

**A Comparison of the Angolan Diaspora and
their Biblical Counterparts in the Post-Exilic
Period**

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Angolan Diaspora in the recent history of Angola, paying attention to the phenomenon of displacement. The Angolan history is used to compare the situation of displaced Angolans with the situation of Judean exiles during the Babylonian and Persian periods (600-300 BCE).

Chapter one deals with the introduction.

Chapter two of this thesis provides a detailed description of Angola from Geography to its minerals that are fuel to the conflict, financing the war (in both sides), which is the main cause of Diaspora in Angola.

Chapter three discusses the social phenomenon of displacement as well as the refugee crisis in Africa and in particular in Angola.

Chapter four discusses displacement in the Ancient Near East as well as displacement in the Biblical times.

Chapter five provides an analysis of Psalm 74 and the Angolan responses in form of songs.

Chapter six is conclusion.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been presented to any other university for a degree and that it represents the researcher's own original research.

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Dedication

The phenomenon of war with all its malice that is current in Angola has in turn given rise to the phenomenon of displacement. Angola's population are left in despair. The war has destroyed the country and taken the lives of countless innocent civilians. Among those killed violently in Bela Vista, in the Huambo Province in February 1999, one name comes to mind. The name of my father, ***Eurico Chianeque***. This Thesis is dedicated to him. He believed that education could change the lives of the people, so, he sent all his 11 children to school. One of these 11 is the researcher of this thesis.

This thesis is dedicated to my late father.

Requiem aeternam, dona ei Domine,

et lux perpetua luceat ei...

Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord,

and let perpetual light shine upon him...

Acknowledgements

When I first came to South Africa in February 1995, I found that I had to adapt myself to the prevailing circumstances, differing lifestyles, customs, culture and above all its language. I endeavoured to direct my energies to acquaint myself with many differing people of this country and learn from them.

It is reputed that Bernard of Chartes once remarked: “we are dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants, so that we can see more than they... not by virtue of any sharpness of sight on our part... but because we are carried high and raised up by their giant sizes”.

This Thesis is certainly no exception! In the search, writing and compilation of this work, I was carried and aided on more than one side in one of the busiest and most strenuous years I have ever experienced.

In the course of my study there are people who helped me through and I became in one way or another indebted to them. I want to say to them Thank you very much, although words sometimes cannot fully represent what we want to say and feel.

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Chapter One

1: - INTRODUCTION

1.1: - The problem

There is a war going on in Angola. A long, bloody and confused war, which started ever since the Portuguese pulled out of 'their' African colony of Angola, the country has been a battleground of tribal loyalties, imported ideologies, mercenary bands and foreign armies.

From Cuba and South Africa came the troops. From the United States of America (USA) and Russia, from China, Britain, East Germany, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Morocco have come arms and money.

The Angolan crisis calls for all citizens of that country to think carefully and to develop strategies favourable for permanent cease-fire, reconciliation and nation building. The climate of tension, war and violence is ravaging this country. As a result of armed hostilities many Angolan citizens are living in Diaspora in the neighboring countries leaving behind familiar things to them such as land, homes and families.

1.2: - MOTIVATION

At the outset the writer wishes to make a few personal comments. His own personal reason for choosing this topic as a Christian leader and an Angolan in the Diaspora is as follows:

Sometimes he wonders if peace is possible in the world we live in. Everyday he listens to stories of wars and death by means of violence, which is almost everywhere. Then he asks himself: Is there such a thing as peace? The United Nations, and in Africa's case, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) are trying to do what they can to bring peace and stability among the peoples but bloodshed seems to be the norm.

The writer, an Angolan, also suffers from the effects of the Diaspora and also identifies himself with the many other Angolans who are displaced due to the war situation in the country. There is great anticipation amongst Angolans both outside and inside of Angola, for the country to return to normality so that they could pick up the pieces in order that Angola could emerge as one of the leading nations in Africa.

For this reason this thesis is in the discipline of Biblical Studies and Old Testament. We learn from the Bible of how Judah and her capital Jerusalem had fallen in 586BC and her citizens had entered a seventy-year captivity in Babylon. There, God promised the people of Israel a new David, His throne

and His Kingdom. This became the sustaining hope for a people who had lost every outward symbol of hope (Ez. 34:11-31).

God searched for His people and through the hand of Persia they returned to their land in three stages. Although Persia and then Greece and Rome controlled them, the hand of God was always intervening in Jewish history. Although it is true that the Angolan Diaspora is not the same as that of the Israelite Diaspora in the sense that there is no nation at war with Angola or one which took her people captive; nevertheless, the psychological, social and economic conditions for ordinary person are similar. In both cases they lost their cultures, languages, and properties and loved ones. In both cases the people in the dispersion found exile to be more comfortable than home and needed to be encouraged to go back and rebuild (Ez. 34:12-13).

It is God's desire, the researcher believes, for Angola as well as it was for the Jews, that "the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all the people shall see it together" (Is. 40:5).

It is in the light of this that the writer wishes to investigate the experiences of Diaspora as a socio-historical phenomenon, i.e. as Diaspora experienced both in the Angolan and biblical contexts.

1.3: - AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this thesis is:

(1) To analyze the recent history of Angola in all its facets, economic, political and religious.

(2) To examine the notion of displacement as a general human experience throughout history and more particularly in Africa in recent times and specifically with reference to Angolans.

(3) To attempt an historical comparison of the situation of modern-day Angolan Christians with their biblical counterparts during the Babylonian and Persian periods (600-300 BC). This includes their social, political and economic development.

(4) To draw conclusions from the Bible that could be useful for Angolans in the Diaspora.

1.4: - METHODOLOGY

1.4.1 - Historical Analysis

The basic problem faced in this study is that much has been written on Angola, but Angolans have written very little material themselves. It is

significant that in the Biblical account too, much of the historiography was undertaken by “official” sources and did not always reflect the individual’s point of view or experience. That is why the writer of this thesis will place emphasis on oral information supplied by Angolans themselves.

The method developed falls within the scope of Comparative Hermeneutics. Smit (1995:1) argued that, generally speaking, Comparative Hermeneutics has both a synchronic and a diachronic dimension. The synchronic dimension compares systems horizontally at particular time-space junctions in history. The diachronic dimension compares systems at different time-space historical moments. This is generally speaking.

When one works on a particular and not general systemic level, however, a unit of analysis has to be identified. This unit of analysis, is that of the ‘social phenomenon’. Synchronically a social phenomenon such as ‘displacement’ or ‘exile’ can be researched and compared with similar time-space social phenomena of the same time, era or epoch. Diachronically, the social phenomenon can also be researched and compared to as it manifested in different time-space nexuses in history and under different conditions. This, however, raises the question of how different conditions in history can make manifest a particular social phenomenon which can be compared diachronically with similar ones at other time-space nexuses.

In answer to this question, Smit (1995:1) has posed the possibility of studying a particular social phenomenon within its own particular 'world system' - a notion he borrowed from Wallerstein (Smit, 1995:3). When each social phenomenon is studied within its particular world system, the elements within the world system affecting this phenomenon have to be researched synchronically. Similarly, the elements which could have made a positive and not a negative impact on that social phenomenon can be studied.

When the same social phenomenon is studied in a different world system, the same applies. This means that if one studies a particular social phenomenon as it is manifested within different world systems, it can be studied synchronically with regard to that world system, and given the results of such research, they can be compared to the study of a similar social phenomenon in a different world system.

Nkonyane (1998) compared the conditions of widows in 1 Timothy and in three areas in South Africa and also how the church as well as culture could care for widows; Mahlatsi (1999) again studied the social function of the eucharist as represented in the Gospel of Mark and also how it functions within the African Independent Church, the St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission. Smit's two forthcoming articles, 'Comparative Hermeneutics' and especially, 'The South African Peasantry and New Testament Comparative Hermeneutics' are of special importance in this regard.

The challenges for this dissertation is to closely examine and reflect on the socio-political and economic developments in Angolan history, which led many citizens to leave the country for neighbouring states. This means that the social phenomenon it focuses on is that of displacement or exile as it applies to the conditions which have given rise to it. As Biblical scholar, this means that this contemporary phenomenon with its own dynamics and in terms of how it is determined by forces from both inside and outside Angola, can be compared with the experience of displacement and exile in Old Testament times. This then raises the question of synchronically studying this phenomenon as a contemporary one and as an ancient one in a different world system. The two synchronic studies can then be compared diachronically with regard to their similarities and differences.

Data will be obtained from the following sources:

Official documents, e.g.:

- a) Reports (e.g. The World Council of Churches' (WCC) reports and reports of church councils); b) the United Nations High Commission for Refugees' reports, etc.)
- c) Newspapers; d) magazines and e) journals.

The following will be assessed:

- (i) The current socio-political and economical situation in Angola (history).
- (ii) Displacement as a social phenomenon.

- (iii) Displacement in the Ancient Near East.
- (iv) Displacement after conflict.
- (v) Psalm 74 and Angolans (responses in form of Angolan songs).
- (vi) Conclusion.

1.3.2: - Biblical Exegesis

The study is located within the field of Biblical history and thus the writer will employ the historical literary analysis, socio-political analysis and reader-response theory. The relevant Biblical section is Psalm 74. This Psalm was selected as a case study for this thesis, because the Psalm speaks of the reality, which applied, to the Israelite community at their time of despair, hopelessness, destruction of their nation as well as their valuable symbols and because the same calamity has been experienced by the Angolan people and also similar literature has been written by the Angolans in Diaspora.

It is the researcher's assumption that Psalm 74 in particular finds counterparts in Angolan popular poetry and songs and so they will be compared in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

2: - A brief overview of Angola with its socio-religious, economic and political context

2.1: - Introduction

"How many dead in this war? How many homes abandoned? how many refugees in neighboring countries? how many separated families?" (Pepetela, quoted by Maier, 1996:2). This is the scene or picture of a country rich in minerals in its soil and goodwill from its people, people who are being killed or simply become displaced and robbed of their lives, values, dignity and pride.

The ordinary Angolans who read the Bible find consolation in Psalm 74 believing that God will hear their prayer of laments and will, one day, their nation as He did with Israel, but at the same time people in these conditions (in Angolan context) see God as the one who "abandoned them" at the present moment in time of their despair, hopelessness and homelessness as is the case with the Psalm 74:1.

In this chapter the writer will consider the various socio-religious, economic and political factors that have influenced and shaped the minds of the Angolan people. These factors play an important role to what is currently

happening in Angola and to those who are threatened by one side or another of the political arena render themselves vulnerable to the Diaspora event. These people who render themselves to the Diaspora are not doing so because they like it, but because they are forced by the political circumstances of the day to leave everything dear to them and live in the Diaspora as displaced people.

The chapter is divided into three sections viz.:

- (1) Factors relating to geographical location, Trade, Industry and communications.
- (2) Factors relating to Education and religious experience.
- (3) Factors relating to war and Peace Agreements.

2.1.1: - The name Angola

The name Angola had its origin in the Kimbundu word "jingola", meaning a small piece of iron that became an emblem of political authority among the Kimbundu people. The second word used by the Kimbundu people is "Ngola", royal name of one of the most prominent Kimbundu King who ruled the M'bundu tribe in the early 13th century.

According to Henderson (1992:5), "Ngola" was used as the royal title in the region from Luanda to the Malanje highland and the Portuguese referred to it as the Kingdom of Ngola. This Kingdom was not a united political entity

and had no recognized boundaries. The Portuguese referred vaguely to the coastal area of West Central Africa in which it had an interest as the Kingdoms of Congo, Angola and Benguela”.

2.2: - Geographical location, Resources, Economy, Trade, Industry and Communications

2.2.1: - Geography

Pelissier (1998:147), says that the Republic of Angola, covering an area of 1 246 700 sq. km (481,354 sq. miles), is the largest Portuguese-speaking state in Africa. It is composed of 18 provinces, one of which, Cabinda is separated from the others by the oceanic outlet of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and by River Zaire. On its landward side the DRC and the Republic of Congo surround Cabinda. The Atlantic Ocean borders to the north and east by the DRC, to the east by Zambia and to the South Greater Angola by Namibia and to the West.

Two-thirds of Angola is a plateau. The average elevation is 1050-1350 meters above sea level, with higher ranges and massifs reaching above 2,000 meters. The highest point of Angola is Mount Moco (2620 m) in Huambo province. Through the central part of the inland plateau runs the watershed of Angola's rivers. The Namibian desert occupies the coastal

plain at a considerable height above Namibia. Angola has a tropical climate, locally tempered by altitude. The Benguela Current along the coast influences and reduces rainfall in that part of the country which is semi-arid. The interior uplands in Bie, Huambo and Huila provinces enjoy an equable climate. Angola, says Pelissier (1998:147) is an overwhelmingly rural country and has considerable ethnic diversity. Of all indigenous groups, the Ovimbundo is the largest followed by the Kimbundo. Pelissier further says that 45% of the population of Angola is under the age of 15 and only 5% are over 60. Thus the bulk of the population comprises of the youth.

2.2.2: - Resources

The moderate climate and adequate water supply contribute to an acceptable level of soil fertility in most parts of Angola. Its soil can produce a variety of crops from semitropical coffee, pineapples, banana and papaya to temperate wheat, corn, beans, sunflower, peaches and grapes. Angola's soil is also rich in minerals. Iron has been important in the mythology and economy of the country. Petroleum is Angola's most valuable export. Diamond as well as mercury deposits are widespread.

2.2.3: - Economy

Cravinho (1998:57) writes that prior to independence in 1975, Angola enjoyed a high-output economy, with a rapidly expanding manufacturing sector, near self-sufficiency in agriculture and abundance of natural resources such as petroleum and iron ore. The petroleum sector continues to prosper and has become the mainstay of the economy.

But the civil war that began in 1975 disrupted output, made transport and distribution increasingly difficult and thus led to the displacement of a large part of the population. In the late 1980s defense spending absorbed 48% of the government's total budget expenditure. The economy has experienced severe disruptions since 1975.

Cravinho (1998:58) points out that after independence the government implemented economic policies based on its Marxist-Leninist ideology. In August 1987 President dos Santos announced that Angola would seek membership with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to take advantage of Western financial assistance for the purpose of its programme of economic reform. Angola was admitted to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in September 1989.

Adams (1996:34) points out that in late October the central committee of the ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), proposed the introduction of a market economy. A programme of radical economic reforms was announced in November 1991 as part of the

government's commitment towards a market economy. Each time the budget was approved the Kwanza underwent a series of devaluations. The erosion of the value of the currency continued throughout 1995 and early 1996.

2.2.4: - Major Crops

Cravinho (1998:58) states that only about 30% of Angola's total area are cultivated as arable or permanent cropland. The main cash crop is coffee. The departure of the Portuguese and the subsequent neglect of plantations, insufficient transport, excessive bureaucracy and the continued armed conflict have all contributed to the decline of coffee productions. Plans to sell all 33 state-owned coffee plantations were announced in 1991. Bridgland (1986:76) says that foreign ownership was to be limited to 30% or 40%. In the intervening years the crop was adversely affected by a slump in world prices and by the transition from private ownership to state enterprise.

Maize is ranked 5th/6th among Angola's agricultural exports. The resumption of hostilities led to a renewed decline in production. Cotton was formerly one of the most promising products of Angola. The first exports of cotton since independence resumed on a small scale in 1995. Three Portuguese companies controlled sugar production previously. Bridgland (1986:77) informs us that with the departure of the Portuguese, production

of raw sugar subsequently declined sharply and nearly all sugar for domestic consumption is currently imported. With the withdrawal of Cuban personnel, there was a further decline in sugar production.

Cassava is the main Angolan crop and it is the staple food of the majority of the population. Most of the crop is thus consumed domestically. Tobacco grows well on the formerly white owned farms.

According to Cravinho (1998:59), Angola is said to be one of the most promising agricultural countries of Southern Africa because of its vast land and variety of climate. Owing to civil unrest, transport problems and drought, famine has been a frequent occurrence. Adams (1996:34) points out that due to malnutrition, for nearly 50% of Angola's rural population, physical survival had become the prime object. The resumption of civil war in late 1992 caused a severe setback to efforts to effect a recovery in agricultural production.

It is the researcher's understanding that one of the most serious impediments to increasing the level of agricultural production is the vast number of anti-personnel mines which remain concealed about the countryside as a result of war. It is estimated that there are about 10 million unexploded mines in Angola.

2.2.5: - Livestock, Forestry and Fisheries

Cravinho (1998:61) informs us that livestock raising is concentrated in southern and central Angola. Due to civil war and drought Angola meets time to time shortages in food for the animals which makes that country depended on the importation mainly in the cities.

Bellville (1996:67) says that Angola possesses important forestry resources. Indigenous species such as sandalwood, rosewood, ebony and softwood abound. Exports of timber ceased at independence, except that in the early eighties, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), sold much timber to South Africa to finance their purchases of weaponry. Fisheries are concentrated mainly on the coastline provinces of Namibe, Tombua and Benguela.

2.2.6: - Minerals

Bellville (1996:61) says that Angola is believed to be one of the richest in mineral reserves of the countries of Southern Africa. Two minerals, petroleum and diamonds are of paramount importance to the Angolan economy. Since 1986 full control of this sector has been exercised by the state enterprise the National Company of the Angolan Diamond (ENDIAMA), that instigated new national diamond policies (Cravinho, 1998:62).

Pelissier (1998:61) reports that figures of diamond output are deceptive, since a significant proportion of the real production has been mined and smuggled out of the country by UNITA. Following the resumption of civil war in late 1992, diamond-mining areas once again came under the control of UNITA. In 1996 the dispute between the government and UNITA concerning the control of Angola's diamond mines was being formally conducted in negotiations mediated by a subsidiary of De Beers. Bridgland (1986:77) informs us that by mid 1997 UNITA had come under increasing pressure to reach a definitive profit sharing agreement covering the mining areas still under its control. Meanwhile UNITA has set up its own legal mining company, Sociedade Geral das Minas (The General Mining Society).

The petroleum industry is the principal economic mainstay of the government, with petroleum extraction, refining and distribution constituting Angola's most important economic activity. Output of petroleum expanded rapidly during the 1980's. Petroleum production appeared to be relatively unaffected by the resumption of hostilities in 1992 and the main installations in Cabinda escaped attack by UNITA. The major portion of Angola's petroleum is exported to the United States of America (USA) in its crude form.

According to Bridgland (1986:77) iron mining began in 1956 in Huambo. In 1975 the Cassinga mines were partially destroyed in the fighting and they

have since remained inoperative. In 1991 a new Secretariat of Geology and Mines was established to co-ordinate mining activity and to formulate mineral policy in preparation for the restoration of civil order (Cravinho 1998:62).

2.2.7: - Electricity

Angola's power potential exceeds its needs. Most of Angola's energy output is of hydroelectric origin. The dam on the Cuanza at Cambambe was constructed and operated by a Brazilian company. An attack on the dam site by UNITA in November 1992 was reported to have caused damage amounting to \$40m, delaying completion by as much as one year. The Gove dam in the Huambo course of the Cunene River was completed with South African capital.

