte, Qes Gudina Tumsa. In the spring of 1963, he led an intense campaign that aimed at rearranging the KEC-2 according to EECMY patterns.

In the summer of 1963, the KEC-2 adopted an EECMY synod structure consisting of three administrative levels, hence from now on it was occasionally referred to as the "Synod":

- A "Synod Assembly", which corresponded to the former quarterly meetings, consisted of two members from each congregation in the KEC-2.
- An executive committee consisted of the five Church officers plus eight others. It was called "The Board of the Kambata Church". It corresponded to a certain extent to the monthly meetings of the KEC-2.
- The executive leaders were five men called "Church officers". Most of them were from the Dodoba "Seven". The President and Secretary of the "Synod" were paid by KHMP budget.

The KEC-2 five "sevens" were then taught how to adapt to an EECMY parish (*sebaka*) structure with central administrative functions. These were, however, not easy to implement in the "sevens". Instead tensions between the KEC-2 strongholds, the KHMP-dominated Abonsa "Seven" and the Dodoba "Seven", increased. The mobile character of the KEC-2 leadership structure was challenged by the KEC-2 new static center in Mishgida. A new class of paid KEC-2 church-workers evolved.

At a congregational level, the "new" ideas of drawing smaller congregations together after some time met a stubborn and even violent resistance.⁸⁹ Especially strong was the reaction to collect and send away money for common purposes. This was probably due to previous experiences of KEC-2 members before the KEC re-structure in 1952.⁹⁰

The efforts of re-structuring the KEC-2 polity thus led to two ecclesiastical systems competing for influence in the KEC-2 in the summer of 1963: an independent congregation-centered collective KEC-2 type and a centralized administrative EECMY type. The competition fanned the flames of discontent in an evolving multi-faceted conflict, which was induced by the new KHMP budget-system introduced into the KEC-2. The tensions generated a big conflict, which shook the KEC-2 from the summer of 1963.⁹¹ Numerous conflicts between elders of smaller congregations were reinforced by former discontented elders, now "losers" in the new system, and the poor examples set by the new KEC-2 "Synod's" top leaders Ato Tamru Segaro and Ato Zacheus Edamo.⁹²

Worship: The same as in 1961.

Doctrine: Subjective aspects of faith dominated KEC-2 doctrine. Qes Gudina's teaching was actually the first time ordinary KEC-2 Christians and local elders were influenced by a systematic EECMY teaching on the sacraments. Qes Gudina, furthermore, emphasised the necessity to start Sunday schools and confirmation classes in the congregations.⁹³ When it was functioning, the Bible school

⁸⁹GA-A: Djalatta 1966.01.21, p.6; Grenstedt 2000, p.211.

⁹⁰Grenstedt 2000, pp.97, 105.

⁹¹GA-A: Ezra Jan.1965, pp.1ff.; Djalatta 1966.01.21, pp.6ff.