2.2.8: - Trade, Industry, Transport and Communications

Angola's industrial activities are centered on construction materials, petroleum refining, food processing, textiles, steel, chemicals, and electrical goods and vehicle assembly. Bellville (1996:63) says that the continuing civil unrest, shortages of raw materials, unreliability of power supplies and disruption of the transport infrastructure have all since contributed to the sharp reduction in industrial output. The textile industry flourished after the ban on the creation of industries competing against

metropolitan manufacturers was lifted in 1996. Cotton is the principal fibre used in the textile industry.

Bellville (1996:60) says that in mid-1994 the government introduced proposals to parliament for new regulations regarding foreign investment and privatization aimed at foreign capital, increasing private investment in national economic activity and reducing state participation. Cravinho (1998:63) says that after independence the building trade came to a standstill except for the reconstruction of some of the 130 bridges destroyed in the war.

Bellville (1996:60) says that Angola's colonial administration made a considerable effort to improve the communication network. Most lorries and cars were taken back to Portugal by their owners and others were destroyed or left without spare parts. Since the early 1980's guerrilla warfare has dramatically curtailed most road transportation.

Hodges (1993:24) says that railways served (since they are no longer operative) a dual purpose, to open the interior and to provide export channels for Zambia and the land-locked province of Shaba in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). UNITA guerrilla attacks caused the suspension of all cross-border traffic after 1975.

Pelissier (1998:65) says that internal air transport is well developed with a network of good airports and rural landing strips. Angola's telephone communications network which was badly damaged during the years of war, was due to benefit from considerable investment in the late 1990s.

2.2.9: - Summary

Of all the above mentioned from 2.2.2 to 2.2.8, none really function to benefit the ordinary citizens of that country. This is firstly, because of the political system that is in power in the country, which is corrupt, nepotist and also because of the party's lack of vision to govern properly that country. Secondly, because of the lack of political vision and understanding, the country is in a bloody war, and as a consequence of this war the cultivable fields are planted with the land-mines that are killing the farmers. The war is destroying all the infrastructure left by the Portuguese and thus all the economical activities as well as industries are not functioning. All the resources of the country are channeled for purchase of weapon and the army's expenses. Henderson (1992:211) comments: "the riches wasted, the commercial transitions suspended, the public services disorganized, the industries paralyzed, the general unemployment are the tragic result of the civil war in the midst of which we live, throwing the country into economic chaos with the specter of hunger looming ever larger". This hopeless Angolan situation is causing the ordinary citizens to starve and their children to be left without schools in

the rural areas where they live. So, to those having the opportunity to leave the country to the safe neighboring states are doing so, on the one hand to save their lives from war and the uncertainty of tomorrow as well as the lives of those who are close to them. On the other hand they are leaving the country looking for a quality of life that differs from that in Angola.

2.3: - The Education System

Bellville (1996:35) says that the first Portuguese colonists came to Angola in 1482 but by the year 1880 there were only twenty-seven schools in Angola, all supported by the Portuguese government in administrative centers. Henderson (1992:134) mentions that “of the twenty-seven regular teachers, fourteen were priests and four were women who taught sixty-two girls in four schools. In the other twenty-three schools, 525 boys studied, and those schools were scattered across the Western part of Angola... The statistics do not indicate the racial composition of the 587 students but since all the schools were in Portuguese administrative centers, we can assume that whether white, mestiço or black, the pupils were part of the Portuguese community and were able to study in that language”.

Henderson (1992:135) says that this scenario changed with the coming of the Protestant missionaries who taught in the vernacular. The Bible was part of the curriculum. The Protestant missionaries saved the indigenous

languages and cultures from disappearing. The schools were the principal means of planting the church and promoting its growth in the Protestant church. So school was part of christianization. Henderson (1992:136) observes that "school boys are Christianized as outsiders are not. The school is the most powerful christianizing agency". Two important Protestant institutions came into being: the Dôndi Currie Institute for the Congregational Church and the Quessua Institute for the United Methodist Church. Henderson (1992:146) says that Angolans increasingly sought better educational opportunities and the Protestant community responded positively in several ways: individual teachers opened private schools, and the Methodist and Congregational missions received government permission for secondary school courses in Quessua and Dôndi. With education of the "local people" rural life and domestic schools were also established.

In terms of progress nothing was done by the MPLA government in the countryside in terms of building new schools. As a matter of fact, those few schools built by the Portuguese government and the Protestant missionaries were demolished without any reason.

Cravinho (1998:173) points out the fact that education is officially compulsory for eight years, between 6 and 15 years of age, and is provided free of charge by the government. Primary education begins at the age of five and lasts for four years. Secondary education, beginning at

the age of nine, lasts for up to seven years, comprising a first circle of four years and a second of three. At independence the adult illiteracy rate was over 85% and Angola's economic development continues to be hampered by the widespread lack of basic skills. In 1976 a national campaign for literacy was launched and from that campaign more than one million adults have received instruction in reading, writing and basic arithmetic.

Currently, the education system in Angola is constantly under pressure. The teachers union wants to strike all the time because of the galloping inflation and the high cost of living in Angola. Teachers and students go to school without eating anything. It is impossible for anyone to work under such conditions.

2.3.1: - Education for Girls

Henderson (1992:147) says that from the time the Canadian missionaries arrived in Angola they came with female missionaries who had an interest in teaching girls. The central school for girls was opened on the Dôndi property in 1916. It was named after John O. Means, secretary of the Joint Ministry in Africa who made the original proposal that the new work be started among the Umbundo in central Angola. Girls were required to have finished village and station schools before entering Means School. Henderson (1992:141) points out the fact that the curriculum had three sections: academic, Bible and home economics. Pupils not only studied all

aspects of home economics – laundry, sewing, childcare and agriculture in class, but they also carried their lessons into the practice cottages in which they lived.

There is today in Angola one university centralized in Luanda with different Faculties in Huambo, Benguela, Lubango and Kuito. In these Faculties the majority of the students are females.

Later in 1991 the government approved a legislation permitting the foundation of private educational establishments. This legislation came very late. It denied education for so long to those living far from the cities on the one hand, and on the other hand, the legislation came after the destruction of Dôndi, Quessua, and Kaluquembe, Chitatu and many mission stations confiscated by the government in 1976.

2.3.2: - Summary

The researcher acknowledges the fact that although the Portuguese authorities did not collaborate with the Protestant missions in education, the Protestant mission schools produced leaders of many of the liberation movements in Angola.

The Education system in Angola is not exempted from what is happening in Angola at large. The teachers are not payed on time and when it does

the salaries do not meet the high cost of life. The Angolan Teachers' Union is not allowed to strike (according to the Angolan Constitution, which is not democratic).

2.3.3: - Religious experience

The writer has observed missions being closed by the government that they themselves helped to build and defend against the Portuguese Security Agency. This took place as result of the religion been pushed out of the picture. North (1985:12) says that the more religion is pushed out of the picture by rationalized human violence, the more one is left in the dark about the real role played by violence as the foundation stone of society. That is exactly what happened in Angola and continues to happen in the form of war which leads to the Diaspora. In the researcher's perspective, what happened to the Mission stations at the outset of the new government indicated that the new leadership was not prepared to govern the country with its variety of understandings.

The researcher's opinion is that if the Portuguese denied education for the African people the government and its counterpart UNITA destroyed everything that the Protestant missionaries had built in Angola. Because of this matter many young people are migrating to the neighboring states looking for better education and human dignity.

2.4: - The political history of Angola

Henderson (1992:6) says that the European nations clashed as they bought raw materials, markets, and colonial power in Africa after the slave trade was no longer profitable. Industrial capitalism needed workers in Africa to produce the raw materials for European and American factories, to build roads and railways and to provide a market for European products more than it needed slaves to cultivate sugar, cotton or tobacco in the Americas.

Hart (1995:57) says that Angola, just as was the destiny of the rest of African states, was one of the vortices of the scramble for Africa as Portuguese, French, Belgian, German and British interests clashed at the mouth of the Congo River. As we know the division of Africa was called jointly by France and Germany. It took place from November 1884 to February 1885. This conference called "The Berlin West Africa Conference" gave international dignity to the scramble. When the Europeans (Portuguese) arrived, they found in Angola a strong African Chiefdom. We know the names of some of the Kings who ruled Angola, e.g. Ngola Kiluanje, Nzinga Mbandi, Ekuikui II, Numa, Ndunduma and Mandume.

Hart (1995:57) says that the Portuguese constructed what was considered by them a model colony, whose capital Luanda was once known as the Rio de Janeiro of Africa. In order to do so the Portuguese used as cheap labour the Umbundu people from the south of the Kwanza River. Bridgland (1986:90) mentions that amongst all the tribes of Angola the Umbundo people were slaves in the country of their birth, being placed under all sorts of hard and forced labor without any payment or salary . The colonizers could not permanently oppress the people. This kind of treatment given by the Portuguese authorities to the Ovimbundo people reinforced hatred towards the Portuguese.

2.4.1: - Ending the war

Adams (1996:98) says that the Khinshassa Agreement (December 1988) laid the foundation for a cease-fire and possible independence of Namibia and this saw the withdrawal of South African troops in January 1984. South Africa pushed for the Cuban withdrawal from Angola in exchange for the South Africa withdrawal from Angola and the independence of Namibia.

Hodges (1993:234) informs us that in May 1989 dos Santos accepted the idea of a negotiated end to the conflict with UNITA at a meeting of Southern African leaders. At the Gbadolite summit hosted by President Mobutu, dos Santos and Savimbi shook hands and a cease-fire was

agreed upon. UNITA asked for an interim Government of National unity with full UNITA representation, leading to a general election. From that time MPLA abandoned Marxism-Leninism and moved towards a market economy. Under the Neto leadership, the MPLA adopted the Marxist-Leninist road, embarked upon a socialist programme for development and equipped itself with the hierarchical structures of the Soviet Communist Party. Organized political dissent by outside party structures within this formal type of democracy was not permitted. Neto continued to reinforce his own position with a major reorganization of the government and he died in Moscow on 10th September 1979.

Crocker (1992:97) says that UNITA wanted its future political role to be guaranteed whilst MPLA was reluctant to do this unless UNITA agreed to a cease-fire. This was not the first time that the Angolan warlords decide to end the war. In 1975 they had a Peace Agreement which they did not abide to.

2.4.1.1: - The Mombassa Peace Agreements

Bridgland (1986:123/4) says that in Mombassa in January 1975 the three movements pledged to end hostilities and draw up a common political programme. The date of 11th November 1975 was set for full independence. There was an agreement for a possible Constituent Assembly in the provisions for elections, but this did not materialize as the

political movements, especially the FNLA and the MPLA engaged in a protracted struggle for power and position.

Hodges (1993:34) says that the Nakuru agreement put an end to the intense fighting between the FNLA and the MPLA in 1975, but on July 9th MPLA drove FNLA out of Luanda. The second phase of struggle in Angola was the full scale internalization of civil war in which FNLA/UNITA forces were supported by Western powers whilst MPLA was backed by the Soviet block. In both cases money and arms were received. MPLA was able to mobilize considerable support in the cities and thus emerged as the dominant movement.

2.4.1.2: - The Bicesse Peace Agreement

Following Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of some Cubans in Angola, the belligerents MPLA and UNITA were forced by the circumstances to end the war by the means of dialogue. This Peace Protocol took place in Lisbon-Bicesse (on 31 May 1991) under observations of Portugal, Russia and United States of America. In this Peace Accord was stated that there would be elections and all the forces involved in the war should be disarmed under the United Nations supervision. The forces were not disarmed and during the campaign time they used to fight here and there. The Angolan people thought that her tragedy has come to an end when they saw President, dos Santos and Dr.

Savimbi giving each other the hands and embracing each other as sign of peace in Angola. However this agreement caused suspicion within both parties. This suspicion developed up to the point where they could not tolerate each other and a decision after MPLA won the elections held in September 1992 to begin another civil war based in the cities. After two years of war the UN decided to help to negotiate another Peace Agreement.

2.4.1.3: - The Lusaka Peace Agreement

The most important Angolan peace accords bear the place names of Alvor (1975) Bicesse (1991) and Lusaka (1994). There was a good likelihood that the Lusaka Protocol signed on November 20, 1994 could hold. Whether the Protocol stays in force depends on all Angolans and very importantly on the political will of the belligerents to create and effectively share power. In future, the quality of people's lives in the country will be determined by the way people interact with each other, despite their existing differences.

In fact, differences do exist in Angola, due in part to the Portuguese colonial policy of "divide and rule". The divides were clearly delineated along economic, social, social, racial, class, ethnic, religious lines. To facilitate this indignity, Blacks were divided into their respective categories of "assimilado" or "indigena". While assimilados were allowed to sell their

labor, the indigena provided cheap and forced labor. The "mulato", people of mixed (white and black) blood, stood between the whites and black (assimilado) with noticeable advantages.

Despite the differences found within the Angolan milieu, today the cities, towns and work places, the army and police force provide opportunities for interaction among groups and the possibility of weaving a strong, integrated nation. Recent globalization trends reinforce the need to forget the past, move towards confession, forgiveness, and reconciliation, building peace with justice and participation in nation building. Chipenda, 1997:1 said: "the salvation of Angola resides in creating space for every single citizen to participate in national reconstruction each one according to his gifts and from his advantage point". The researcher sees that many things are changing since Angola has been assisted by the United Nations, Angola is slowly moving from a situation of conflict to a situation of timid tolerance. These Peace Agreements did not bring real peace for Angola in the sense that they were negotiated on bases of military positions held in the war fields. The people on the grand hoped for something for concretebut the politicians were not willing to do according the people's expectations.All along these Peace Agreements lasted only for few days or months.There is need to involve the Church in motivating Angolans to participate more actively in building a durable peace.

2.5: - Resumption of Civil Strife

Alao (1994:1) says "It seems essential to move to the road of dialogue for reconciliation which will end the shedding of blood between brothers and purify the environment of hatred and lack of love". But for the Angolan people the road of dialogue for reconciliation was and is denied every time there appears a small light at the end of the tunnel. Instead of dialogue the Angolans see landmines being planted all over the country. People dreamed of reconciliation but what they see is distrust among the two belligerents. Alao 1994:17 quotes Savimbi saying, "the day MPLA decides to consider other liberation movements as patriots ... then we will say to MPLA: come here brother..."

On December 5th 1998, in the MPLA's Congresso or Party Congress, the Angolan president, Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, declared war against UNITA's controlled areas (Bailundo and Andulo). This is still an ongoing war and no efforts of the MPLA to take these areas have been successful. Since December 1998 up to the present the number of casualties caused by these hostilities have surpassed the number of casualties caused by the guerilla war from the time that it started in 1976, to the Bissese Protocol in 1991.

In the Angolan conflict or rather between MPLA and UNITA no one has clean hands. Both are killers of the people they pretend to defend (Father Kok cited in Maier 1996:163). For him neither the government nor

Savimbi's UNITA are fighting for the people, freedom or democracy. They are fighting for power. Kok continues: "If there is ever peace here, everyone has to be pardoned because many things have been carried out by all sides. They were practically equal, and the people felt this". ... "[A]ll the people are cynical. Everything that we're seeing is impossible to believe. We hear about Somalia and the Hutu-Tutsi conflict and we think that can't happen here. But it is here. We have to remember that many leaders on both sides were students at the missions. This war is incomprehensible to those who have family on both sides. This is a war within the family, because they are the same people" (Kok ,quoted in Maier 1996:163).

2.6: - Conclusion

In this chapter the researcher discussed and analyzed some of the factors that are behind the tragedy and fate of many Angolans who knowing the type of country that they have, in terms of resources as well as goodwill of the Angolans, are forced to live under all kinds of misconceptions and treatment. Within the chapter the following analyzes was given:

(a) The researcher felt that it was relevant to have a brief description of the country as a whole in order to get a better picture of what is currently taking place there in order to better understand why is there the phenomenon called Diaspora or displacement in that country. Knowing its potential resources (as it was showed above) the researcher found out

that all the richness in the contrary is serving as fuel to the armed conflict and that the ordinary people are not benefiting from it but the army. The ordinary people are left to the mercy of with the foreign aid to provide for them. Thus, Angola becomes one of the poorest countries in the third world. (b) The role of the church in the conflict is discussed as well as its confrontations with the state. (c) The resumption of civil strife is discussed. (d) The Peace Agreements are discussed.

The main propose of this chapter is to highlight the gravity of the Angola conflict which is leading her children to live in misery as internal displaced people. Given all the above facts, the researcher concludes that almost nothing is operating in Angola. The country is little more than a potential country. Life in the cities is extremely difficult unless people have relatives who have well-paying jobs to support them. Of those who are forced to leave their townships in search of security and better life in the cities within days, women resort to prostitution to survive and care for children and children become beggars on the streets. The reality about the matter is that to leave the cities and live in the countryside is to risk certain death.

Those who can afford to leave the country are doing so, choosing to live a life in Diaspora. In Diaspora they are mocked by the host country but it is not the same risk as it is home. Living in Diaspora at least they can be sure that they can survive and make a better living than in Angola itself.

They lament and sing songs of nostalgia wherever they are together. This kind of behavior is found in the Bible as well specially in the Psalm 74.

Chapter Three

3: - Displacement as a Social Phenomenon

3.1: - Introduction

In chapter two the writer has discussed things that concern Angola as a nation. The researcher now advances to discuss in this chapter issues that are related to displacement.

This chapter is divided into two parts viz.:

(a) Displacement.

(b) Refugees.

Under (a) Displacement, the following sub-headings will be discussed:

(i) definition;

(ii) types of displaced people;

(iii) displaced people and their rights;

(iv) location of displaced people in the world;

(v) old and new displaced people;

(vi) country trends.

Under (b) refugees, the following sub-headings will be discussed:

- (I) refugees as a social grouping in the world today;
- (ii) refugees in Africa;
- (iii) War as cause of Diaspora in Angola
- (iv) The composition of the Angolan Diaspora
- (v) refugees and their psychological characteristics;
- (vi) refugees symptomatology;
- (vii) refugees and religion.

3.2: - Displacement

3.2.1: - Definition

Displacement, according to McDonald (1996:209), is a shift from one's place, or the act of taking a person or thing's place. Webster (1992:368) defines displacement as "the act of displacing or the state of being displaced". Furthermore he says: "any inhabitant forced by military action or calamity to flee his country or leave his home is displaced."

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees quoted by Cunliffe (1995:281) defines a displaced person "as any person who owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to

avail himself of the protection of that country or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitat residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it". With reference to what the UN defines to be a displaced person the researcher links to it what has been said about human existence in the world in general.

Since the beginning of human existence on this planet it has been generally agreed that three enormous revolutions have transformed the nature of our lives: the shift from hunting and gathering to food production, the birth of the city, and industrialization (Witt, 1993:3). These revolutions did not take place without changes in the social, religious, cultural and political outlook of the people. And yet, under all the advantages of such revolutions, lies the human tragedy of displacement as a phenomenon parallel to civilization. With the founding of cities came an acceleration of cultural and technological developments, bringing into being the first urban and literate civilization. Witt (1993:4) says that urbanization, the second great revolution in human existence, with its specialization of acts and professions and its exchange with regions, vastly enriched life. Here a large grouping of people, moreover, had a greater chance of permanence than in the village where they were vulnerable to the attackers and being subject to slavery.