⁹²*Ibid.*

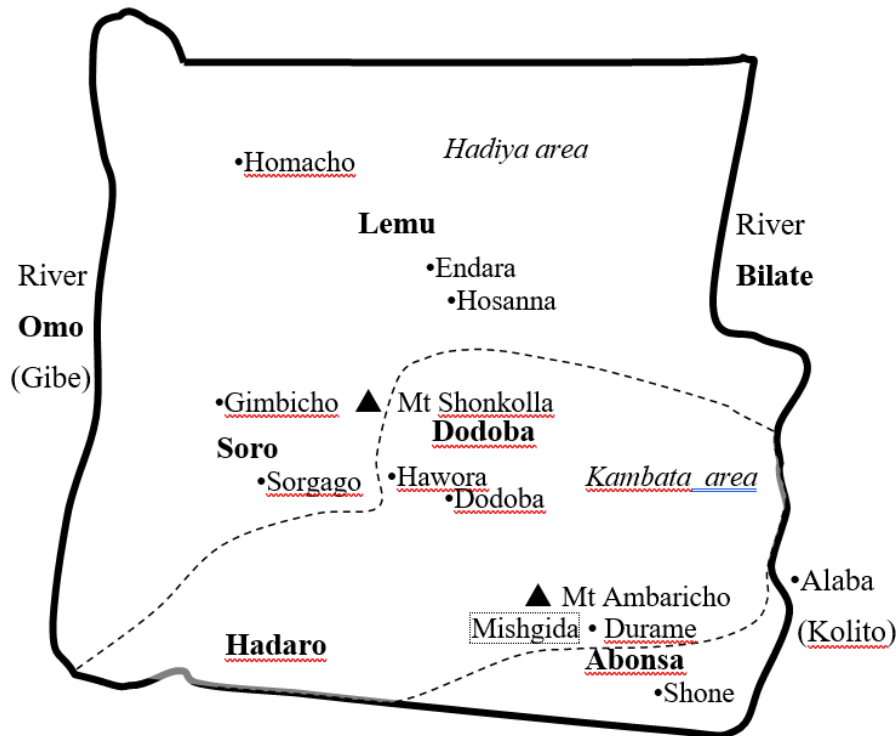
⁹³GA-A: Djalatta 1966.01.21, p.6; EECMY-A: Gudina Tumsa, Nehase 6, 1955 E.C. (Aug. 1963, Amharic); Grenstedt 2000, p.211.

provided traditional basic knowledge in the Scriptures, probably augmented with some Lutheran doctrine. As the Bible school itself was a tool in the conflict, its teaching was not effectual, however.

Ethos: The KEC-2 attitude to drinking and polygamy was liberal.

Relations to the EECMY: At a national level, the KEC-2 elders and "Church officers" from 1963 took part in the EECMY General Assemblies and executive committee meetings. At the regional level, there was a flow of Ethiopian contacts between the KEC-2 and the neighboring NLM-related Sidamo and Gamu Gofa Synod. Scholarships were distributed for education in different institutions. At the local level, the lack of contextualization of the EECMY approach led to strong reactions against the EECMY novelties. This had not been anticipated by the EECMY representatives.

Size: In 1963 the KEC-2 membership was estimated at about 30,000. As in 1961 this was a gross exaggeration.⁹⁴ There were still five "sevens" in the KEC-2.



Map 2: The KEC-2 Five "Sevens" in 1963
[approximate scale 1:1,000,000]

QES GUDINA TUMSA CONNECTS FMS WITH THE KEC-2, 1967-69

After studies at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota 1963-66, Qes Gudina returned to Ethiopia and served the EECMY as its General Secretary from 1966 to 1979.⁹⁵ With his widening perspectives, he resumed his efforts to support the KEC-2 in becoming a synod in the EECMY.

Heart-searching questions on the continued financing of the Kambata Home Mission Program (KHMP) and its integration into the KEC-2 had forced Ato Djalatta to begin to contemplate the possibility of the direct involvement of a new missionary agency in the joint EECMY-KEC-2 enterprise

⁹⁴See above, p.9.

⁹⁵Eide, Ø., 'Integral Human Development', pp.41, 51, In: *The Life and Ministry of Rev. Gudina Tumsa*, Addis Ababa: Gudina Tumsa Foundation, 2003.

in the Kambata/Hadiya region. Continued developments resulted in a new venture by the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS).⁹⁶

In Africa the FMS was hitherto mainly involved in Namibia and Tanzania. The EECMY with its international connections took the initiative in the contacts with the FMS. In this new process, the KEC-2 was simply at the receiving end.