Thus displacement according to Hunter (1990:1186) is a 'conscious or unintended modification in movements or modifications in social relationships, the nature and/or location of collectives. Industrialization, social

differentiation, bureaucratization, and cultural imperialism have been among the major mechanism of (displacement and) change". Social theorists such as Max Weber, Spencer, Durkheim, Toennies and Bell, says Hunter, have suggested that societies progress or evolve from pre-industrial patterns, emphasizing familial and communal relationships to industrial patterns. Furthermore he says that the source of displacement within a society include planned change, conflicts between interest groups, and unanticipated strains or inconsistencies among experts of a model of society as a system (Hunter, 1990:1187).

3.2.2: - Types of displaced people

Since the Cold War had come to an end, many of those who were previously living in non-democratic states may have felt justified in declaring that they had now all become citizens of liberal democratic states. However, these changes in world politics have signaled neither an end to political instability nor a decline in its committant characteristic, namely the mass movement of displaced people (Cunlife 1995:278). The writer classifies displaced people into two categories: (I) those who are displaced and continue to live in their own countries - so-called internally displaced people, and (II) those who have left their countries for another one to seek asylum there - the so-called externally displaced people or refugees.

The writer offers the following examples: In South Africa during the years of Apartheid many of its citizens immigrated to Australia, New Zealand and Canada in search of peace and tranquillity. In Cuba, many citizens of that Island are leaving to Florida in the United States of America in search of democracy and freedom of speech. In Angola and Mozambique huge numbers of Portuguese people left those countries before they became independent nations to South Africa, Zimbabwe and Portugal in search of tranquillity. In Uganda the then president, Idi Amin Dada expelled all the Indians who were living there. These Indians had to live as exiles in many countries including Canada.

Cunliffe (1995:279) says that within international relations, movement of refugees not only may create tension between states but also may act as the catalyst for cultural and ethnic disputes within states. "Mass movements of asylum seekers may be a source of political embarrassment or, paradoxically an instrument of foreign policy. This can be true both for the country from which the refugees are fleeing and for the state to which they flow" (Cunliffe, 1995:279). He goes on to say that accommodating large numbers of displaced people can place a considerable financial burden on the country of asylum and may lead to strong nationalistic pressures to curb immigration. The writer believes that refugee problems and reactions to them are intensely political and it is inadequate to consider them only as humanitarian problems requiring humanitarian solutions.

3.2.3.: - Displaced People and their Rights

Displacement as a forced shift of patterns can be a very traumatic experience in the lives of those who are affected by it. Whether displaced people are internal or external refugees, the point is that they are refugees in need of help. It is true that refugees are an embarrassment politically but looking at the refugee crisis from a humanitarian perspective they need the hand and effort of everybody. This escalation of the refugee crisis worldwide today, despite technological advance and a call for peace initiatives in the world, points to something. Although the researcher does not have at hand any source stating that the right to asylum is a fundamental human right which ought to be granted, but judging from the universal declaration of Human Rights, article III says "everyone has the right to life, freedom and personal security" (Hombo, 1991:5; the writer's own translation).

3.2.4: - Location of Displaced People in the World Today

The purpose of this study is to highlight the displaced people in Angola and that the problem that they have is not limited to their country. Displaced people are found almost everywhere. In Europe we find displaced people in Kosovo, Chechnya, Slovenia, Spain, Italy and Turkey. In Latin America we find displaced people in Cuba, Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Brazil, Haiti,

Costa Rica and Venezuela. In the Far East we find displaced people in India, Pakistan, Tibet, East Timor, and Cambodia. This study seeks to home in on displaced and refugees in Africa, and this requires investigation in greater detail.

3.2.5: - Old and New Displaced people

Africa at large has been involved in wars and coups for so long and these wars and coups left thousands of people in despair, homelessness that caused them to become refugees abroad or in their own countries in search for security. In this study the writer wishes to point out that there are old and new displaced people and in some countries the numbers of displaced people have been reduced while in other countries the numbers have increased.

Singh (1996:125) says, "assessing internal displacement in Africa is to recall the old agencies for emergence that have disappeared and take stock of the new emergencies that have erupted. The picture of displacement in Africa is constantly changing". During 1998, the newest crises were in Guinea-Bissau, Congo-Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Eritrea, in the democratic republic of Congo and Angola since the war started again in early December.

Drumtree (1998:3) says that displacement has been drastically reduced, however, in several countries. For example, as many as 3 million to 5 million people were internally displaced in Mozambique as recently as 1993 – that is no longer the case. More than 1 million people were displaced inside Rwanda in 1994 – virtually all of them have returned home. In Djibouti, about 100,000 people were displaced years ago, but the situation has improved there. Even in Ethiopia, despite new displacement in recent months, this country has come a long way since 1990 when up to 1.5 million Ethiopians and Eritreans were uprooted within the country.

3.2.6: - Country Trends

Nanda (1992:791) says that the displacement issue in Africa is to note which countries seem to be gradually improving with displaced people beginning to return home, and which countries seem to be experiencing worsening conditions with no real progress. This requires some analysis.

Drumtree (1998:3) says that internally displaced people are gradually going home in Liberia, Somalia, and Congo-Brazzaville, Mali. But in a larger group of countries, the factors causing people to flee are still quite strong. Displacement is trending upward in at least seven countries: Sudan, Angola, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Algeria. And perhaps also in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The basic point is that, for those who deal with internally displaced people in Africa, the situation is very dynamic and volatile. Gaining regular access to displaced populations in Africa is virtually always a challenge (Veeken, 1994:523).

In conclusion, the main point is that the scope of displacement in Africa is massive. The scale and severity of the problem is daunting. As the above examples suggest, conditions on the ground in country after country appear to violate, or at least fail to conform to, the UN human Rights Declaration. What are we going to do about that? The displacement presents a worthy challenge – and a long-overdue opportunity – to improve the lot of displaced people in Africa and elsewhere.

The world has a challenge and at the same time the obligation to help the millions of Africans trapped in the web of displacement. It is true that in the history of human kind some strategies for human development were done in the basis of war and displacement, which resulted in a cultural inter-change. However the recent phenomenon of displacement in the African soil after these countries became independent is unacceptable.

Cunliffe (1995:277) quotes the UNHCR (1951) report saying that refugees should receive an "adequate standard of living" with "access to potable water,

medical services, and sanitation". African societies must make huge strides to live up to this principle, because many segments of the regular population lack an adequate standard of living even in normal times. At least 10 African countries with significant displaced populations are among the 30 least developed countries in the world.

Sierra Leone, Angola and Uganda have a combined total of more than 2 million displaced people and only about one-third of the population in those three countries have access to potable drinking water, according to UNHCR estimates. More than 60% of the citizens in Liberia, Somalia, Angola, and Democratic Republic of Congo lack access to medical services even at the best of times. The medical plight of the large displaced populations in each of those countries is difficult to imagine. The writer's opinion is that to achieving an "adequate standard of living" for African refugees and for larger segments of the continent's general population will require more government resources as well as greater commitment by some of Africa's leaders. To do that African leadership as well as International donors have to have a clear responsibility in this matter. In conclusion, displacement was and still is central to the operation of dream-work, the process by which uncomfortable thoughts and feelings are transferred to the safe remove of representational symbols. Rushdie (1991:118) says that the effect of mass migration has been "the creation of radically new types of human being: people who root themselves in ideas rather than places, in memories as much as in material things,

people who have been obliged to define themselves – because they are defined by others by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusion's occur, unprecedented unions between what they were and where they find themselves”.

3.3: - Refugees

To be a refugee is in Bammer's opinion, the separation of people from their native culture either through physical dislocation (as refugees, immigrants, migrants, exiles or expatriates) or the colonizing imposition of a foreign culture. This phenomenon is one of the most formative experiences of our time (Bammer 1994:XI). Here the researcher wishes to investigate the notion of refugee as a social grouping in the world. This grouping can be found in many countries of the world. All of them do not have the same behavioral patterns but the basic ones are very common to them.

3.3.1: - Refugees as a social grouping in the world today

In the definition of a refugee given by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the causes of displacement can be found listed as racial reasons; religious or spiritual reasons, nationality, and being members of a particular group or political opinion. However large-scale movements of people as a result of armed conflicts or economic deprivation are not included

in the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) definition. And our study is a reflection of the large mass movements of people from their countries of origin to the new ones as a consequence mainly of armed conflicts in their countries.

Drumtra (1998:1) says that the number of refugee are between 8 million to 10.5 million worldwide, and that of these, 8 million are on the African continent. "Approximately half of all internally displaced persons in the world are in Africa. Africa currently accounts for less than 25% of the world's external refugees, but Africa accounts for 50% of the world's internal refugees. Perhaps this says something about the nature of the violence in Africa that causes people to flee their homes" (Drumtra, 1998:1).

In the world of human kind this mass movement of people in search of security and dignity is a result of the many years of the Cold War. For example, asylum seekers from Eastern Europe were guaranteed a relatively positive reception in the West. These displaced people often had the benefit of ethnic European affiliation and were perceived to be useful, anti-Communist symbols in the cold war. Some politicians during the time of cold war promoted refugee movements in an endeavor to get rid of political opponents and in order to exacerbate economic and political tensions within the region. The vivid example of this is Fidel de Castro who did this in 1980 in

expelling Cuban criminals and psychotics during the Mariel boat lift to Key West, Florida in an attempt to embarrass the United States.

Another example of this nature happened during the World war II. Bammer (1994:XII) says that the Nazi policies and World War II has resulted in the greatest displacement of human population ever recorded in world history. It is estimated that during the years of Hitler's rule, over 30 million people were uprooted and forcibly moved, while the final redistribution of population in Europe alone after the end of the war resulted in the permanent migration of another twenty-five million.

In addition to wars and so-called natural disasters, the combination of colonial and imperialist practices carried out on an international scale, and state-sanctioned ethnic, religious and racial discrimination practiced internationally have made mass migration and mass expulsion of people a numbingly familiar feature of twentieth-century domestic and foreign policy. Bammer further says that with an estimated 60-100 million refugees worldwide since 1945, the conclusion that "the refugee crisis ... is a dilemma belonging uniquely to the twentieth century" seems unhappily warranted. She continues by saying that there are alarming numbers of people who are not expelled from- but displaced within their native culture by a process of external or internal colonization, and internal conflicts. We find also that the cumulative effect of colonial and imperial policies (like the expropriation of

land that often left 'indigenous people' with merely a small, and mostly poorer, portion of their own land), the pass laws that controlled and regulated their physical movement, the economic shifts that forced them into the new centers of imperial employment, thus creating new patterns of migratory labor, the presence of a foreign ruling power that misappropriated local cultures, all effected massive displacements of 'indigenous peoples' in ways that cannot be added up in numbers and that did not end with official decolonization (Bammer, 1994: XIII).

3.3.2: - Refugees in Africa

Cohon (1981:255-6) differentiates between refugees and immigrants using a kinetic model of flight. He describes the refugees as being "pushed out of" and the immigrants as being "pulled away from" their homelands. However, a clear distinction is difficult to make. Studies of cultural change, social change, modernization, urbanization, acculturation, assimilation, adaptation, and life event stress all pertain to the relationship between migration and psychological dysfunction. He goes on to say that "studies of the effects of migration on mental functioning asserts that involuntary migrants (i.e. refugees) are more at risk psychologically than voluntary migrants (i.e. immigrants are)". He further distinguishes between an immigrant and a refugee, the former having free choice with many possibilities of motivation and the latter having no choice but to leave or suffer. In the African context,

although there had always been a measure of displacement associated with tribal conflicts, large-scale displacement originated with colonization. Because of the industrial revolution in Europe, there was a great need for more production of raw materials for the colonizing countries. Thus the dispossession of land did not come about by accident. Saayman (1991:29/30) points out the reasons why Africans had to leave their land: "there was a good economic reason, according to the capitalist system which had been introduced, why Africans had to leave their land. The second reason was the exploitation of the colony that depended on the availability of cheap Black labor. As long as the Africans had land, they could exist independently by way of successful subsistence farming. As soon as they were dispossessed of land, they became dependent on the colonists for their livelihood". He points out that colonialism was meant mainly to increase the wealth of the capitalistic "mother countries". This could be achieved especially by gaining access to the unexplored natural resources in the colonies.

On the matter of land ownership, Saayman (1991:96) says "During colonial times the land of the indigenous Black majority was dispossessed, either through war or through treaties". Here displacement and colonization went hand-in-hand. It is a well-known fact that the Western concept of individual ownership of land was mostly foreign to Africans. Kasenene (1990:41) says in response to the western notion of 'I think, therefore I am': "in African society, 'to be' is to belong. An individual exists corporately in terms of the family, clan

and whole ethnic groups: only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities toward himself and towards other people... The individual can only say "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore, I am". He points out that there are three basic principles around which African life is built. These are communalism, vitalism, and holism. Africans were taken out by forced removals of their "natural" habitat and became totally dependent of their colonizers. In African spirituality there is no dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, the physical and the spiritual, the religious and the moral. Saayman (1991:28) comments that "African tribes owned land communally and according to their pastoral and nomadic lifestyle, regarded land as theirs also while they might not have been occupying it at a given time. There is a Herero saying that expresses this view well: wherever our cattle's feet have trodden, there is Herero land."

3.3.2.1: - Where in Africa refugees are found?

According to Drumtra (1998:4-5) one finds refugees in the following African countries:

- * Sudan - up to 4 million IDPs
- * Angola - about 1.2 million IDPs
- * Burundi - about a half million
- * Liberia - 300,000 to 500,000

- * Uganda - 300,000 to 400,000
- * Congo-Brazzaville - up to a quarter million
- * Somalia - 200,000 to 350,000
- * Guinea-Bissau - an estimated 200,000
- * Kenya - at least 100,000
- * Democratic Republic of Congo - anywhere from 100,000 to 1 million, according to widely divergent sources
- * Nigeria - reportedly 50,000 to 400,000 according to different sources
- * Rwanda - 50,000 to 150,000
- * Ghana - an estimated 20,000, although the estimated might be outdated.
- * Senegal - 5,000 to 10,000 believed to be displaced.
- * Mali - tens of thousands, according to estimates by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)
- * Mozambique - tens of thousands, according to NCR
- * South Africa - perhaps 20,000
- * Eritrea and Ethiopia - thousands recently displaced as a result of border conflict.
- * Algeria - significant population displacement suspected, but no reliable estimates due to lack of access by outsiders

The above list conveys what various sources are reporting. Moreover, the 21 countries cited above do not include states such as Chad, Central African Republic, Djibouti, Cameroon, and Western Sahara - places where

displacement has occurred in past years and might still exist. In the researcher's view all of these examples found in the African countries are similar forms of displacement, a phenomenon that is overshadowing the good name of independent African states. As it was shown (above) there must be something wrong within the African politics because the numbers of the refugees do not give much credit to democracy, freedom, peace, justice and self determination that most African politicians claimed to pursue at the time of the independence. These countries are producing the mass forced migration of their own people that they pretended to defend at the beginning, creating in them psychological problems.

3.3.3: - The causes of the Angolan Diaspora

3.3.3.1: War as the main cause of the Angolan Diaspora

According to Chandra (1993:120ff.), war differs from other non-amicable modes of settlement, such as police action, sanctions blockades reprisals or intervention. For instance, Mussolini did not consider the attack on Ethiopia to be an act of war. Neither was the American military operation in Korea in the 1950's regarded by them as a war in the technical sense. Today the term is used in various senses. We may use words like "total war", "cold war" "propaganda war", "psychological war", "political war", "preventative war", "guerilla war" and so on.

The term war is used to cover a range of hostilities besides the direct use of armed forces.

Wright (1942:248) defines war in the broader sense as “a violent contact of distinct but similar entities” and in the narrower sense as “the legal condition which equally permits two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed forces”.

Malinowski, quoted by Chandra (1993:125) defines it as “armed conflict between two independent political units by means of organized military forces in the pursuit of a tribal or a national policy”. War is the use of organized force between two human groups, pursuing contradictory policies, each group seeking to impose its policy upon the other. Clausewitz (1945:596) said that “[w]ar is only a part of political intercourse, therefore, by no means an independent thing in itself... war is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse with an admixture of other means” (quoted in Chandra, 1993:125).

The researcher sees war (in the Angolan context) as a political action; which arises out of a political situation and results from a political motive. Thus this view is a confirmation the fact that war cannot be separated from politics. War is nothing else than politics with violence. The Angolans have seen all of politics with violence. And the perpetrators are the two parties MPLA/UNITA and the

people are the victims of this scenario. In the case of Angola the result of this political action is Diaspora to its citizens. The Umbundu proverb says: "Pa liyakela olonjamba, owangu kundu" – Where two elephants are fighting, the grass-suffers.

3.3.3.2: - Causes of the war in Angola

Conflict is almost present in one form or another in human systems from family to the state. Even animals by nature are predatory and aggressive. The institution of war, therefore, seems natural and inherent to all living beings. Yet we are compelled to work towards abolishing it, as it is an intolerable situation to those who are its victims.

Chandra (1993:126) quotes Liddel Hart saying, "... if you wish for peace, understand war". It is necessary to know the causes of war in Angola if we are to make suggestions for peace. Chandra continues by saying that the fundamental causes of war in general could be categorized as biological, psychological, sociological, economic and political. Biological reasons include the urge for existence; the desire to raise the standard of living, poverty, and the pressure that population increase exerts on the means of subsistence. Psychological motives in warfare include the development of fanatical patriotism and the exploitation of a chauvinistic ideology by political leaders. A sociological explanation draws attention to group conflict and cultural patterns. Economic explanations lay stress

on the policy of self-sufficiency, which drives nations to seek markets, raw materials and areas for capital investment. In short, economic nationalism leads to inter-state conflict.

Among the political causes of the war one finds that it is due to the failure of diplomacy and in some cases the nurturing of a militant nationalism, in the case of Angolan war, as the researches discussed it earlier is due to tribal pride and nationalism as well as Portuguese politics of the time. The Angolan leadership (in both parties in the war) lack vision for the people and the nation as a whole. And as the Bible says 'where there is no vision the people perish'.

3.3.3.2.1: - The Ovimbundu nationalism

Amongst the three liberation movements, MPLA, FNLA and UNITA, Savimbi and the UNITA leadership showed stronger Angolan nationalism based on the African understanding of governance which include the chiefdoms and the senior citizens of the country and also the organization was based in Angola with less foreign influence. This made the movement to be very popular amongst the ordinary people, who felt in the skin the atrocities of the colonial powers over them. It is the writer's opinion that the war in Angola is a result of Ovimbundu nationalism. According to Heywood (1998:148), "since the foundation of UNITA in 1966, Savimbi and the UNITA leadership have never deviated from the line that they

were Angolan nationalists. Despite this position a powerful stream of Ovimbundu nationalism underlies this claim to Angolan nationalism. Understanding the roots of this nationalism is important". Heywood (1998:148) quotes Henderson who said "some of Savimbi's actions that I feel are quite negative, I'm afraid the Ovimbundu see as positive". He believed that the Ovimbundu support for Savimbi, despite the serious accusations against him could be explained by Ovimbundu 'ethnic pride'. The Ovimbundu comprise the most important political bloc in UNITA, and are also the largest ethnic grouping in Angola numbering over four million in a total population of over ten million. The researcher's observation is that the Ovimbundu see in Savimbi the potential to be the one who comes to ease them from Portuguese oppression and to give them dignity, and rightful place in the Angolan politics as people equal to the other ethnic groups.