It is this development that will be the main preoccupation of this part of my paper. In addition to the EECMY minutes, I mainly base my account on primary sources in Finnish from the archives of the FMS, nowadays called the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM).⁹⁷

THE FMS ARRIVES IN ETHIOPIA

On June 5, 1967 the FMS General Assembly decided to let the FMS Board make arrangements for the start of a new involvement in Ethiopia, but it was not yet fully committed to the Kambata/Hadiya region.⁹⁸

When the EECMY prepared the FMS survey in Ethiopia, it planned to present two options, the Kambata/Hadiya region and the Western Wollega Synod (WWS).⁹⁹ However, the LWF preferred the FMS to choose the first. This is further illustrated by a personal visit paid by Dr. Hellberg to the region in the rainy season of 1967.¹⁰⁰ On August 15, 1967 he was able to report on his visit in the region to the EECMY Church officers. In this time, he had actually travelled in the hilly country from Durame to Hosanna on slippery "roads" mainly on mule, a distance of c.60 km. His guides were Qes Gudina Tumsa and Ato Djalatta Djaffero.¹⁰¹

Dr Hellberg's impression was ". . . that Hosaena would be a suitable location for a future Synod Office as well as for the Bible school . . ." ¹⁰² There were many reasons for this, but communication and light were the two mentioned. Astonishingly, according to the EECMY minutes, nothing was said of the KHMP centre in Mishgida/Durame or the consequences for the work when the center was changed from the Kambata area to Hadiya area. Dr Hellberg just limited himself to suggesting:

. . . that in case the Finnish Missionary Society would undertake the work in Kambata, CWM would be in a position to give favourable consideration to the request submitted to CWM/LWF in the five year plan.¹⁰³

This was a clear message from the LWF to the EECMY. According to the EECMY, the LWF had agreed to support the KHMP at the LWF/CWM meeting in April 1967 if a supporting mission was found. In August the FMS was explicitly recommended as such a mission.¹⁰⁴

A three week trip, October 16 - November 7, to Ethiopia had been prepared by the EECMY for the FMS delegates Rev. Ojanperä and Rev. Remes. October 17-23 was set aside for a survey of the

⁹⁶Ato Djallata Djaffero was the director of the Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign from 1962 and was working as secretary of the EECMY "Advisory Committee" of the KHMP from 1965. Grenstedt 2000, pp.177ff.

⁹⁷My mother, Margit L. Grenstedt, born Silfver, has translated FELM (FMS) material from Finnish into Swedish. I would like to thank her for this important contribution to my study and for her continuous support! The translations from Swedish to English are mine. References to pages in the Finnish reports refer to the Finnish original. I indicate a source in Finnish by writing "(Finnish)".

⁹⁸FELM-A: The FMS General Assembly minutes 1967.06.05, §13 (Finnish).

⁹⁹FELM-A: *Travel Schedule* FMS, Oct.16-Nov.7, 1967.

¹⁰⁰Dr. Hellberg was the LWF/DWM Secretary of Africa.

¹⁰¹GA-A: EECMY Church officers' minutes 1967.08.18; SG-A: C-J. Hellberg o.i. 1993.08.20. Hellberg humorously speaks of the change in means of transportation, which he often experienced when visiting the countryside: from plane to car and to mule. The group lost its trail in the darkness and rain. Hellberg fainted from exhaustion and fell off his mule just before reaching Hosanna.

¹⁰²GA-A: EECMY Church officers' minutes 1967.08.18.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴GA-A: EECMY Executive Committee, June 1967, *President's Report*, p.2.

Kambata/Hadiya region, October 24-31 for the WWS. One week would be spent in Addis Abeba, including a meeting with the EECMY Church officers on the day before their departure.¹⁰⁵

EECMY LEADERS INTRODUCE THE KAMBATA/HADIYA REGION TO THE FMS

On October 17, 1967 the FMS delegation went by plane from Addis Abeba to Hosanna. The EECMY guides were Qes Gudina and Ato Djalatta.¹⁰⁶ It was stated that one should try to make Hosanna the new center of the church, and the group visited a land-strip ". . . reserved for the administration of the church". Dodoba, which also was visited on the trip, was not considered interesting for a Bible school any longer, however.¹⁰⁷

There were probably several motives for this new interest in Hosanna. As has been indicated, Hosanna is a central place for the Hadiya ethnic groups, and Durame a central place for the Kambata ethnic groups. By moving the KEC-2 center from Mishgida/Durame to Hosanna it was moved from a Kambata centre to a Hadiya center.

When Dr. Hellberg in conversation with Rev. Ojanperä calls Hosanna ". . . a neutral place", this must be understood as "neutral" in respect to the KEC-2 "sevens".¹⁰⁸ Hosanna was not in the center of the conflicts of the KEC-2. In fact the town of Hosanna seems to have been more or less an empty spot for the KEC-2 in 1967. In 1962 comity questions were more sensitive to the EECMY than later on. In that year it would probably have been complicated to place the KEC-2 center in Hosanna, close to where the KEC/SIM center was situated.¹⁰⁹ In 1967 the internal tension between the KEC-2 "sevens" was a more problematic issue for the EECMY than questions of comity, however.

It is likely that the EECMY wanted a new start for the KHMP and the FMS missionaries to begin in more "neutral" ground outside the spheres of influence of the stronger "sevens" of Abonsa and Dodoba and their mutual and internal conflicts. These ideas, coupled with the advantages of having a new synod center situated close to the Awraja center, became decisive for the choice of Hosanna.¹¹⁰

The group continued to the south of the region by plane, via Soddu, the capital of Wollamo. At the Mishgida center, they visited the Bible school with its thirteen students. It made a poor impression on the Finns. The Mishgida School was more impressive with its 450 students. After the stay in the Mishgida center, they visited four small congregations in the Abonsa "Seven". These were Ambo, Abonsa, Djore, and Adilo. Then the group returned to Addis Abeba via Shashamene and the NLM agricultural school in Wondo.¹¹¹

THE FMS DELEGATES MEET THE EECMY CHURCH OFFICERS

When the FMS representatives met the EECMY Church officers in Addis Abeba to discuss the FMS engagement in Ethiopia, the following persons received them: Qes Gudina, Ato Emmanuel Gebre Selassie, Rev. Lundgren (SEM), and Mr. Magnar Magerøy (NLM). The Finnish delegates raised the question of comity as a possible obstacle to working in the Kambata/Hadiya region.¹¹² They had been told by Mr. Hodges of the SIM that concerning comity regulations the SIM:

¹⁰⁵FELM-A: *Travel Schedule* FMS, Oct 16-Nov.7, 1967; see FELM-A: Spehar to Emmanuel 1967.07.17.

¹⁰⁶FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, pp.19-31, 49-54 (Finnish). The following section refers to this source unless indicated by footnotes.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹The KEC (SIM) centre was just outside Hosanna. Originally in Lambuda, then Dubancho and Bobicho.

¹¹⁰FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, pp.19-31, p.54 (Finnish).

¹¹¹FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, pp.19-31, pp.49-54 (Finnish).

¹¹²FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, pp.52-54 refers to this section (Finnish).

. . . did not want to forbid anyone to come, but would on their part go on working on their own. He argued that the Comity committee had allotted Kambata to the SIM. Naturally there have been confrontations with other missions.¹¹³

The EECMY's answer to the FMS delegates reflects Ethiopian independent mentality, which opposed the missionaries' comity constructions. The Finns were accordingly advised ". . . not to bother too much about the SIM-work there, as no mission has any special rights to the said area."¹¹⁴ The goal for the work in Kambata was to build a national church. A new missionary society was not needed, but workers sent by the FMS, were willing to work "under" the EECMY.¹¹⁵

The immediate need for personnel was further specified: an adviser, with experience from another part of Africa, a teacher for the Bible school and a builder for a shorter period. It was emphasized that there was need for investments both in personnel and economy in the Kambata/Hadiya region. Rev. Ojanperä realized that the EECMY was keen to get the FMS engaged in the region.¹¹⁶

There was a certain ambiguity as to what was expected from the FMS, however. When confronting the issue of comity raised by the SIM, and while talking on integration, it was stressed that the mission was "under" the EECMY and that the missionaries were just co-workers in the church. When it came to concrete expectations, the FMS was expected to make a huge input of money and personnel.