Crocker (1992:17) says that for us to understand the Angolan war better we need to go back once again to what we see as the backdrop - a pervasive pre-colonial political legacy. Heywood (1998:149) observes that one development that differentiated and continued to set the Ovimbundu apart from the Afro-Portuguese and Kimbundo supporters of the MPLA, for example, was their ability to mesh their political and cultural traditions with western ideas.

In the final analysis, the Umbundu people have created a separate Ovimbundu identity, which differs from that which Portuguese colonialism, and Christianisation tried to create. It may be said that the Umbundu identity is firmly

tied to the existence of UNITA, and also the people fear to lose their identity over to the Kimbundo ethnic group, this is the cause of the continued Ovimbundu support for UNITA. Also the researcher believes that fear is the chief cause of war and Diaspora in Angola. But there is another face to the Angolan war. That is the intervention of the foreign forces.

3.3.3.2.2: - Foreign Intervention

The problem facing Angola has its source to a large extent outside of its borders. Three aspects emerge as primary causes of conflict. Firstly, Africa's massive vulnerability to outside interference; secondly, the destructive effects of cold war proxy conflicts; and thirdly, the dogmatic and unthinking imposition on Africa, be it by indigenous or outside forces, of ideologies produced elsewhere. (a) Africa's massive vulnerability to outside interference: because of colonization the African states and their leadership were thought that the best of everything is not in Africa but in Europe and America. This belief leaves Africans to be vulnerable to them. (b) The destructive effects of the cold war proxy conflicts: during the time of cold war African states were divided into two groups: one group was in favour of the Socialist bloc and the other one was in favour of the western capitalist bloc. Within the states groups used to spy one another. This weakened African unity. (c) The dogmatic and unthinking imposition on Africa: again, the colonization brought dependency on the African states, for instance Professor I. Mosala said in a speech at UD-W in 1996 that there is no difference between the curriculum of

Oxford and the University of Cape Town (UCT). This kind of imposition does not help Africa to affirm itself as a valid partner to the rest of the nations of the world.

The writer wishes to investigate a very important point, which has caused wars in most African countries, namely, the artificial boundaries imposed by European powers, as the researcher pointed out earlier. These artificial boundaries failed to recognize the African ethnic boundaries. The Europeans, instead of learning from their own experience, failed to acknowledge that in Africa too, regions and their boundaries were determined by the languages spoken there. In the case of Angola, the researcher finds that a culturally homogeneous people were not consolidated simultaneously with the struggle for independence and no side ever decided on definite borders. Everyone went to war without a clear idea of exactly what territory was being fought over. For the lack of a culturally homogenous population, the outside influence is compounded if one group tries to impose on the other a modernizing ideology from outside, which MPLA tries to do in Angola.

Angola found herself an attractive target for all those aggressive forces, firstly in US politics looking to expunge the stain of Vietnam from the national record and secondly, let down by the rapid implosion of the other superpower on whose support she had come to rely (Benjamin, 1992:38). Two countries came to help Angolans from different angles of understanding: South Africa and Cuba.

South Africa supported the anti-MPLA forces while the Cubans supported MPLA. Assistance came by way of money and heavy military equipment. South Africa became involved because it refused to concede independence to Namibia and waged its terror campaign against the South Western Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Adams (1996:103) says that at the end of January 1976 the South Africans were persuaded to withdraw from Angola. But as Young (1992:29) writes, from 1978 onwards South Africa intensified the war against SWAPO and Angola and this action against Angola was supplemented by UNITA. He also records that UNITA began to consolidate itself east of Angola. UNITA increased its military operations of destabilization in Luanda. The Cubans went out of their way to see that a South African invasion did not materialize. The Cubans began to dispatch substantial number of troops to aid MPLA forces. The FNLA was destroyed as a fighting force. On 11th February 1976, Huambo, the UNITA headquarters, fell to MPLA forces and thus any large-scale opposition was curtailed.

The war brought a new phenomenon which was strange to Angolans before 1961. The phenomenon is the massive desertion or forced mass migration of its people to other countries looking for better life and security.

3.3.4: - Perceptions of Angolans in Diaspora by Natives of the Foreign Countries

our captors asked us for songs, and our tormentors asked for mirth, saying, sing us one of the songs of Zion”.

Those mockeries make a foreigner to think if all of human race has the same common ancestor. In the Angolan situation an analysis is needed of who comprises the Diaspora.

3.3.5: - The composition of the Angolan Diaspora

The answer to this question is the children. Maier, (1996:214) quotes a Catholic priest named Kok, and writes: “Angola ... has sacrificed its youth on the altar of power. Children of thirteen or fourteen are taken by force, by UNITA or the government, it doesn’t matter. They remain illiterate and all they know is how to rob and kill. They lose an arm or a leg and then go home to stay in their parents’ house illiterate and amputated. This is the state of Angola’s children today”.

Those children whose parents are capable of buying a plane ticket are leaving the country. Something Neto once said, has now become a slogan in Angola: “If we do not take care of our children we won’t be able to continue with our revolution in the future”. A nation whose youth are crippled spiritually, mentally, socially and psychologically is obviously not a nation. The researcher supports the Maputo declaration on children in the war, but he feels that more is needed in order for the Angolan children to feel loved, cared for and above all to have a

sense of belonging. The armies use the Angolan children and at the same time they are victims of violence and war. Many of them, especially those who have been into the war, have suffered traumatic emotional setbacks and are left without any attention at all. There are a great variety of victims of the war – the hungry, the homeless, the sick, the blind. Maier describes them (1996:162) as “those who have simply lost the will to survive on their own”. All these are looking for a place where they can find asylum from all the pain, uncertainty and hopelessness. Looking to the horror that the war caused in Angola there was a great need to end it.

The researcher draws inference to what Weiner said that most of the world's population flows since World War II did not merely happen; they were made to happen. Why does he say this? For the governments of sending countries, emigration or Diaspora may serve a variety of political objectives. Diaspora can be a solution to the problem of cultural heterogeneity, (as it happened during the time of Alexander the Great). And it can be a mechanism for affecting the domestic and foreign policies of other states. For the Angolans to live in Diaspora experienced the same thing. To them Diaspora is not of their making but did not have a choice unless to leave their country.

The Angolans living in Diaspora are approximately one million. Out of one million, Malungo (1995:2) says that five hundred thousand are living in Zaire (DRC), one hundred thousand in Lisbon (illegal), two hundred thousand in Zambia, about five

thousand in Zimbabwe, fifty thousand in Namibia, one thousand in South Africa and five thousands in France, Spain and Germany. Many of these Angolans are settled in the countries where they are living but the majority is resident only as a result of the good will of many governments. But it has not been easy to live in a foreign country as displaced persons. The researcher brings to light how some of the displaced people are treated by the citizens of the hosting countries.

Chandra (1993:124f.) says that human history is full of the gloomy records of war. It shows that war, and not peace, is the normal condition of civilized human society. Much of human history can be written in terms of wars, the preparation of wars and the consequences of wars. This research is a reflection on the consequences of the war in Angola.

The researcher believes that one day these people, or maybe their sons and daughters, will rise up and throw out their self-styled leaders, rulers who have brought them to such a state of utter misery, but perhaps they will not. Maybe they will bear it and remain silent forever.

3.4: - Refugees and their psychological characteristics

Looking at the number of refugees in the world the writer concludes that although there are some similarities amongst the refugees themselves also important particularities are found as well in them.

Cohon (1981:256) refers to the Swiss Director of Mental Health Services, who observed after World War II that Russian refugees had no stable relationship of trust. The women in particular suffered reactive depressive states and all the Russian refugees were mistrustful toward strangers who spoke a different language. The Swiss noted further that their bearing was natural and direct, but emotional swings were "greater" than those of the Swiss. They could not concentrate; they had occasional tempestuous reactions, strong sexual drives, high alcohol usage and depression when isolated. Cohon mentions another 1950's mental study, which was conducted by Pedersen in Sweden, who observed that paranoid reactions were the central clinical feature occurring in widely different personality structures. He concluded that this indicates how severe social trauma - in and of itself - has a tendency to release paranoid reactions, regardless of the character structure involved (Cohon, 1981:257).

A third study from the 1950's Cohon mentions, was one conducted by Tyhurst who gave a brief clinical description of 48 predominantly female displaced persons at the Psychiatric Institute in Montreal. He describes two characteristic periods of behavior after arrival: an initial period lasting for several months in which the person often feels euphoric, inactive, concerned with basic needs, and speculate about his or her war experience; and a second period called the period of 'psychological arrival' lasting much longer

and during which the individual increasingly recognizes the differences in customs, becomes aware of his or her losses, and idealizes the past (Cohon, 1981:258).

In 1977, Tyhurst quoted in Cohon (1981:256), reviewed 27 years of clinical experience and field work with refugees in Canada and conceived a pattern of refugees' adjustment dynamics called the Social Displacement Syndrome. Four groups of refugees who came to Canada were studied: 1) the displaced persons who arrived in the late forties and early fifties; 2) the Hungarian refugees admitted in 1956; 3) Czechoslovakians who came in 1968 and 4) Asians expelled from Uganda in 1972. He formulated three interrelated components in the clinical phenomena that emerge among refugees and consider that the general structure of these elements is consistent for all refugee groups.

The first component consists of a two month "incubation", period, which is symptom free. The second, he calls "the predictable onset of general personal disequilibrium represented by: (1) a range of paranoid behavior from suspiciousness and acute paranoid psychotic episodes; (2) generalized hypochondriacs with pain the central complaint and fatigue often being the earliest subjective symptom; (3) a mix of anxiety and depression with somatic complaints predominating". The third component consists of a series of phenomena that are situation-specific and affect both an individual's sense of

continuity of self and his or her orientation to person, place and time which is accompanied by fluidity of mood and at times vivid hallucinations related to previous experience of flight. Another characteristic of this third component, says Cohon (1981:259), is impairment of interpersonal and social skills manifested by contradictory tendencies of social withdrawal or hostility and tendencies to relate.

3.4.1: - Symptomatology of refugees

Rather than describing a refugee's psychological dysfunction with diagnostic labels, it may prove more reliable to note that there are ranges of symptoms that characterize the refugee experience and that these manifest themselves differently with different individuals.

Engelhardt (1974) quoted in Cohon (1981:265) mentions that specific symptoms observed in refugees included:

1. Somatic complaints such as fatigue, weakness, muscle or joint pain, disturbances of sleep or appetite, general hypochondriacs, and recently respiratory and dermatological complaints observed with Vietnamese.
2. Affective states ranging from euphoria, anxiety, insecurity, restlessness, and irritability to depression, inadequacy, despair, nostalgia, grief and mourning as well as aggression and hostility.

3. Heightened suspiciousness with persecutory feelings or severe paranoid ideation.

4. Abnormal behavior such as wandering, suicidal attempts, confusional state, delusion, hallucinations.

5. Impairment of interpersonal and social skills that extend from family issues such as intergenerational and marital conflicts to relationships with individuals, groups, and institutions of the larger society. When it comes to treating patients exhibiting such symptoms, the sad fact is that in most cases refugees are in countries whose authorities neglect them, since they lack adequate health facilities. Furthermore, the citizens of the country in which they seek refuge discriminate against the refugees. Pfister-Ammende (1960) tells the story of a religious healer of a desert tribe whose people were moving far away to a growing new city. When asked whether they would seek advice from a religious healer in that city the healer replied 'No, that they cannot do. They must go to the healer of their own tribe'. And if the distance be too great? 'Then they cannot go', was the brief reply. What then? A long pause followed, after which the healer finally said: 'They must learn to suffer'. As this story indicates, there will be refugees whose mental functioning is impaired and who cannot be cared for by traditional cultural helping mechanisms, which do not exist in the same form in the new environment. Having looked at the refugee symptomatology, the researcher now discusses the impact that religion plays on the refugees, looking at what happened in the book of Lamentations and the dynamics of the experience of loss.

3.4.2: - Refugees and Religion

The Biblical book of Lamentations shows that religion has an important role to play in the lives of displaced people. This book is an expression of the physical and psychological conditions of the Jewish people who had lost their homes and familiar symbols. Gous gives an account of this in an article entitled: "Exile and the Dynamics of Experience of Loss" (Gous, 1993:350). After the fall of Jerusalem in 586 BC the eradication of Yahweh religion was substantial. The Jews lost "orientation beacons like land, national symbols, leaders and autonomy" (Gous, 1993:351). He says "although the Judaeans and their spiritual inheritance could have been relegated to inscriptions on postcards, their so called 'death-blow', became the womb of Judaism, and for twenty-five centuries the descendants of these Judaeans survived without land and without any autonomy whatsoever". How did they do that? Gous again points out "a multitude of factors played a role, ... I would like to examine only one of these many factors, namely the role of the belief of these people" (Gous, 1993:351). In other words, they survived because of their religion. Gous quotes Gertz (1973:103-15) who defines the role of religion with reference to suffering as follows: "It attempts to cope with suffering by placing it in a meaningful context, providing a mode of action through which it can be expressed, understood, and being understood, endured". He further points out the fact that "the problem of religion concerning suffering is not

When someone loses land, home and family the feeling that a person has is most traumatic. The self-image and identity are traumatized and social ties are destroyed. Gous (1993:354) says "These cause feelings of fear, insecurity, impotence, a total surrender to others, loss of self-determination and control of personal freedom, loss of control of own history and movement."

3.5: - Conclusion

Human history is full of calamities, violence which brings misfortune in the form of wars and displacement to the people. In final analysis one can say that indeed displacement has been a social phenomenon throughout that history, and despite this fact, humankind has not learned that the greatest victims of military and political power struggles are the refugees and displaced people.

Having looked to the phenomenon of displacement and the problem that affects some of the African countries, the writer concludes by stating that: 1) displacement is an Universal human condition; 2) Angolan displacement has the following causes: the Ovimbundu nationalism; the foreign intervention and the colonial legacy. 3) Characteristics of refugees; and 4) refugees and religion. Because religion plays such an important role in the lives of the

believers, it brings us to an investigation of the phenomenon of refugees in the Ancient Near East (ANE) and particularly the Bible.

Chapter Four

4: - Displacement in the Ancient Near East

4.1: - Introduction

In this chapter the writer wishes to investigate the notion of displacement before and during the time of the Bible. The structure of this chapter is as follows: (1) Displacement in the ancient times: the terminology of displacement; the Amarna letters; the etymology of the word Apiru; who were the Apiru people and the Apiru and Hebrew peoples. (2) Displacement in Biblical times: Jews and the Assyrian Empire; Jews and the Babylonian Empire; Jews and the Persian Empire; Jews and the Greek Empire and Jews and the Roman Empire. (3) Conclusion.

4.2: - Displacement in the Ancient times

4.2.1: - The terminology of displacement

In this section the researcher wishes to analyze by means of linking the modern experience of displacement to the concept of Diaspora in the Biblical

context as well as in the post-exilic period. The reason for doing that is the fact that the concept of displacement entails (in the Angolan context) the notion of being scattered by means of violence and force, and those who are violently scattered look for a home else where. This is similar to the Biblical notion of Diaspora. In doing so the researcher wishes to give a definition and then the meaning of the terminology in Hebrew and Greek.

4.2.1.1: - Definition

The word *Diaspora* and the related concepts *galut* are linked with our use of the word displacement in modern experiences. So the researcher defines here what the word means in the Bible since the latter corresponds to the former. Drumwright (1977:119) says that the word Diaspora means the scattering of the Jews beyond the boundaries of Palestine, from the time of Assyrians, Babylonians through the Greek and Roman periods. Many Jews themselves, especially the modern-day Zionists, use the term Diaspora and *Galut* to apply to the settled residence of the Jews outside the state of Israel. Drumwright further points out that the primary cause of Diaspora was deportation of the Jews into exile by their enemies. The Assyrians took the Jews from Samaria in 722 BC and the Babylonians took Jews from Jerusalem as early as 587 BC Later Pompey took Jews to Rome as slaves. Donald (1962:304) informs that the Diaspora partly originated from causes over which the Jews had no control, and was partly the result of a spontaneous

movement outward. It was largely due to the policy adopted by the great conquerors of antiquity of deporting into exile a considerable number of populations of the countries which they subdued.

4.2.1.2: - Terminology

4.2.1.2.1: - In Hebrew

According to Sanders (1962:854), the Hebrew noun גולה and גלות as well as the Aramaic גלותא may mean dispersion (Diaspora) as well as exile. The word גולה in rabbinical literature frequently means dispersion. Other Hebrew words such as נדה found in Neh 1:9 and Isa 11:12; זרה found Ez. 36:19; נפץ in Jer 25:34; Ez 36:19 and Zef 3:10; פוזר and פרד in Est 3:8 are also translated dispersion or to be dispersed. גולה says Sanders, referred to the Jews who were moved by force as a result of war, exile and sometimes imprisonment. The descendants of such exiles a large part of the Diaspora of the New Testament times.

4.2.1.2.2: - In Greek

The word διασπορά frequently translates the Hebrew word גולה in the LXX.

The cognate Greek verb is διασπείρω, to scatter abroad or in many

directions, as seen in the book of Acts 8:1,4; 11:19 (Perschbacher 1995:96). The word is used, continues Perschbacher, for נִצָּן which means the preserved or in some instances, the remnant of Israel which was scattered, as in Is. 49:6. In Deuteronomy 28:25 and Jeremiah 34:17 it translates זָרְעָה. The word can mean dispersed or the place where they were dispersed though the Greek word used for that may be παροικία or more figuratively, consignment to earthly life as a pilgrimage or sojourn as in Ps. 119:54; 118:54; 1Pet. 1:17; Rom. 7:23; Heb. 11:13 (Sanders, 1962:855). There was, however, a distinction between the Hebrew word which means exile and the Greek term which means scattered. Diaspora in the Bible referred to the voluntary moving of the Jews to lands other than their own, whereas exile was never voluntary. Drumwright (1976:120) points out that Diaspora set the Jews apart from their kindred that remained at home and the strangers among whom the transported Jews lived.

4.2.2: - The Amarna letters

The Amarna period includes the reigns of Amenophis III and IV as well as Tutankhamun (1386-1325). During this time The Egyptian court came in consistent contact with Mesopotamia. This contact is best recorded by a group of documents called the "Amarna letters," correspondence written to the King of Egypt from the Kings of Assyria, Babylon, and Hittites (Witt, 1993:32).