Thus, Qes Gudina stressed that if the EECMY did not invest in personnel and money as in other synods, one could not expect any better results. Ato Djalatta, who was not present at the Church officers' meeting, had for his part said that the new five-year plan would be dependent on what the LWF and the FMS wanted to do. He hoped that the builder, the adviser, and the teacher would soon arrive.¹¹⁷

It seems that the two men with the closest knowledge of the KEC-2, i.e., Ato Djalatta and Qes Gudina, had quite a pragmatic view of the FMS enterprise in the Kambata/Hadiya region. Others were more concerned with ideology. The words above of not sending a mission to the region and building a national church are vague when considering the specific needs, which had been presented earlier to the FMS delegates. They can be specified under the following three headings:

1. Spiritual needs: About 80-100 new evangelists were needed for the KEC-2. The place of teaching should be in the Kambata/Hadiya region and it was going to be given on two levels. One for students who had finished the third class, and the other for students who had finished the sixth class.
2. Educational needs: Hostels were needed in Mishgida and in Hosanna. The other five "sevens" ought to have a six-grade school of their own. Scholarships were needed. A vocational school combined with an agricultural project would be welcome.
3. Medical needs: A small hospital with fifteen places was needed, and at least one clinic in each "seven".¹¹⁸

Nothing had been said about who would meet these needs except that the EECMY responsibility had been stressed. It is reasonable to conclude that it was implied that the FMS was to supply the budget for the new projects, hopefully together with the LWF. The EECMY leaders knew that the LWF was interested in reducing its involvement in the KHMP-project, and the FMS delegates must have been realized this by the FMS delegates at the 1967 CWM, too.¹¹⁹ According to the FMS minutes, though, the

¹¹³FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, p.50 (Finnish). Grenstedt 2000, pp.87f.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, pp.53f. (Finnish).

¹¹⁸FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, pp.29-31 (Finnish).

¹¹⁹Grenstedt 2000, pp.198f.

EECMY had agreed with Dr. Hellberg that the LWF would provide the budget at the initial stage if the Finns sent personnel.¹²⁰

WHAT ABOUT THE KEC-2?

According to available sources, the KEC-2 kept a low profile during the FMS explorations of the Kambata/Hadiya region. The presentation of the region was made by two Oromos - Qes Gudina and Ato Djalatta. Ato Geletta Wolteji's name is also mentioned in the FMS report.¹²¹

In fact, not one person from the KEC-2 or one local leader of the region is mentioned by name in the Finnish report. In a similar way no one from the KEC-2 was present when the FMS discussed the Kambata/Hadiya region with the EECMY Church officers. The leader of the KEC-2 Bible school, Ato Leggese Segaro, obviously was English-speaking as he was a graduate from the Mekane Yesus Seminary. The KEC-2 President, Ato Erjabo Handiso, was most certainly around. Neither of them is mentioned by name in the Finnish report.

The short visit by the team to Dodoba conveys the impression that this place, which for so long had been planned to be the site for a Bible school, was not of special interest any longer. After all, this was the place where the majority of the current KEC-2 pastors had been ordained by Qes Ezra Gebremedhin in 1965. Then, however, it seems to have been regarded as situated in the middle-of-nowhere.¹²²

Was the move of the KEC-2 center from Durame to Hosanna ever properly discussed with the KEC-2? Or was it just decided at a "higher level"? I suggest that the latter is the case. Thinking of the prevailing conflicts in the KEC-2, it may have been a wise decision of the EECMY to let the KEC-2 representatives keep a low profile in their presentation of the Kambata/Hadiya region. Anyhow, one must admit that it was not an integrated presentation from a KEC-2 point of view. It was planned and arranged by EECMY officials on a national level in Addis Abeba.

No strong objection from the KEC-2 side on this state of affairs can be traced though. It was then on its way to get a supporting foreign mission. This was the vital issue for the KEC-2 in 1967.

THE FMS DELEGATION FACES THE CHALLENGE

The FMS delegates were challenged by what they had been introduced to in the Kambata/Hadiya region. They were not to register as a mission, but to start its work as a part of the EECMY. This was very much in line with theological discussions on the integration of missions into the EECMY in Ethiopia in 1967.¹²³

The American Lutheran Mission (ALM) signed a document of such an integration with the EECMY and the Wollo-Tigré Synod on May 29, 1966. This was well known to the other synods in 1967. Meetings and deliberations concerning the integration of the missions into the EECMY were taking place in 1967-68. The Synod Presidents and the Lutheran Mission Directors listened to lectures on this subject by Ethiopian speakers such as Ato Emmanuel Abraham, Qes Ezra, Qes Gudina, and Ato Djalatta.¹²⁴ The

¹²⁰FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, p.53 (Finnish). It is maintained that the EECMY and Dr Hellberg had agreed that at the initial stage the LWF would provide the budget if the FMS provided personnel. This interpretation was questioned by Hellberg. FELM-A: Hellberg to Ojanperä 1969.06.11.

¹²¹FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21 (Finnish). This source refers to this section.

¹²²Qes Ezra Gebremedhin (being the EECMY General Secretary 1963-66) ordained 18 pastors in his "visiting program" from March 3 to April 17, 1965 in the Kambata/Hadiya region. All the 6 "sevens" were visited as well as 36 congregations. Grenstedt 2000, pp.185, 199f.

¹²³FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, p.54 (Finnish).

¹²⁴Sæverås 1974, pp.142-52. Missionaries and other foreigners also lectured.

FMS had the chance to become an early follower of the ALM in this respect. This was apparently important to the FMS.¹²⁵

Furthermore, the financial engagement of the LWF in the region was regarded as an asset by the FMS.¹²⁶

THE DECISION OF THE FMS

In 1968 the groundwork was made for the integrated FMS approach in the Kambata/Hadiya region. Parallel arrangements were going on in Ethiopia and Finland. On April 22, 1968 the FMS Board decided to start work in the Kambata/Hadiya region.¹²⁷ The EECMY leadership welcomed the decision at the EECMY Executive Committee meeting in June 1968. The EECMY looked forward to welcoming two new missionaries in January 1969.¹²⁸

At the same meeting of the EECMY Executive Committee, the KEC-2 presented a draft constitution for membership as a synod in the EECMY. This draft was sent to the EECMY Synods' Presidents for comments.¹²⁹ Apparently it was still felt necessary to base important decisions on the KEC-2 within the four synods. As this new synod would become an important part of the EECMY body with its reported high membership, the KEC-2 merger with the EECMY had to be well established among the other synods.

Qes Gudina Tumsa reports to the Commission on World Mission (LWF) at Hillerød in Denmark in August 1968:

. . . The Kambata home mission program was one of the areas which has been absorbing much of the attention of the church. The Finnish Missionary Society was invited to come out to assist in this challenging undertaking by the church, and we now rejoice over the fact that our invitation has been accepted by the FMS to start work in January 1969.

A plan to form a team to organise the Kambata congregations in a synod structure is being carried out and it is hoped that the Sixth General Assembly of the church in January 1969 will accept the Kambata Synod as a full member of the church, a fact which will increase the number of synods of the church from four to five and a growth in membership from seventy-seven thousand to over hundred thousand.¹³⁰

The feeling of relief and joy can be read between the lines in Qes Gudina's report. The process of integrating the KEC-2 as a synod into the EECMY had been initiated by Qes Gudina in the spring of 1963. Now the implementation was not far away.¹³¹

On October 22, 1968, the EECMY President Ato Emmanuel Abraham and the FMS Director Rev. Alpo Hukka signed an agreement between the EECMY and the FMS in Addis Abeba. The FMS's agreement with the EECMY anticipated the document on integration between the EECMY and its cooperating missions, which was finally signed on April 7, 1969. The agreement stated that:

The Mission shall work with and within the Church in accordance with her Constitution and shall in all its work, until otherwise decided, be directly responsible to the Church officers.¹³²

¹²⁵FELM-A: Hirvilammi 1989, pp.23ff. (Swedish).