In the Amarna letters the element of displaced peoples called *Apiru* is mentioned. Gottwald (1979:390) writes that there was an interlock between Egyptian imperial hegemony over Canaan and the stateless (displaced) indigenous Canaanite feudal system. This indigenous system formed a social grouping known as the *Apiru* people. Naaman (1996:304) informs us that the Amarna letters indicate there was a group of outcasts in the land of Schechem in Late Bronze II as it emerged from the archaeological investigation. Further he says that the Amarna letters indicate that Schechem and Jerusalem were the seats of local dynasties. Naaman quotes Drake (1991:26-47) who makes a socio-archaeological study of the kingdom of Judah in Iron Age II. He suggests that there were displaced people in the form of stateless people but were used by dynasts in their wars against opposing chieftains.

The writer concludes that the Amarna letters confirm the existence at that time of (displaced) people who were stateless and lawless, but who were used in armies as auxiliary brigands of dynasties, and although they were stateless, their economic conditions nevertheless differed from that of 20th century displaced people in the sense that the dynasties who used them as mercenaries paid them and they could almost live comfortably (Goetze, 1975:102,3).

4.2.2.1: - The Etymology of the word Apiru

Lemche (1992:7) says that the "Semitic root on which the expression is based may be either 'br or 'pr depending on the correct reading of the second consonant. If the term should actually be read habiro then the most obvious etymological explanation must be that it is a derivation from the verbal root 'br meaning to pass by, trespass; a meaning which would suit the notion of the habiru as fugitives/refugees excellently. If the correct rendering of the Akkadian cuneiform is hapiru, a derivation from the noun meaning dust or clay would be likely; an Apiru might then have been a popular way of designating people of low social standing." Mendenhall (1974:122) says, "it is now agreed by nearly all scholars that the term Apiru originally had no ethnic significance, but rather designated a social or political status." Those 'pr groups were in part closely associated with the origins of the Israelites; others were not, but became the nations of Edom, Moab, and Ammon.

4.2.3: - Who were the Apiru people?

During this time one finds in history landless people called *Apiru*. According to Lemche (1992:7) quoting Spiegelberg, the term *Apiru* designates a social group of nomads who lived on the fringe of the Syrian Desert. Gottwald (1979:397) says that throughout the Fertile Crescent the primary specific usage of *Apiru* denotes mercenaries and brigands. When the political empire

became intolerable and unable to preserve order, they withdrew from all obligations and relationship to it in favor of another non-political overlord. This says Mendenhall (1974:137), was what being an *Apiru* meant in ancient times. It was only under the monarchy that they ceased to be *Apiru* and became a nation. Consequently the term *Apiru*, Mendenhall continues, ceased to be a political term and became an ethnic designation. (Later such displaced groups were called *Zarim*, and in the Hellenistic period were called λησταί the usual term for robbers or plunderers, and κακούργοι, the usual term for criminals).

The kind of relationship between dynasts and *Apiru* groups appear to have been threefold:

1. *Apiru* mercenaries employed to serve as auxiliary infantry.
2. *Apiru* brigands encouraged and/or supplied to harass an enemy dynast in paramilitary operations;
3. *Apiru* groups settled on land as client but semi-independent forces.

Gottwald (1979:398) observes that rebellions against authority within the city-states were often encouraged by dynasts in other city-states who saw therein an opportunity to weaken rival states and to seize control over their territory. Rival dynasts thus played upon the social unrest in their opponent's domain. They were eager to put the rival dynast against those in the upper echelons of power such as the dynast's relatives. They were equally ready to capitalize

on the resentments of those who suffered under the feudal order, or who had been pushed aside by it, such as the peasant serfs, the semifree farmers, remnants of the free citizenry with their assembled councils as an apolitical tradition resistant to feudalism, and the *Apiru*. The latter, although at times collaborating with feudal dynasts and lords, stood to profit greatly from an overall weakening of the feudal system. The writer concludes that the *Apiru* people were displaced people who lived in Palestine and in the Syrian Desert who did not have land or any property, but were used as mercenaries.

4.2.4: - Apiru and Hebrew Peoples

Mendenhall (1974:135-6) says that in biblical tradition there are repeated examples of the sort of phenomena associated with the *Apiru*. He mentions the clear example of David who lost status in the Israelite communities by flight caused by the enmity of Saul (I Sam 22:1-2). He gathered about him other refugees motivated by economic, as well as other concerns. The temptation of exercising self help in violation of the moral obligations of the Israelite religious federation are vividly described in chapters 24 and 25 of I Samuel. The Jephthah story is very similar – deprivation of legal status because of illegitimate birth, and reinstatement as chief because of his military power (Judg. 11-12). The patriarchal narratives indicate a similar pattern of social behavior. Mendenhall (1974:137) points out that “Abraham and Jacob, as well as others in the patriarchal period, are chieftains not of

nomadic tribes but of *Apiru* groups which have no legal status and have indeed severed themselves from an earlier political community.” In Deuteronomy 26:5 the writer finds a confession which presents to the reader the same picture. אֲרָמִי אֲבָד has the same meaning as *kalbu halgu* in the Amarna period. Jacob was neither a wondering Aramean or a Syrian ready to perish. He was in fact a fugitive Aramean who by flight and stealth cut himself off from the community of which he had been a member, and according to biblical tradition, he was rescued from extermination only by the direct intervention of Yahweh, says Mendenhall (1997:13).

The writer concludes stating that there was a large and apparently increasing class of stateless and reputedly lawless (displaced) people in Palestine and Syria to whom the appellation *Apiru* was given and that they were a class of heterogeneous ethnic origin. The writer discusses in the following section the notion of displacement in Biblical times.

4.3: - Displacement in the Biblical times

“One alternative is to keep the gift as gift, to maintain the dialectic with land/with Yahweh, knowing one is gifted by land/addressed by Yahweh. This alternative is to maintain the rich vitality of the covenant” (Brueggemann 1988:53). The second more fully developed statement describes the alternative to remembering namely the seduction of imagining it was always

so and Israel made it so. In such a consciousness Israel is no longer recipient of land but controller, no longer creature of grace but manager of achievement (Brueggemann 1988:56).

Nevertheless with Yahweh land brings responsibilities. The same land, which is a gift freely given, requires strict obligations. In managing the land two models are given to Israel: the first was the appearing of judges who engaged primarily in crisis interventions avowedly at the behest of Yahweh. While that form of management proposed to be responsive and faithful to Yahweh it proved to be ineffective. It lacked the resilience and durability to give the land or the people the sustained, disciplined attention they required.

The second form of land management, which Israel attempted, was kingship. In the Bible, "king" refers to those who presided over the organized life of Israel and so had responsibility for the land. Israel reflected on the nature of kingship, which was appropriate to the land, recognizing early that a legitimate form of management must be consistent with the character of the land as gift (I Sam.8: 5, 19-20).

But that was precisely the issue, and Israel tried to solve it too easily. It proposed to manage the land like all the others around it. But the speeches at the boundary in Deuteronomy make exactly the opposite insistence. Israel is to be in the land differently. And if it is to in the land differently, it will have

to manage it differently, which calls for a different, distinctive notion of kingship. When Israel craved for kingship like the others, it was attracted precisely to those examples which presumed to manage their own existence and seize initiatives for their own well-being in history. Thus, says Brueggemann (1988:75) the request for kingship was a proposal to shift decisively the foundations of communal life in Israel.

In the writer's view, this theory of governance provided a critique of tempting alternatives. The alternative is described in I Sam.8: 11-17 and Israel is warned that such a model will undo Israel. In the alternative to be rejected (a) the king is primarily a confiscator, (b) Israel is reduced to slavery Deut. 17: 16, (c) Israel is cut off from Yahweh, and there is no more covenantal history (iSam.8: 18), and (d) land is lost (I Sam.12: 25). In the following subsection the writer wishes to discuss what happened to the Jewish nation and the world empires.

4.3.1: - Jews and Assyrian Empire

In 722 BC Sargon II, the new king of Assyria, captured Samaria and initiated a scheme of mass deportation for the whole area. Sargon II carried off 27290 captives, says Wiseman (1996:1051) and the effect was to terminate the existence of the Northern Kingdom of Israel as a homogenous and

independent state. The displaced people were dispatched to places in Syria, Assyria and Babylon and replaced by colonists from other disturbed parts of the Assyrian Empire (II Kings 17:24). Assyrian policy as a new method of submission: forceful displacement and resettlement of conquered territories.

Obed (1979:115) says that although Israelite deportees were forced into lower social positions, some of the exiles attained important positions in the Assyrian army and others were in a position to appear as witnesses in contracts and judicial procedures. Although the deportees were apparently not allowed to return to their homeland and had no political power, they lived to a certain extent in liberty. If they had liberty, the question arises why they were deported in the first place.

4.3.2: - Jews and Babylonian empire

The Southern kingdom suffered the same fate as the Northern Kingdom (II Chron 28:20), Ahaz had to pay heavy tribute to the Assyrian King. There were religious consequences as well of his political submission (Anderson 1966:103). Bright (1981:345) says that the Jews living in Babylon represented the cream of their country's political, economic, ecclesiastical, and intellectual leadership - which is why they were selected in first place for deportation. These exiles, though few in number (4600 according to Jeremiah 52:28-30), were the ones who would shape Israel's future, both giving to her

faith its new direction and providing the impulse for the ultimate restoration of the Jewish community in Palestine. With this group of people in Babylon there was a shift from Jerusalem to Babylon in everything. Babylon became the center of all Jewish activity including religious practice. The sixth century BC was a momentous turning point in the history of Near East. The neo-Babylonian empire, which had been established by the aggressive policy of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar, was the last great Semitic power in Biblical times. So the empire of the Amorites fell to pieces under the invasion of the Kassites, who succeeded them as Kings (McKenzie, 1994:74).

Babylon was a vassal kingdom until Nabopolassar the former governor of the sealands, seized the throne of Babylon and revolted against the Assyrians. Nineveh fell to the Babylonians (McKenzie 1994: 76).

The Babylonian army, under the command of Nebuchadnezzar defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish in 605 BC and in successive campaigns; during ensuing years pushed through Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem surrendered to the Babylonians in 597 BC; it revolted against the Babylonians' control in 588 BC and Judah and Jerusalem were stormed and destroyed in 587 BC (McKenzie 1994:76-7). During this destruction many people were displaced and taken to exile in Babylon (Psalm 137). Those who were left in Jerusalem lamented the destruction of the Jewish symbols as a nation (Lam 2:10-13).

The exilic age is the beginning of the age of the dispersion, or Diaspora. From this point onwards we must reckon with the existence of Jewish communities scattered throughout Mesopotamia and countries surrounding the Mediterranean. Many of them looked with longing to the land of Israel, now ruled by alien powers and David's city and the ancient center of Israel's life and worship remained for centuries under alien domination (Anderson, 1966:141-43).

Countries like Assyria and Babylon displaced the Israelites (Northern Kingdom) and Jews (Southern Kingdom), violently uprooting the people from the land, their temple, culture, language, and political and economic setup. Those who were left in the country, no doubt were pleased that the elite were removed by the Babylonians. The reason is that the elite mistreated the ordinary people as it is seen in the book of Amos. The displacement of the Jews from their old established religious complex to the new habitat upset their religious harmony (Ps 137:4).

Brueggemann (1994:118) says that the tradition insists that the destruction of Jerusalem was not an accomplishment of Babylonian policy but happened at the behest of God (Jer. 25:8-11; Is. 40-1-2). The destruction was a sovereign act of God, implemented by Nebuchadnezzar. Brueggemann further mentions that the exile can be a place of compassion, but that can only be possible because God hears prayers and attends to the needs of the exiles and it is

there where God's mercy can indeed be effected in a concrete and public way (I Kings 8:46-53) as He did with Noah (Gn.7: 1-8:22).

4.3.2.1: - The Contribution of the Babylonian Exiles

It seems reasonable to assume that Diaspora gave birth to the Synagogue (Sanders, 1962:856). Jeremiah's advice to the Babylonian exiles to pray to Yahweh in captivity (Jer.29: 7), was ample enough incentive to instigate houses of prayer and study of the Law of Moses outside Palestine.

The enormous production of Diaspora literature bears testimony to the extent of Jewish settlement in the main world centers. In Babylon, the Babylonian Amoraim who were the authoritative successors to the great Tannaim or Palestinian sages produced the great Babylonian Talmud (Donald, 1966:304). In Egypt the Jews came close to produce a religious center to rival Jerusalem. It was from Egypt that the Septuagint came (Drumwright, 1977:120). This document is one of the most important witnesses to the Old Testament text and would not have come into being if there was no Egyptian Diaspora! The same applies to the Aramaic Targumim, some of which were also produced in Babylon.

4.3.3: - Jews and the Persian Empire

Assyrians and Babylonians displaced the Jews taking from them their political independence, land and temple. The ten tribes of Israel taken captive by the Assyrians continued to live in captivity. The fate of the two southern tribes was different from that of the ten tribes. King Cyrus II changed the course of Persian history and with it the history of the exiled Jews in Babylon. With Cyrus the Great the different peoples were encouraged to keep their own customs and religions.

Boadt (1984:435) says that Cyrus respected the local gods and local self-rule as much as it was possible. He did for Israel, he continues, what he did for all exiled groups – he issued a decree in 538 BC permitting them to return to their homeland. The book of Ezra quotes a proclamation made by Cyrus which is a Hebrew copy of the original decree:

“Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: the Lord, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He has charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem in Judah. Any of those among you who are of his people – may their God be with them: are now permitted to go up to Jerusalem in Judah, and build the house of the Lord the God of Israel. He is the god who is in Jerusalem and let all survivors, in whatever place they reside, be assisted by the people of their place with silver and gold, with goods and with animals, besides freewill offerings for the house of God in Jerusalem” (Ezra 1:2-4).

Despite this decree, however, not every Israelite jumped up and left for Palestine; many, says Boadt (1984:436) preferred to stay on permanently in Babylon itself and those who did go home did so in small groups. What was the reason of some not going back? On the one hand, during the period of exile, many were able to organize their life much better, having their businesses and things that they did not have when they first came as captives. The other reason, in the writer's opinion, would be the fact that during wars people are killed. It is possible that those who did not want to return did not have any relatives left, or they were scared to start all over again.

4.3.4: - Jews and the Greek empire

Bright (1981:419) mentions the fact that during early years of the empire nothing much is known about the life of the Jews. However, he says that there were internal tensions in Judah, which led the intervention of Antiochus IV. He says, "the Jews were not, it must be said, innocent of blame for what befell them. Severe tensions existed, as indicated, regarding the desirability of Greek culture and the degree to which one could adopt it and still remain a Jew". If Assyria and Babylon physically displaced the Jewish nation, the "displacement" under the Greeks took the form of cultural and religious displacement, as the Jews were confronted by Hellenistic culture and religion. As an example Jews were compelled to participate in the feast of

Dionysus and in the monthly sacrifice in honor of the King's birthday II Macc 6:3-7) (Bright 1981:422). This kind of abnormality led to the Maccabean rebellion.

4.3.5: - Jews and the Roman Empire

The New Testament began when Rome was a world empire, and Judah was a vassal province of Rome.

Boadt (1984:519) says that in 63 BC, the situation became stalemated when the two sons of Alexander Jannaeus both sought help from the general Pompey in order to become king. Pompey moved into Jerusalem and, instead of supporting either, made Palestine into a Roman province subject to the governor in Syria whom he had just installed over the Seleucids. Boadt further mentions that in 31 BC Octavian defeated Mark Anthony. Being now master of the entire Roman Empire, Octavian assumed the name Augustus, had himself declared emperor, and began the great period of prosperity, peace called the Pax Romana. He ruled for forty-five years (until 14 AD) during which, says Boadt, there were no internal civil wars. However, the general Pompey took Jews as slaves to Rome, destroyed the Temple and scattered them throughout the Roman Empire. This phenomenon later helped the spread of the Christianity during the persecution era.

4.3.6: - How did they survive?

The answer to this question is that they survived because of their faith. Israel's faith successfully met the severe testing of exile, exhibiting an astounding tenacity and vitality. Bright (1981:349) says that the exile could be seen both as a merited punishment and as a purge preparing Israel for a new future. By word and by answering the people that Yahweh was not far from them even in the land of their exile, the exilic prophets prepared the people the way for the formation of the new community. When one looks and considers the magnitude of the calamity that befell Israel, one marvels that Israel was not sucked down into the vortex of history along with the other nations who lost for ever their identity as a people.

According to Anderson (1966:143), during the exile a new development took shape. That is, religious practice that could function independently of the Temple acquired a new importance. There was an increased emphasis on the observance of a) the Sabbath, b) on circumcision and c) on the adherence to the purity laws.

There was a growing concern for the formulation and application of the details of religious law, so that the life of the religious community might be well ordered and that every Jew might know what Yahweh required of them. There was also a passionate desire for the restoration of the Temple.

Anderson further says that the fact that Israel's faith survived the national catastrophe was in part due to the fact that there had been prophets in Israel who predicted doom as Yahweh's punishment and discipline of His people.

4.4: - Conclusion

Emmanuel Kant said: "The history of mankind can be seen in the large as the realization of nature's secret plan to bring forth a perfectly constituted state as the only condition in which the capacities of mankind can be fully developed, and also bring forth that external relation among states which is perfectly adequate to this end" (quoted by Nisbet, 1969:118). In his idea, Kant declared that despite the appearance of contingencies and sporadic inhuman behavior, humankind might view history to be steady and progressive, but in the researcher's opinion, one must question this progressiveness if in reality the history of humankind is written in blood, wars, destruction, displacement and misery. There has not been a century without war.

The land of Israel was considered a gift from Yahweh and bound Israel in new ways to the giver. Israel, says Brueggemann (1988:47) clearly did not take the land either by power or stratagem, but because Yahweh had spoken

a word and had acted to keep his word. He says further that the gift of the land provides a secured people with dangerous alternatives.

After all the above analyzed the researcher concludes by stating that:

1. Diaspora was an important characteristic of the ANE.
2. Jews above all were victims of dispersion.
3. That is why Jewish literature has become a standard by which other voices from Diaspora can be measured.

In the next chapter the researcher wishes to analyze Psalm 74 as a Biblical written source that comes from the voices of the Jews Diaspora and a response will be given in the form of popular songs sung by Angolans in Diaspora.

Chapter Five

5: - PSALM 74 and ANGOLA

5.1: - Introduction

From Biblical times to the present age, the psalms have nourished and enriched the prayer life. Jews and Christians alike have found their thoughts, their needs, and their life experience reflected in the book of Psalms. In this chapter the researcher wishes to exegete Psalm 74 as a lament Psalm and a contemporary response will be provided in the form of songs sang by Angolans in the Diaspora.

This psalm was selected as a case study for this thesis, because the psalm speaks of the reality which applied to the Israelite community at their time of despair, hopelessness, destruction of their nation and valuable symbols; and because the same calamity has been experienced by some of the Angolan people. The psalm has a special message to the Angolans although they see the destruction of their country not only by foreign forces but also by their own sons and daughters. The lament of the psalmist is similar to the laments of the suffering people of Angola. In the fact of lament and disorientation this study finds a ground to consider the Angolan exiles as counterparts of those found in the Post-Exilic period. It is true that Angola can not be compared

with Israel the Priestly nation chosen by God (Ex.19:4-6). However there are some aspects of Israel that are similar to those that are taking place in Angola, for example, the frustration with the seemingly unsolvable dilemma which is beyond the power of the individual to change. (The researcher will come back to this point later in this chapter).