¹²⁶FELM-A: Ojanperä 1967.09.30-11.21, p.54 (Finnish). The FMS was interested in starting work in the region on the condition that the LWF supplied all capital investment except for the costs of the missionaries' houses. Otherwise the FMS would turn to the WWS, it is said.

¹²⁷FELM-A: Hirvilammi 1989, p.18 (Swedish).

¹²⁸GA-A: EECMY 17th Executive Committee, June 1968, *The President's Report*, p.2.

¹²⁹GA-A: EECMY 17th Executive Committee minutes, June 1968, §17-30, p.7.

¹³⁰LWF-A: LWF/CWM Church Reports 1968, Gudina Tumsa, p.3.

¹³¹See above, pp.11 ff.

¹³²FELM-A: Hirvilammi 1989, Appendix 3, *Agreement*, Article 1, no.1, p.1 (Swedish); see *FMS Årsbok 1969*, p.35 (Swedish). On Rev. Hukka, see Grenstedt 2000, p.135.

It should be noted that the agreement concerned the FMS and the EECMY. Apparently the EECMY Church officers already considered the KEC-2 an integrated part of the EECMY. However, the FMS relations to the KEC-2 were yet an unwritten chapter. After all, it was not in Addis Abeba but in the KEC-2, a church in transition, that the local integration was expected to be realized.

The FMS appointed five missionaries for work in the Kambata/Hadiya region. The leader was Rev. Kaarlo Hirvilammi. He had experience from six years of integrated mission work in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT).¹³³ The decision to choose a FMS-missionary from Tanzania and not from Namibia was probably due to the experiences of the Tanzanian missionaries working in a church with a similar agreement on integration as the EECMY was expected to achieve.¹³⁴ This experience was considered to be of great value when trying to work "under" the EECMY as an "integrated mission".

At the EECMY executive committee on June 13-14, 1969 the EECMY members accepted the KEC-2 as the 5th synod of the EECMY. It got the name "the Kambata Synod". Today, in 2011, its name is "the South Central Synod" (SCS).

CONCLUSION

When Qes Gudina Tumsa arrived in the Kambata/Hadiya region in February 1963, there was already an evolving conflict between the KEC-2 church elders and the KHMP and its powerful Director, Ato Zacheus Edamo. It seemed as if one of the "sevens", that is the Abonsa "seven", had received too much favor at the expense of the other "sevens". The KHMP was experienced as a "foreign body" by the KEC-2 elders and was not properly integrated into the KEC-2 ecclesiastical structure. The KEC-2 elders felt that they were losing authority and were not listened to by the EECMY, which Qes Gudina (perhaps too late) tried to rectify.¹³⁵

Qes Gudina's concerted effort to rearrange the polity of the indigenous KEC-2 into what was called "a proper church", that is, into an EECMY Synod model, needed the support of the KEC-2 elders. Qes Gudina's efforts were perhaps a bit too ambitious in the short time he could spend in the region, just six months. The small family-based house-churches being rearranged into larger units met stubborn and even violent resistance. The transformation of the "sevens" into an EECMY sebaka (parish) structure was not easy to implement. The idea of having a static "power-center" in line with an EECMY model, instead of a mobile KEC-2 one that promoted long discussions and great collective participation, was not favored by many of the KEC-2 members. They seemed to have enjoyed the KEC-2 polity with "sevens", "monthly and quarterly meetings", rather than the three-level structure of the EECMY. Anyhow, by this new structure, the KEC-2 elders (now Church officers) formally regained their influence over the KHMP (and its Director), an achievement more easily said than done. To employ some of the Church officers by outside funds was another foreign idea to the KEC-2 with its legacy of self-support in line with indigenous principles introduced early on by the SIM. In fact the KEC-2, though weak, was self-supporting before the LWF program started in 1962. Even worse was the idea to collect money to a centralized budget. That reminded the KEC-2 members of one of the crucial motives of the split in the KEC in 1951.¹³⁶