In presenting this study the researcher finds himself in the shoes of the Psalmist, acknowledging the fact that for the current Angolan situation there is no political or military solution possible; rather, the solution for the Angolan crisis lies in God's intervention. The main point of this thesis is that in this Psalm, the cry of the exiles is exactly the same cry of some Angolans in Diaspora.

A reading of this psalm, shows, on the one hand, that the cause of God's people is God's own cause. The Lord's cause, is based on his covenant (v.20) and the care flowing from that toward the crushed ךָ , those who are bowed down עָנִי and the needy and the poor אֲבִיּוֹן (v21). This is the hope that cannot be abandoned even though reality proves to be the opposite: God has forsaken forever (v1). Furthermore a reading of this psalm shows that the success of God's cause depends on God Himself pleading it (remember, do not forget, rouse yourself!). Lastly, it shows that in situations like these we are authorized, encouraged and constrained to pray as the psalmist did.

5.2: - Reader response theory

According to Fowler (1985:5) in spite of the fact that reader response critics talk a great deal about the reader there remains a great deal of equivocation as to who the reader of reader response criticism is. In his article intitled: "Who is 'the reader' in reader response criticism?" (1985:5), he identified the reader as he/she who serves the text and the critic as she/he who acts as its judge and master.

He starts by making a distinction between the reader and the critic. " Often a literary critic (or a Biblical critic) will talk about being a reader of a text as if he or she were a reader only. But he or she is clearly more than that, for being a critic means being part of a guild, or an 'interpretative community'...

The reader pole is the pole of subjectivity: this is the pole of "individual" and the "psychological". A reader response critic positioned here will be less concerned to contribute to a critical tradition, and more concerned to contribute to a person (not a critic) finding him or herself to be the subject of his or her reading experience.

In speaking as a critic one speaks to be heard chiefly by fellow critics, and thus the entire critical tradition of that particular interpretative community is evoked implicitly. To be sure, reader response criticism generally tends, more than other brands of literary criticism, to grant value to all reading, whether expert or naive" (Fowler, 1985:6). A critic makes judgements about the text and declares them, while a reader does neither. Since it does not objectify

the text, reading does not lend itself to discourse about itself. Stanly, quoted in Fowler (1985:6) says: "it is easy to say something about criticism worth looking at / or disagreeing with. It is difficult to say anything useful about 'reading' in the sense in which this paper seeks to articulate the term. Criticism is discursive and breeds discourse. 'Reading' yields no primary impulse towards self-communication. The reader who discourses is, in a certain manner, in breach of privilege... Reading is done rather than spoken about". Criticism is the product of rational choice, and the critic must declare; this is his or hers public and legislative ordination.

The legislative duty of criticism has as a central task the evaluation and ranking of texts; part of the critic's job is to tell the reader what he or she should or should not be reading. Steiner, quoted on Fowler (1985:7) calls the set of texts prescribed by the critic the critic's "syllabus". The reader too, has his or hers selection of favored texts, which Steiner choose to call them the reader's "canon". The crucial difference is that the critic chooses his or hers "syllabus" by an act of will, but the "canon" chooses the reader; a canon is unsought and unwilling. " Canon" in Steiner's usage, refers to those texts and text fragments that capture our imaginations without our seeking it and often without our being fully aware of it. Mailloux (1982:22) says: "The canonic text enters into the reader, it takes its place within him or her by a process of penetration, of luminous insinuation whose occasion may have been entirely mundane and accidental". Chatman, quoted in Fowler (1985:7) says that the occurrence is banal to anyone whose mind and body are both

involved or have been seized upon by a melody, by a tune, by a verbal cadence which he or she did not choose by act of will, which has entered into him or her unaware. Culler quoted in Fowler (1985:8) says that the critic prescribes a syllabus, the reader is unanswerable to and internalizes a canon. A syllabus is taught, a canon is lived.

The researcher sees himself striving to be both the reader and the critic of the Psalm 74 and the current Angolan phenomenon of Diaspora. The ordinary Angolan person reading this Psalm will take the reader's approach as well as will be a critic but at the same time he or she will internalize his or her suffering as equal or at least similar to that which is found in this text. By a critic, the researcher means: to affirm the enduring power of this portion of Scriptures in one's culture and in one's own life, to remain open enough to ask any question and to risk any judgement.

5.3: - exegetical comments

During the period of exile in Babylon hardly anything is known about life in Palestine or Egypt. But the most important written evidence of the continuance of Israel's life and traditions after the fall of Jerusalem came into being outside Judah, among the exiles in Babylon (Westermann 1969:5).

Psalms 74 and 79 both refer to the same event or calamity that took place and were probably written by the same author. Both psalms deplore the

rejection of the nation, the occupation of Jerusalem by a foreign army and the profanation and destruction of the Temple. When was the Psalm written? According to Sabourin (1974:17) very few psalms can be assigned an approximate date with certainty. In the past, scholars attempted to assign given psalms to specific periods of time. He further says that the majority of psalms were written between the period of the Judges and the period of the Maccabees or Hasmonians. Sabourin further quotes Wellhausen, who was not sure if there existed any pre-exilic psalms, while Mowinckel believed that the golden age of psalm writing was the time of monarchy. The method used to date the psalms, says Hauret cited in Sabourin, (1976:18) differ widely. Some rely on supposed allusions to historical events in the psalms themselves, while others consider liturgical factors or literary and theological relation with other Biblical passages more easily dateable (authorship). McCann (1994:9) says that it should be remembered that we simply do not know who wrote the psalms, where these authors or groups were located precisely, or when they wrote. Perowne (1976:22) points out that this psalm (74) belongs either to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar or to the insolent oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Perowne (1976:23), says that it has been argued that there is nothing in the language of the psalm inconsistent with the supposition that it refers to the Chaldean invasion. He further says that it has also been contended that even the complaint of the cessation of prophecy is not absolutely at variance with the older date, provided we suppose that the psalm was written during the

exile, when both prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel had ceased to prophecy, and before Daniel entered upon his office. He mentions that Delitzsch and Calvin also admit this to be possible. It is also likely that the deep sorrow of the poet would lead him to paint the picture in colors darker and gloomier than the reality. "Seventy years!; who would hope to see the end of that weary length of captivity? Who knew if the end would ever come?" Such was the language of despondency (Perowne 1976:24).

Similar passages can be found in the book of Lamentations where the author sees Yahweh as punisher and at the same time as the refuge. In fact Yahweh punished His people and the people recognized that they have wronged and confess their transgression to the Lord in a mournful way. To the Angolans in the exile this Psalm is theirs in the sense that all their valuables are right now simply in their minds. The researcher does not want to say that the exile in Babylon is compared to the exile of Angolans, but the way the psalmist lamented the Jews case is similar to the way the Angolan exiles are mourning the destruction of their country.

5.4: - Immediate context of the Psalm?

Houston (1995:101) says that the psalms are the work of the Temple singers, not just a small collection with special characteristics. In this matter two lines of approach have been suggested: Buss suggests (1963:388-92) that musical and prophetic functions were originally united in the same office, and that

these psalms are “the musicians own psalms (Buss 1963:391) in which the ‘I’ represents the authorial self-consciousness and not the king or any other functionary in whose mouth the psalm might be placed”. Nasuti (1988:120-21) objects that it would normally be the king who spoke communal laments. He continues by saying that this Psalm is a product of the Asaphist, he adds by saying that at least two of the four Asaphist communal laments reflect a situation where there was no king, and Psalm 80 in any case speaks of him in the third person. Buss’ approach seems to offer a relatively unproblematic way of reading the psalms with their superscriptions, even if it is not a correct account of their origin. The precise historic setting of the tradition is elusive. Houston (1995:102) suggests that the Asaphists were among the mediators of the Ephraimite tradition in Jerusalem after 722 B. C. However Psalms 77, 80, and 81 refer to the people as Joseph, suggesting an original setting in the North (Davies, 1993:73-77).

Goulder (1982:79), puts forward the view that the Asaphists were the priests of Bethel and their psalms as a consequence composed at the time of the Assyrian threat in the late eighth century, and that later they were adapted for use at Jerusalem.

5.4.1: - The character of the Psalm

According to Houston (1995:100) the psalms of Asaph have as strongly marked a community character as those of David have an individual one.

Psalm 74 refers to the widespread myth of the conflict of God with the dragon. He further says that all the psalms attributed to Asaph share the same characteristic, which is the theme of conflict and divine judgment, the so-called *Streit-Strafe* theme. The people subject to judgment, or against whom the psalm pleads for judgment, are most frequently the enemies of Israel. The theme of *Streit-Strafe* as such, however, is scarcely distinctive of Asaph psalms, for it is also characteristic of the individual lament form, which dominates the Davidic collection. He continues by saying that it is the national focus of the conflict, whether the nation finds itself on the side of God or his enemies, that is decisive for nearly all of the psalms. Also characteristic of many of them is the fact that God's judgment is pronounced in prophetic style.

The psalm opens with a cry of complaint and a prayer that God would remember his people in their desolation (74:1-3). Then the psalm pictures the triumph of the enemy, the destruction of the sanctuary and the loss of Divine counsel in the day of peril (74:4-9). There is an appeal to God for help and a calling to mind of God's past wonders on behalf of His people, and of His Almighty power as seen in the world of nature (74:10-17). The covenant is mentioned (74:20-21), and finally, based upon this, a prayer that God would not allow reproach to be brought upon His own name, by the triumph of the heathen over His people (74:22-23).

5.4.2: - Exegetical Analysis of Psalm 74

5.4.2.1: - Text:

- משכיל לאֶסֶף
לְמָה אֱלֹהִים וְנַחַת לְנֹצַח יַעֲשֶׂן אִפְדֵּךְ בְּצֹאן
מִרְעִיתֶךָ:
2 זְכֹר עֲדֹתֶךָ קִנִּיתָ קָדָם גְּאֹלְתָּ שַׁבָּט
וְנַחֲלֹתֶךָ הִרְצִינִי זֶה שְׁכֹנֶת בּוֹ:
3 הִרִימָה פַעַמֶיךָ לְמִשְׁאוֹת נֹצַח כָּל־הָרַע
אוֹיֵב בְּקִדְשׁ:
4 שְׁאֵנוּ צָרְרִיךָ בְּקִרְבֵּךְ מוֹעֲדֶךָ שְׁמוֹ
אוֹתָתָם אֹתוֹת:
5 וַיִּדַע כַּמְבִיא לְמַעַלָּה בַסֶּבֶךְ־עֵץ
קִרְדָּמוֹת:
6 (וַעַתָּה) נִוְעַתְהוּן פִּתְחוּיָהּ יַחַד בְּכַשִּׁיל
וְכִילַפַּת יְהִלְמוּן:
7 שְׁלַחוּ בָאֵשׁ מִקִּדְשֶׁךָ לְאֶרֶץ חֲלָלוּ
מִשְׁכַּן־שְׁמֶךָ:
8 אָמְרוּ בְלִבָּם גִּימֵם יַחַד שְׁרִפוּ
כָּל־מוֹעֲדֵי־אֵל בְּאֶרֶץ:
9 אוֹתֵתֵינוּ לֹא רָאִינוּ אִיךְ־עוֹד נָבִיא
וְלֹא־אֵתָנוּ יָדַע עֲדָמָה:
10 עֲדָמָתִי אֱלֹהִים יַחֲרֹף צָר נֶאֱמַן אוֹיֵב
שְׁמֶךָ לְנֹצַח:
11 לְמָה תָשִׁיב יָדֶךָ וַיִּמְיֶנְךָ מִקִּרְבֵּךְ (חֹקֶךָ)
[חִיִּקֶךָ] כְּלָה:
12 וְאֱלֹהִים מַלְכֵי מִקְדָּם פִּעַל יְשׁוּעוֹת
בְּקִרְבֵּךְ הָאֶרֶץ:
13 אֵתָה פּוֹרְרַת בְּעוֹד יָם שְׁבַרְתָּ רֹאשִׁי
תַּנְיִימִים עַל־הַמַּיִם:
14 אֵתָה רֹצֵצַת רֹאשִׁי לְוִיתָן תִּתְּנֵנוּ מֵאֲכָל
לְעַם לְצִיִּים:
15 אֵתָה בְּקַעַת מַעֲיָן וְנַחַל אֵתָה הוֹבִשְׁתָּ
נְהַרֹת אֵיתָן:
16 לָךְ יוֹם אֶף־לָךְ לְיִלְהָ אֵתָה תְּכַיֵּנוֹת
מְאוֹר וְשִׁמְשׁ:
17 אֵתָה הַצְּבֹתָ כָּל־גְּבוּלוֹת אֶרֶץ קִיץ
וְחֹרֶף אֵתָה יִצְרָתָם:
18 זְכַר־זֹאת אוֹיֵב חֹרֶף יִהְיֶה וְעַם נָבָל
נֶאֱצוּ שְׁמֶךָ:
19 אֶל־תִּתֵּן לַחַיִּת נַפְשׁ תּוֹרֶךָ חַיִּת עֲנִיִּיךָ
אֶל־תִּשְׂכַח לְנֹצַח:
20 תִּבְטַח לְבְרִית כִּי מְלֹאוּ מִחֲשַׁבְי־אֶרֶץ
נְאוֹת חֲמָס:
21 אֶל־יֵשֶׁב דָּךְ נִכְלָם עֵינִי וְאֶבְיוֹן יִהְלָלוּ
שְׁמֶךָ:

22 קוֹמָה אֱלֹהִים רִיבָה רִיבָה זְכוֹר
 חֲרַפְתָּךְ מִיָּנֹכַח כָּל־הַיּוֹם:
 23 אֱלֹהֵי־תִשְׁבַּח קוֹל צִרְיֹן שְׁאוֹן קְמִיד
 עֲלֵה תְמִיד:

5.4.2.2: - Verse by verse analysis

1: לָמָּה אֱלֹהִים זָנְחָתָ לְנִצָּחַ O God why have you abandoned us? Spence (1978:82) says that it could only have been in the extremity of distress that a devout Israelite believed even for a time that Israel was cast off forever. Weiser (1965:518) points out that this question is the protest of the people against their God, a protest based on the belief of their election. The people had grown impatient and tired of waiting 'for ever' for their lot to take the turn of the better for which they hope. Therefore they think that they must remind God of his own promises and of his saving deeds (Ex 19:4; 15:13) and must draw his attention to the fact that it is his dwelling place which has been destroyed, therefore his own cause is here at stake. This expression reflects the idea of national lament in which an individual representing the all nation cries out to Yahweh about the difficult situation in which they find themselves. It has been made clear that for Brueggemann the lament psalm type is an excellent example of a psalm of disorientation for laments reflect a life savagely marked by "disequilibrium, incoherence, and unrelieved asymmetry" (Brueggemann 1984:51). זָנַח (BDB,276) defines the word as meaning to reject, abandon, or spurn. God rejects people as we can find it in Ps 43:2, 60:3, 77:8, 88:15, Zc10:6. Here the word זָנַח means to abandon as

expressing the strong feeling of rejection that the Psalmist undergoes. This word is found in I Chn 28:9, where David advising his son urges him to respect God if one does not want to be eternally abandoned by Him. In 2 Chn 11:14 the same word is found, where Jeroboam rejects the Levites, and in 2 Chn 29:19 we are told how King Ahaz rejected the sacred vassals. A person in despair more so the refugees feel as God has abandoned them. So one of the greatest afflictions, which the psalmist experiences, is the absence of God. He says this because "the long continuance of desolation and suffering seems to imply divine absence or inattention" (Briggs and Briggs 1906:47; Anderson 1972:89). The psalmist seems to believe that if Yahweh were present their suffering would cease. The sense of abandonment by God causes the psalmist much anguish thus the petition that Yahweh may "remember the sheep of His pasture" (Kraus 1988:162; Delitzsch 1972:134) - Here the object may be supplied from the next clause, viz. **בְּצֹאֵן** "the sheep of your pasture". **אֵפֶךָ** 'עֵשׂוֹן אִפֶּכָה' 'will you be angry with'. There is a change in the tenses, the perfect in the first clause being used to denote the act of casting off, the future to denote its continuance.

צֹאֵן מִרְעֵיֶיךָ 'sheep of your pasture'. This expression is characteristic of the psalms ascribed to Asaph, says Perowne (1976:25). It is found also in Jeremiah 23:1. The term contains in itself an appeal to the compassion and tender care of the shepherd. Can the shepherd slay his sheep? (McCann 1993:89).

2: קָנִיתָ ... גָּאֳלָתָּ - 'you have purchased ... you have ransomed'. Both verbs, says Perowne (1976:25), contain in themselves a reason why God should remember זָכַר his people. The first verb קָנִיתָ from קָנָה may mean to get, to acquire, the idea of a price paid for the acquisition being not necessarily contained in the word. Examples of this nature are found in Gn 4:1, 14:22; Ez 16 and Pv. 8:22. Jerome renders here *possedisti* and the LXX ἐκτησεῖς from κταόμαι. Exactly analogous is the use of the Greek περιπολεῖσθαι in Acts 20:28; I Tim 3:13; Eph 1:14 and I Thess 5:9.

The second verb is גָּאֵל to ransom whence גֹּאֵל, from a root meaning to loosen. Perowne (1976:25) says that this is a technical word for every kind of redemption under the Law, whether of fields (Lev 25:25), tithes (Lev.27:31, 33) or slaves (Lev. 25:48ff). He further says that the next of kin was called גֹּאֵל, because on him devolved the duty of redeeming land which his poor relative was compelled to sell (Lev.25:25) and also because on him fell the obligation of redeeming, demanding satisfaction for the murder of a kinsman (Num 35:12,19).

The third word is פָּדָה, which means properly to separate and then to loosen, and so to redeem, as in Deut 9:26. This word is also employed for releasing slaves (Ex 21:7-11), but more rarely, in the technical sense of redemption of the first-born of humans and animals, for instance Exodus 13:13, 34:20 (Jenni and Westermann, 1984:391ff). Both this word, says Perowne

(1976:25), and the verb גאל are frequently used of the deliverance from Egypt and from Babylon. The reference to the old days קדם seen also in psalm 44:1 refers probably to the deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

The expression שִׁבְטֵי נַחֲלָתְךָ "tribe of your heritage", may mean the whole nation being regarded, not as many tribes, but as one tribe, probably in reference to other nations. Sabourin (1974:303) points out the fact that the same expression occurs besides here only in Jeremiah 10:17 where the plural form is found. The word is translated in some English versions as "rod of your inheritance", and so also Luther, Calvin and others. The word שִׁבְטֵי says Perowne, frequently means rod, staff (as in psalm 23:4), scepter (as in psalm 45:6), but here it is usually explained to mean measuring-rod, and so the portion measured out - a meaning, however, in which the word never occurs. Jerome explains it by *sceptre*, and so also Theophylact, ἡ ῥάβδος τῆν βασιλείαν.

The congregation represents the people, says Perowne (1976:25) in their religious aspect; but the tribe שִׁבְטֵי in their national and political aspect, or as distinct from other nations (Jer 10:16, 51:19; Is 63:17). The two great facts, Perowne continues, the redemption from Egypt, and God's dwelling among the Israelites, the one of which was preparatory to the other, is seen here, as in Psalm 68 to sum up all their history.