There was an obvious lack of time, a lack of study of the history of the KEC and KEC-2 from the EECMY side (of which Qes Gudina was a key-person), and thus a lack of proper contextualization. One result of the changes in the KEC-2 polity and the way the KHMP was introduced in the region was an intense power struggle between the representatives of the KHMP and the KEC-2, and also in the KEC-2

¹³³FELM-A: Hirvilammi 1989, pp.28f., Appendix 1, p.1 (Swedish).

¹³⁴FELM-A: Hirvilammi 1989, pp.24, 29 (Swedish). M. Hirvilammi sees a wisdom in calling FMS missionaries from Tanzania (ELCT), not from Namibia, "... where the model was more traditional." The integration of missions in ELCT was made in 1963. Bachmann 1989, p.81.

¹³⁵See above, p.12; Grenstedt 2000, pp.153.ff.

¹³⁶See above, pp.12-16. On the split in the KEC in 1951, see Grenstedt 2000, pp.95ff.

itself. Though there were some positive effects of the EECMY "Home Mission", it was decided that the EECMY approach to the KEC-2 had to be re-evaluated and rearranged, starting in 1964.¹³⁷

The Lutheran doctrinal teaching of the KEC-2 by the EECMY was introduced at the regional level by Qes Gudina. This teaching would take a long time to be grasped and implemented among the KEC-2 members, who had been brought up in a Baptist environment mixed with indigenous cultural ideas.¹³⁸

In 1967-69 Qes Gudina, now as General Secretary of the EECMY, once more played an important part in the process of merging the KEC-2 into a synod of the EECMY. He became instrumental as the one who linked the KEC-2 with the Finnish Missionary Society. It is however interesting to notice that the deliberations of the FMS and the EECMY was conducted at a national level. The KEC-2 was in fact just at the receiving end of these procedures.¹³⁹

The EECMY vision from 1961 to support the KEC-2 was thus finalized in 1969 when the KEC-2 was accepted as the 5th synod of the EECMY, "the Kambata Synod". This process had perhaps become more adventurous than the EECMY could have imagined.

The story of the KEC-2 – EECMY relations is an example of how an autonomous church (EECMY) supports an African Independent Church (KEC-2) in an indigenous "Home Mission" regardless of missionary comity rules. In this venture, Qes Gudina Tumsa was one of the key figures. He must be admired for his endurance and dedication in this great challenge. Qes Gudina is still well remembered in the Kamabata/Hadiya region as one who transcended barriers of ethnicity, social status, and denominationalism.

This way of doing mission is in line with the legacy of the "Evangelical Pioneers" of the EECMY since the early Bethel Congregation at Massawa. The early Bethel Congregation functioned as the yeast of an expanding Evangelical counterculture in Ethiopia at the end of the 19th century, and this counterculture continued in the 20th century in the EECMY. The concept for this type of attitude in mission can be called "Ethiopian Evangelical Solidarity".¹⁴⁰ Qes Gudina Tumsa's ministry in the Kambata/Hadiya region is a good example of this attitude.

¹³⁷See above, p.16. The reflections of Qes Gudina on the KEC in 1971 are illuminating; see above, p.13, n.72.

¹³⁸Still in 1986 large parts of the EECMY (SCS) members around Durame (Mishgida) had not attended a confirmation class. I had myself the privilege to lead the first confirmation class in the Ambo Congregation that year. See Grenstedt 2000, p.222.

¹³⁹See above, pp.19-22.

¹⁴⁰See above, pp.6, 12; On the early Bethel Congregation at Massawa, see Grenstedt 2000, pp. 25-26.