3: **הָרִימָה פְּעָמֶיךָ** - 'lift up your feet' (lit. footsteps, the word being a poetical one). The verb comes from **רָם**, be high, exalted, rise, and the hi. is causative. The word **פְּעָמֶיךָ** comes from the root **פָּעַם**, which means thrust, impel, strike, hit. In the present context **פָּעַם** means foot, and then in the sense of "come speedily to visit those ruins which seem as though they would never be repaired". A similar phrase occurs in Gn 29:1, where it is said of Jacob, after his vision, that "he lifted up his feet", a phrase which in eastern languages signifies to walk quickly, to reach out, to be in good earnest and not to hesitate (Perowne, 1976:26).

לְעֹלָם 'everlasting' - This word denotes duration of time, the same as the 'for ever' in verse 1. This, says Sabourin (1974:302) is what seems to human impatience, looking forward, as if the ruins would never be built again. In Isaiah 61:4 they are called 'everlasting ruins', looking back on the long duration of the desolation.

בִּמְקוֹדֶשׁ - 'in the Sanctuary'. The root **קָדַשׁ** on its own conveys the idea of separation withdrawal, apartness, sacredness, and here the noun refers to the Temple itself. This is the greatest grief of the psalmist, says McCann (1993:119). His country has been laid waste with fire and sword, his friends slain or carried into captivity, but there is no thought so full of pain as this that the holy and beautiful house wherein his father worshipped has been plundered and desecrated by a heathen soldiery. Instead of the psalms and

hymns and sacred anthems which once echoed within those walls has been heard the brutal shout of the fierce invaders, roaring like lions over their prey. The magnificent carved work of the Temple, such as the cherubim, the palms and the pillars with pomegranates and lily-work (I Ki 6:15) which adorned it, have been hewed down, set on fire, and left to perish in the flames.

4: מועֵדָךְ - 'your assembly'. The word comes from מוֹעֵד which means appointed time, place, meeting. Here evidently is meant "a place of assembly", a word originally applied to the Mosaic tabernacle, and afterwards to the great national festival. Here it would seem the Temple is meant. In Lamentations 2:6 the word means both: "he has destroyed his tabernacle; and the Lord has abolished in Zion festival and Sabbath " (BDB 417).

אִתָּתָם - 'their signs', from אִתָּהּ sign, mark, describe with a mark. Here the word refers to an ensign or standard (BDB 17). An emphasis lies on the pronoun (74:9). These were either military ensigns, standards, trophies (as in Num 2:2ff), the Temple having been turned into a barracks. It may also refer to foreign religious emblems, heathen rites and ceremonies, perhaps even idols, by which the Temple and altar of Yahweh were profaned. But both meanings (vv4,9) may be combined. The word sign here is used in its most general sense of all symbols of a foreign power of whatever kind (Perowne, 1976:26).

5: יָדָע - from the verb יָדַע 'to know'. Here the Niph. is used to mean 'be perceived' (pass.of Qal), of perception by the eye (BDB 395). The sense here is "it is known, makes itself known, appears, as in Gen 41:21; Ex 21:36 and 33:16. Perowne (1976:27) points out that he, i.e. the enemy, makes himself known as one who lifts up. This verse makes allusion to- or compares the scene of ruin in the interior and the destruction of the carved work, to the wide gap made in some stately forest by the blows of the woodsman's ax (Jer 46:22). This verse does not describe here the preparations once made for building the Temple, by hewing down cedars in the forest of Lebanon. Rather, the verse refers to the complete destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

6: פְּתוּחֵיהֶּם - 'its carved work' -- a noun from פָּתַח engraving on (wood overlaid with) metal. There is a connection with v.3. פְּתוּחִים, says Kay (1961:281) refers to I Ki 6:29. He continues that the Hebrew words rendered "with axes and hammers" in our translation are not properly Hebrew, but Syriac words, purposely to hint thereby the time when and the person by whom this was done.

7: שָׁלְחוּ בְאֵשׁ - 'they have thrown into the fire', verb Pi, from שָׁלַח to send. We know from II Chr 36:19 that the Babylonians burnt the house of God and all its costly fabric. Later, of course, this was repeated by the Romans in 70 A. D., who 'left not there one stone upon another' (Matt.24:2) and raising it, even to the foundations till Zion, the holy mountain, was ploughed as a field by Titus Vespasian (Henry 1996:851).

מִקְדָּשְׁךָ לְאָרֶץ חָלָל - 'they have profaned the dwelling place of your name - by casting it to the earth'. In Ps 89:39 we find a similar expression, but the comprehensive expression is found in Lamentations 2:2. Here Yahweh is the agent, and not the enemies of Israel:

ה': בַּלַע אֲדָנִי לֹא חָמַל אֶת כָּל־נְאוֹת יַעֲקֹב חָרַס בְּעִבְרָתוֹ מִבְּצָרֵי בְתִיּוֹהֲרָה הִגִּיעַ לְאָרֶץ חָלָל
מִמְלָכָה וְשָׂרִיָּה

8: כָּל־מוֹעֲדֵי־אֱלֹהִים בְּאָרֶץ - 'all the meeting places of God in the land', lit. "all the assemblies" which must mean here "places of meetings as in verse 4 and Lamentations 2:6. The work of devastation does not stop short with the Temple. The plain meaning of the words is that there were many other places for religious worship in the land besides the Temple and that these, as well as the Temple were destroyed (Perowne, 1976:27). He points out saying that this psalm refers to the Chaldean invasion and as we hear of no synagogues or legalized holy places before the exile, therefore it is said the Temple must be meant, the plural being used here for the singular. He further says that it is quite true that we have other plural forms applied to the Temple. Thus in psalm 43:3 we read מִשְׁכְּנוֹתֶיךָ "your tabernacles" and in 74:8 we find מוֹעֲדֵי־אֱלֹהִים "the sanctuaries of God". The word מוֹעֵד as has been remarked, may be used either of a fixed place of meeting, (hence the tabernacle was called אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, "tent of meeting", i. e. where God met the people) or of fixed time, and so of the festival as in Lev 23:2, 4, 37. In 73:17 we come across the term

מִקְדָּשֵׁי־אֵל. McCann (1991:120) says that the plural used denotes the several parts, courts, chambers of the same building. But it is not only the plural word that we have here, but the far wider phrase: "all the places of assembly in the land". Hupfeld, quoted by Perowne (1976:28) tries to escape from this difficulty by saying that all the previous different names of the sanctuary are finally comprised in one - that one house which may be called the "all the houses of God", because it represents and is the substitute for all; and he attempts to defend this by using Is 4:5 where "every dwelling place" and "her assemblies" are expressly confined to Mount Zion. Mendelssohn quoted by the same author, has a similar explanation, except that he supposes the expression to be used from the point of view of the enemy: "They say in their heart, that by destroying this house, we shall destroy all the assemblies of God together".

There were some sacred places such as those consecrated by the Patriarchs in earlier times, like Ramah, Bethel, Gilgal, Shiloh could mean the high places (II Chron 33:30), from which it appears that in Elijah's time there was an altar of Jehovah on Mount Carmel, there must have been buildings where it was customary to meet, especially on Sabbath (Lev 23:3) called holy convocation, and to pray, turning towards Jerusalem. However it does not justify the plural used in this verse.

9: אֹתֹתֵינוּ - 'our emblems', a noun from אֹת sign, here it can mean miracles as pledges or attestations of divine presence, i.e. the signs of God's dominion

and presence in the midst of the people. Taken in connection with what immediately follows, **לֹא רָאִינוּ אִי־עוֹד נְבִיא** "there is no prophet", this may mean miraculous signs, say Perowne (1976:28) and Delitzsch (1972:137). This is the sense in which the word most frequently occurs. Or it may denote religious emblems, which were replaced to make room for the signs of the heathen. See v.4's notes.

אִי־עוֹד נְבִיא - 'no prophet'. Spurgeon (1961:282) says that such a complaint seems most suitable to the time of the Maccabees, when in fact, the complaint was frequent (see this section's introduction).

10: **עַד־מָתַי** - 'how long, O God', Taking up this cry, the psalmist turns with it to God, beseeching Him not to allow this reproach to be cast on His name. The appeal is made three times in this psalm: vv. 10, 18, and 22. Perowne (1976:29), informs us that the psalmist shows in this verse holy jealousy for the honor of God, as bound up with His people's deliverance, as one of the characteristics of the Old Testament. The phrase "how long," indicates that the psalmist's affliction is already felt by God. He pleads with Yahweh that the affliction may "end soon" (Rogerson and Mckay 1977:34) for there is no apparent end in sight. How much longer must he wait until he experiences God's grace? This kind of feeling, continues Perowne, is strikingly exemplified in the prayers of Moses in Ex 32:12f; Num 14:13-16; Deut 9:28 and 32:27.

11: מִיָּדְךָ - 'why do you keep your hand in your bosom?' Here the word bosom is used metaphorically. The literal translation may be: What makes you to return your hand, i.e. into your bosom. The example for this would be Ex 4:7 where we find a similar expression. This expression denotes a state of inactivity, where the יָד is concealed in the ample folds of the robe. In part *b* of this verse we find the problematic verb כָּלָה, Pi., consume. Rogerson and McKay (1977:33), say that this verse shows the patience of God with man: He withdraws His hand, He hesitates to strike and it shows also the impatience of man with God: pluck it out from the midst of Thy bosom, consume (them). BHS and Kraus (citing the textual evidence 19:) opt for a different reading, כָּלָה "why is your right hand withheld" a Qal ptc. pass. f. from the verb כָּלָה "shut up, restrain". Keel (1978:101) mentions the fact that this verse shows the way in which the humiliating circumstances generally appear to have prevailed for a period of time.

12: וְאֱלֹהִים מֶלְכִי 'Yet God my King is from of old'. "Surely", or "and yet" are the appropriate translation for the vav here. In spite of the seeming inactivity of God, the psalmist still regards Him as his king. God is in this verse the stronghold of the psalmist who saw the Temple being profaned, chopped down and burnt, and he sees God who kept silent during the calamity, in other words, God who allowed things to go sour with His people, God who humiliated the whole nation of Israel is still king. Keel (1978:52) says that in this verse the royal name of Yahweh also appears to be connected with the

victory over the dragon, demonstrating, however, that the primeval event is by no means separable from the saving acts performed by the deity in the battle against evil " in the midst of the earth". Rogerson and McKay (1977:33), say that here the psalmist's appeal rests on the fact that God has already manifested his power in single instances on behalf of His people, and on the dominion of God as Creator and absolute Ruler of the Universe.

מֶלֶכִי - 'my king', expresses the strong personal feeling of the psalmist.

Delitzsch (1972:137), mentions that the psalmist has a lesson to teach us: First, that He is our king, and therefore we ought to be encouraged to pray for His help against ungodly, and to place ourselves in entire submission to His will and government. Secondly, that He is not a new God, but the ancient of Days, and that whatever salvation has been wrought not only in the midst of His own people, but in the midst of the whole earth, even among those by whom he is not acknowledged, has been wrought by Him (Hab. 1:12).

13: - אַתָּה פִּוֹרַרְתָּ בְּעֹזֶךָ יָם "You divided the sea by your might " Israel delighted to rehearse this famous act of the Lord.

שִׁבַרְתָּ רִאשֵׁי תַנִּינִים עַל-הַמַּיִם - 'you broke the heads of the dragons in the waters'. The LXX employs the word dragon (τῶν δρακόντων), to express both this word and Leviathan in the next clause. The same Hebrew word תַּנִּין is employed again in psalm 148:7 and also in Gen 1:21 to denote huge sea monsters, literally creatures extended, stretched out, hence serpents and

crocodiles. In the next verse Leviathan is meant here as emblematic of Egypt. The head of the monster has been broken, and the huge unwieldy carcass lies floating on the water (Perowne 1976:29). He further says that the plural heads has been suggested to refer to Pharaoh and his princes, as in the next verse, but it may be only poetic amplification.

14: לַיָּתָן - 'Leviathan' - the crocodile as in Job 40:25. In what sense it is said to be given as food to the people inhabiting the wilderness (מֵאֲכָל לַעֲמָ) (לְצִיִּים)? Bochart and Hengstenberg, quoted by Perowne (1976:30) suppose that the allusion is to the Ichthyophagi who, according to Agatherides, fed on the sea monsters which were thrown up on their shores. There are however those who think that by 'the people inhabiting the wilderness' is meant the Israelites, to whom the Egyptians, are said, figuratively, to be given as food, that is, as plunder. Perowne further says that by far the simplest way is to understand the passage as meaning that the corpses of the Egyptians were cast upon the shore and so became the prey of the wild beasts which are called here 'a people inhabiting the wilderness', as in Prov 30:25, 26 where the ants and the conies are called a people (Joel 1:6; Zeph 2:14).

לַעֲמָ לְצִיִּים Grammatically we have an indefensible construction here. If the two nouns are in apposition, then the first cannot be in the construct state. It must be לַעֲמָ. But more probably the second לְ has been inserted by mistake before צִיִּים. A similar instance is found in Isaiah 32:1 (Perowne, 1976:33).

He continues, saying that the word **בְּיַד** always refers not to men but to wild beasts inhabiting the wilderness. The Septuagint has **λαοῖς τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν** 'to the people(s) of Ethiopia'. An interesting reading is suggested by Kraus (1978:677), following Koehler-Baumgartner, **לְעַמְלָצִי** which is 'for the sharks of the sea'. There is unfortunately no textual evidence to support such a reading.

15: **אַתָּה הוֹבַשְׁתָּ נְקִירֹת אֵיתָן** - 'You cut openings for springs and torrents'.

This refers to the incident of Exodus 17:6. Edwards (1961:284) says "God in dividing Jordan did not only divide the water that ordinarily belonged to the river, or the water which came from its fountains, but also the extraordinary additional waters by the great rains a little before harvest." Emerton's comments quoted by Perowne. Keel (1978:48) points out the fact that the verse may speak against the Mesopotamian myth of the storm god Baal-Hadad, who fertilizes the land with his showers and defends his realm against every aspects of threatening Chaos. Without water, Keel continues life cannot exist, but water can also destroy all life. This dual nature of water is often evident in the Pss. In this verse the violent power of the waters of the Chaos is broken and subdued by Yahweh, who in this respect has taken over the function of Baal. The waters gladden the earth and quench the thirst of plants and animals.

So God cleaved the fountain i. e., the fountain water, and the flood. In this verse I may say, we are before the wonderful nature of gracious supplies, illustrated by the smitten rock.

16: לְךָ יוֹם אֶרֶץ לְךָ לַיְלָה אֲתָהּ הַכִּינֹתָ מְאוֹר וְשֶׁמֶשׁ
 Yours is the day, yours also
 the night; you established the luminaries and the sun.

From the wonders wrought by God on behalf of his people on their history, the poet rises to the wider view of His even continued, ever displayed power and majesty in the world of nature. The miracle, says Delitzsch (1968:333) does not lead him to forget God's power and goodness in that which is not miraculous. The one is rather a witness to, and an instance of, the other. "Light" or rather "Luminary". This word is the same found in Gn 1:14, 16 and is there rendered "lights". Keel (1978:202) says that the individual reminded God of the divine assistance provided at his birth. In the same way, the nation under assault by the hostile people or suffering military occupation and the attendant outrages recalled to God his role in the creation of the earth. At that time God conquered the forces of destruction in a great battle. He ought not to allow the result of his victory to be so easily wrested from him.

17 - כָּל־גְּבוּלוֹת אֶרֶץ - 'You have fixed all the bounds of the earth.' The גְּבוּלוֹת refer not merely to those by which the land is divided from the sea (Gen 1:9; Prov 8:29; Job 38:8), but all the boundary lines by which order is preserved,

as those of the seasons and those of the nations, Deut 32:8; Acts 17:26
Edwards (1961:285).

יום אֶרֶץ-לַיְלָה - 'You made summer and winter', as v 16's
'day and night' are ordered by God. The literal rendering is, 'summer and
winter you have formed them'. This verb צָרַר is used of the fashioning of men
and animals in Gen. 2:7,19 from the dust, and here it is applied to the
seasons as in Isaiah 45:7, to "the light and darkness", as creatures of God's
hand (Delitzsch, 1968:334).

18: זָכַר - 'Remember' - the petition which occurs in verse 2 is repeated here
with renewed force after the psalmist has comforted himself with the
recollection of God's almighty power, as both ruling the history of Israel and
giving laws to the material universe (Brueggemann, 1984:57).

עַם נָבָל - 'impious, lit. foolish people' in apposition to אֹהֲלֵי - i.e. the heathen
oppressors of Israel, whether Babylonians, or Assyrians. In verse 22 the word
נָבָל occurs again, referring to "the foolish man". Perowne says that the
Targum has "the foolish king", which has been taken to mean Antiochus
Epiphanes, though it might of course refer to Nebuchadnezzar. He further
says that the same Aramaic word טַפְשָׁא is in the Targum on Deut 32:21
where it is the equivalent of the same Hebrew word (גִּי נָבָל). And again the
reference is to a heathen nation employed as the instrument of Israel's

chastisement. In Lev 26:41, טפשא is equivalent to the Hebrew word ערל 'uncircumcised'. Elsewhere the Samaritans were called "the foolish people".

19: אֶל־תִּתֵּן לַחַיִּית נֶפֶשׁ תּוֹרֵךְ חַיִּית עֲנִיָּךְ אֶל־תִּשְׁכַּח לְנֶצַח 'Do not deliver the soul of your dove to the wild animals; do not forget the life of your poor forever.' - In this verse we find a strange order of words. Perowne (1976:33) says that according to the accents, the Hebrew word לַחַיִּית, is not to be joined with the following word נֶפֶשׁ. Hence many regard it as a construct mistakenly put there instead of an absolute. But, he continues, there is no instance of such usage. It is then doubtful whether we should take חַיִּית in the sense of wild beast, or in the sense of host. Others would connect לַחַיִּית נֶפֶשׁ in the sense of eagerness, as in psalm 17:9. Hence לַחַיִּית נֶפֶשׁ would either mean to the eager host (of enemies), or to the eager (fierce, devouring) wild beast. Hupfeld, quoted by Perowne (1976:33), thinks the difficulty may at once be solved by the simple remedy of changing the word order in the following way: אֶל־תִּתֵּן לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיִּית תּוֹרֵךְ - "give not to rage (to the fierce will of enemy) the life of your turtle-dove". He tries to defend this absolute by the use of נֶפֶשׁ in the sense of 'fierce desire', by reference to Ps 22:12, 41:2 where the word occurs with a genitive, which he thinks may be supplied here from the context. In the next clause he keeps the same meaning of חַיִּית עֲנִיָּךְ "the life of your afflicted". Some manuscripts as well as the translators of the Septuagint and the Peshitta read תּוֹרֵךְ instead of תּוֹרֵךְ. Thus the LXX translates: μὴ παραδῶς τοῖς θηρίοις ψυχὴν ἑξομολογουμένην σοι "don't give to the animals the life of him who acknowledges you" (Kraus, 1984:677).

חַיֵּיךָ אֶל־תִּשְׁכַּח לְנֶצַח 'do not forget the life of your poor forever'

20: הִבֵּט לְבְרִית - 'Look upon the covenant' the appeal lies to the covenant, not to anything in the psalmist himself or in his people. This, says Tholuck, quoted by Perowne (1976:31) "is the everlasting refuge of the saints of God, even in the greatest dangers. And even if they have broken it, can the unbelief of men make the truth of God of none effect?" The covenant is that made first with Abraham, and then renewed with him and with the fathers (Ps 78:10; Isa 64:8). According to Spence (1978:84) to Israel was given the whole land of Canaan as "the lot of their inheritance". Israel is being deprived of its inheritance and dragged off into dark places. The psalmist induces God to interpose, will he not respect the covenant, which he made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob regarding the land of Canaan!

מִחֹשֶׁכַי - 'The dark places, or darkness'. The word occurs elsewhere of darkness of the grave which is the equivalent of Sheol (Ps 88:6; 143:3 and Lam 3:6). Hence it may be used here in a figurative sense, merely as expressing generally misery and gloom. Delitzsch says, quoted by Perowne (1976:31) "turn where we may, the darkened land is full of abodes of tyranny and oppression (נִאוֹת חֹמֶס)".

21 - אֶל־יֹשֵׁב דָּךְ נִכְלָם - 'Do not let the downtrodden be put to shame' 'The downtrodden literally means those who are crushed, from דָּכָךְ. The

translation of the NRSV is hard to sustain, in our opinion, since it reads שׁוּב in the sense of the Hif (see Holladay, 1978:362), or in the sense of the אֶל־תֵּשֶׁן of v. 19. We feel that the meaning is 'turn back' as in psalm 6:10, or perhaps, simply 'return'. Spence (1978:84) points out that the psalmist is pleading with God so that he would not allow his oppressed nation to turn their back on him in shame and confusion at his forsaking them. Rather, says the psalmist, 'let the poor and needy praise your name'; i. e. show them some mercy, some deliverance which may turn their shame into joy, and call forth from them songs of praise. Kraus' German translation also conveys: do not let the oppressed turn back in shame (1984:676).

22: קוּמָה אֱלֹהִים רִיבָה רִיבָה רִיבָה 'Rise up, O God, plead your cause'

God's רִיב, is his activity of fighting for the rights of the oppressed, as in Ps 35:1. רִיבָה יְהוָה אֶת־רִיבֵי לָחֶם אֶת־לַחְמִי 'Contend, O LORD, with those who contend with me; fight against those who fight against me!' Also רִיב, connotes pleading in a court of law against accusation.

זָכֹר חֲרָפְתְּךָ מִנִּינָבֵל כָּל־הַיּוֹם 'remember how the impious scoff at you all day long', literally, remember your reproach from a foolish man all day. Similar expressions are used in v.18, above). Exell (1978:84) says that in the ancient world the conquest of a people was always regarded as a triumph over the people's god or gods. Naturally, insults to the god found a place in the victor's songs of triumph (I Sam 17, 2 Ki 19:10-13; Isa 10:8-11).

23 אֵלֵהֶשְׁבַח קוֹל צִרְרִיק שְׁאוֹן קִמִּיד עֲלֶה תָמִיד 'Do not forget the clamour of your foes, the uproar of your adversaries that goes up continually'. The word שְׁאוֹן is joined up with עֲלֶה תָמִיד: refers to that which ascends to heaven, crying aloud for vengeance. Keel (1978:107) says that the clamor of foes resound like the surging of the floods of chaos. Here the contrast the raging of the national enemies with the power of Yahweh, by which in primal times He conquered the Chaos dragon.

5.5: - General comments on the meaning of the Psalm

Brueggemann (1984:19) says that the mood of the book of psalms moves back and forth from assurance to doubt, from contentment to pain, from joy to despair and back again. But those who speak from peaceful, secure, and prosperous settings of life often have different things to say to God and different ways to say them than do those who are in the midst of crisis, trouble, pain, or struggle.

The psalms of lament articulate the innermost feelings and desires of human beings caught up in crisis. Farmer (1992:140) says that the troubles with which the faithful are plagued seem to run the gamut of human experience, from poverty and powerlessness to life threatening ailment, from slander and oppression by enemies to betrayal by friends. The psalms of lament, which encapsulate the so-called psalms of vengeance, occasionally contain vicious

petitions, requesting God to do terrible things to the “enemies” of those who pray. One psalmist, angry that the wicked seem to escape punishment for their sins, asked God to ‘break the teeth [of the wicked] in their mouth’ (Ps 58:6). Another hopes that they will be ‘blotted out of the book of the living’ (Ps 69:28). The exiles who have witnessed the destruction of Jerusalem and who have been taken as captives to a foreign land wish their captors might experience the same suffering they have inflicted: “O daughter of Babylon, you devastator! Happy shall they be who pay you back what you have done to us! Happy shall they be take your little ones and dash them against the rock” (137:8f). We find in Ps 74 something of the notion of vengeance in the imperatives of v22 ‘rise up and take up the fight’ (so Kraus 1979:159) ‘remember the insult’ and the negative command ‘do not forget the clamor of your foes, the uproar of your adversaries that goes up continually’ of v23. The notion of ‘forgetting’ is one which belongs to the vocabulary of the lament. Often, in a negative sense, the crisis of the complainant boils down to being ‘forgotten by God’. But in a positive sense, the call ‘do not forget’ is a reminder to God of the trust put in him to act on behalf of the destitute, such as Hannah in I Sam 1, and a reminder too of spoken promises such as Is 49:15 “Can a woman forget her nursing child, or show no compassion for the child of her womb? Even these may forget, yet I will not forget you” (Schotroff, 1984:901).

Spence (1978:84) mentions the fact that God does not forget insults of this nature, but punishes them (see 2 Ki 19:28 “Because you have raged against

me and your arrogance has come to my ears, I will put my hook in your nose and my bit in your mouth; I will turn you back on the way by which you came"). He punished Babylon after a time with extreme severity (Jer 51).

Sabourin (1974:303) quotes Willesen who says that Pss 74 and 79 have no relation whatsoever to any historic occurrences, but are completely cultic. Originally they were ritual laments with a fixed position in the cult drama of the New Year festival. Willesen tries to prove his point by saying that in the Semitic world the (cultic) profanation of the temple and the (ritual) death of the god are bound up inseparably. So the cultic weeping and lamentation accompanying the god to Sheol is an integral part of the temple profanation as well. The temple, continues Willesen, has to undergo purification prior to the procession and the enthronement of the deity, and this postulates a preceding profanation ceremony. He further points out the fact that the purification of the post-exilic Jewish Temple on the Day of Atonement was reminiscent of the ritual expulsion of the Chaos powers from the previous temple, which they had seized. This interpretation by Willesen overlooks those historical psalms, such as 89, which intersperse the description of historical occurrences with mythological motifs (Dahood, quoted by Perowne 1976:304). However we may find in verse 15 some aspects of Israelite cosmogony reflected there, which describes the removal of the primeval waters from the earth. God cleft open springs, so that the water might descend through them and thus allow dry land to appear. This is the view of Emerton on verse 15, quoted by Perowne (1976:304).

Kraus (1984:682) summarizes the content of the Psalm as follows:

Out of this prayer of the community, a hymnic section clearly stands out (12-17). The God of Israel is called 'king' and 'creator of the world'. His strength, who destroyed the primeval powers **לִיִּיתָן יָם** and **נָהָר**, is unlimited. In the midst of being God-forsaken and rejected, the community hold fast to God's deeds of creation. For them these illustrate the power of God's **יְשׁוּעָה**. This notion originated in the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah and is possibly a very ancient, traditional cultic element. In the complaint, the crises of the community are spread before Yahweh using a number of images. These all revolve around a central idea: the honour and name of God has been mocked by the enemies' work of destruction and by the unbelief of the **בְּלֵעָם**. This psalm has only one expectation, and that is that Yahweh might restore his honour. And out of this main prayer, comes the additional request that those who depend on Yahweh's **יְשׁוּעָה** and confess it, might not themselves turn away ashamed. What Kraus fails to emphasize is the expectation of vengeance in the last line of the psalm.

5.5.1: - Contextualizing the Exegesis

The psalms of disorientation are the psalms in which the psalmists express the negativity experienced during incoherent, unsettled, painful and alienated periods in life. They are psalms where the psalmists verbalize their feelings

about a distressful situation indicating that the old orientation has collapsed. The psalmists to describe their disorientation often use the terms “forever”, “enemy” as well as “abandoned”. These psalms of disorientation are great signs of faith since they face life as it really is and they realize that all such experiences of disorder are to be discussed with Yahweh.

Brueggemann (1984:55) points out that these expressions directed to Yahweh come in constant and rigorous forms, and he divides them into two sections:

A) Plea. This is a complaint that God should right a disordered situation. This consists of five factors:

i) Address to God. The address is intimate and personal, for the complaint comes from one who has a long history of trustful interaction with God. ii) Complaint. Through the complaint the psalmist depicts for God how desperate the situation is. By praying in this manner the author makes his problem God’s problem for Yahweh is the only one who is able and responsible for doing something about the situation in which the speaker finds her / himself. iii) Petition. On the basis of the complaint the author makes a petition asking God to act decisively. There is a plea for justice as well as for mercy. iv) Motivations. In these psalms the psalmist provides motivations to give God reasons to act. Sometimes these reasons are not always noble. Here are some examples of typical motivations:

- declaration of innocence from which the psalmist feels entitled to help.
- confession of guilt, followed by repentance and a request for forgiveness.

- recollection of God's goodness to previous generations which serves as a precedent for God's goodness now.
- the author is valued by God as one who praises.
- the psalmist appeals to God to consider God's power, prestige, and reputation. The appeal is for "your name's sake" which means for the sake of God's reputation (Ez 36:22f). In Ps 74 the hymnic section (12-17) is a good example.

v) Imprecation. In the imprecation the speech tends to be regressive. This is where the psalmist express resentment and vengeance that will not be satisfied until God works retaliation on those who have done wrong. This kind of statement is found in psalm 109, but the same motif appears elsewhere.

B) Praise. Here either the psalmist changes, or the circumstances, the psalmist's attitude, or both has changed. The desperation and urgency have turned into joy, gratitude and well-being.

Ps 74 is a psalm of disorientation where the writer is confused, knowing what the Lord had done in days past but now it seems as though He does not act any longer. What Kraus has called the hymnic verses (12-17), represent in Brueggemann's terms the motivation section, where the psalmist appeals to God's triumph over the primeval forces as paradigm for his continued activity in the present. The activity of the enemies of the psalmist, all the violence they perpetrated against the Land, the Temple and the people, ultimately

affects Yahweh himself, as in v10 and v18: the enemy reviles the name of Yahweh, i.e. Yahweh himself. For the sake of his name and his honour Yahweh has to intervene, and then the impatient cry "how long" is added (Kraus, 1979:159).

The Angolans who read this Psalm are confronted with a dilemma, in one hand they feel that Diaspora, as it was in the Biblical times, is a deserving cause for the sins committed by their fathers during the time of Independence in 1975, where many Portuguese were sent to Portugal without any subsistence. They say that "God is angry with this generation of ours and He has abandoned us, it is why we are suffering so much". In the Psalm one reads: "O God, why do You cast us off... Why does Your anger smoke against the sheep..."

They feel as important part of the community redeemed by Christ on the Cross. As the Israelite nation cried out for help to God, in order God to remember them, so are the Angolans are crying for help. They go as far as remembering the great *arautos* of faith as well as the places of worship they had and now those places no longer exist in Angola, like Quessua, Dondi, Kaluquembe, Chilonda etc. The Angolans are mourning over their country just as the psalmist did: "remember mount Zion, where you came to dwell. Direct your steps to the perpetual ruins; the enemy has destroyed everything in the sanctuary". The Angolan exiles are singing: "Our steps walk the path of destruction; My God listen to our prayers. Wars, hunger, misery no end, All

by hatred caused. Man kills man. Morality has no place. Humanity suffers misery and disgrace. O! How sad that no one loves his brother!”

The tragic situation in Angola does not put the believers off their faith, in the contrary they pray even more than before. They believe that the final word of victory against this evil which is destroying their country is on their side, in the sense that “God does not allow his ‘people’ to suffer for ever. The researcher believes that God will triumph over evil. It might seem though that God abandon for a little while those who believe in him as Jesus thought too on the Cross. God is there in Angola suffering with those who suffer, if he was not there the devastation should be even worse.

5.6: - Angolan response to the Psalm

5.6.1: Angolan songs and symbols of disorientation.

Motloff (1997:7) points out that if a person decides to write something on Angolan music, a person would find that most of the lyrics are about exile, suffering, death, destruction, displacement, loss and tears. To its citizens the country is symbolized by a sad-looking wooden statuette called O Pensador, which can be seen in the national emblem. This statuette seems to embody the national melancholy over the fractured nation’s destiny.

The ruling MPLA party has a slogan, "*a luta continua*", the struggle continues, but the ordinary Angolans just shrug and say: "*a vida nao para*", life goes on. It is with all these things in mind and as this thesis comes to a conclusion, the researcher wants to draw attention to what the ordinary Angolans in exile as well as those displaced and continue to live in Angola (mainly in the big cities) are saying about their country, beloved ones and their own lives and destiny as a people regarding the current Angolan situation which is ravaging the country and its people. The way they are saying it is similar to the psalmist reporting about Israel's feelings about Jerusalem in exile.

5.6.2: – The songs of the people

There are some catchy Portuguese words that need our attention as they are parallel to the laments found in psalm 74. The first of those words is *saudades*. According to Matloff (1997:11), this word means or rather the closest translation is homesickness or nostalgia. *Saudades* echoes every day amongst the Angolan exiles and her displaced wherever they are. The word can mean homesickness from a small and ordinary thing to the biggest one, as for instance, *saudades* for palm oil stew; *saudades* for grilled prawns with red-hot peri-peri chillies on the beach; *saudades* for home towns and *saudades* for childhood friends and sweethearts who had died in the war, or those people whom they left behind when they ran away from the war and were caught in the cross-fire. The exiles and displaced Angolans have *saudades*, especially for the music, the mamba beats and slow, mournful

songs that the Angolan musicians always sang in many occasions making them happy. Those who are Christians also remember the way in which the choirs of their respective churches sing to praise God their Creator. Here is one of the examples of the sad song, sang by one of Angolan musician regarding the nostalgia for the beloved city of Huambo. The song goes like this:

Huambo my motherland, my motherland my mother.

Although far from your feet I cry,

More I'll cry when one day to you I'll return and not finding the people,

People who in captivity (internal) lived with us

And whom we left behind

When we could no longer stand the beating from the hands of your sons,

We left them and they are caught up in the crossfire.

Ai mother this war;

Ai mother only killings;

Ai mother this war brought misfortune;

Ai mother look at you, you became a widow and your children orphans;

Ai mother look at the humiliation,

You do no longer have a husband or any children.

Huambo I left you without wanting it.

Huambo please do not judge me;

I am your son who adores you and I'll never forget you.

I left you because your sons could no longer understand each other,

and I do not know if one day I'll find our homes.

You and I, o Huambo,

I remember the Caninas' 'lohengo' there on 23 March;

'Academico' still exists.

Ai o Huambo your nakedness and hunger hurts me.

the Kalohumbula (river), your good nature;

Ai the Estufa which gives me nostalgia.

I am crying over you o Huambo.

I remember with pain in my heart of those caring people whom I have left behind:

grandfather Albino, aunt Eunice and Idalina as well as cousin Lay,

Courage!!!"

(Aires EE Chissica, 1999). (writer's own translation).

5.6.3: - Analyzing the song

The song conveys a great feeling of nostalgia among the Angolans in exile. The singer remembers very well of his home town with all the delicacies that it had and that now it is no longer there, he says: *More I'll cry when one day to you I'll return and not finding the people, I remember the Caninas' 'lohengo' there on 23 March.* Also the singer conveys the message of distraction of the country, suffering of the people who are still in the country

and gives them a word of encouragement saying: *I do not know if one day I'll find our homes. I remember with pain in my heart of those caring people whom I have left behind: grandfather Albino, aunt Eunice and Idalina as well as cousin Lay, Courage!!!*"

Similar patterns of behaviour and nostalgic feelings are found in Ps 74 where the Psalmist does not hide his *saudades* to the reader for his country, religious symbols, confusion, disappointment and disorientation. In details the similar elements of homesickness and nostalgia found in the Psalm as well as in the song are:

Remember your congregation, which you acquired long ago, which you redeemed to be the tribe of your heritage. Remember Mount Zion (2). Direct your steps to the perpetual ruins, the enemy has destroyed everything in the sanctuary (3). They set up their emblems there (4). They hacked the wood with axes, with hatchets and hammers, smashed all carved work (5,6). We do not see our emblems, there is no longer any prophet, no one knows how long, why do you hold back your hand? (9-11).

The song brings up the same feelings of disorientation:

Huambo my motherland.

Although far from your feet I cry (1).

People who in captivity (internal) lived with us

And whom we left behind

When we could no longer stand the beating from the hands of your sons,

We left them and they are caught up in the crossfire (2).

I remember with pain in my heart

Huambo I left you without wanting it.

Huambo please do not judge me;

I am your son who adores you and I'll never forget you.

and I do not know if one day I'll find our homes.

All these symbols are of disorientation, similar to those pronounced by the psalmist.

The second Portuguese word used by Angolans in their laments is *confusão*. Matloff (1997:75) says that the word is literally translated as confusion but it is more like disturbance, trouble or even anarchy. It can apply to something as mundane as an argument between friends at a market place or something as serious as a war. Angola as a whole is in complete confusion. Kirkwood (1999:2) quotes an anonymous source in Luanda saying: "Things down here are going too crazy, we really do not know what will be the outcome of all this mess. The country is almost doomed and the people helpless and hopeless. We have been caught and trapped by the greed and ambition of a few individuals. We feel the country is without direction, even more, without leadership. The rich get richer and the poor become poorer. The strong become stronger and the weak are trampled upon. One cannot believe that in Huambo that used to be self-sufficient in food production, people are dying of hunger today. Not only there, even here in Luanda the army of street children

keeps on growing; the amputees and the displaced people are all over the place begging and the politicians have closed their eyes and shut their ears. What is happening is the annihilation of a people. Life has become unbearable”.

The media can no longer function independently. All have been threatened and harassed including radio *Ecclesia*. Journalists are being persecuted and silenced. The people do not have access to news apart from that given in the state media. And I understand that even the Internet is being censored”. According to the United Nations news service, quoted by Spears (1999:4) “the internal humanitarian organizations active in Angola have been striving to meet the ever increasing demands. The UN Food and Agricultural Organization has stated that Angola has the worst problems out of 16 countries receiving emergency food aid”.

From the All Africa News Agency of September/99, the missionaries in Angola are quoted as saying: “we are walking towards self-destruction” and calling for reconciliation, lamenting the fact that “generalized killing is on the rise” in the country (Kirkwood, 1999:5).

The war in Angola brought *confusão*, anarchy, corruption and trouble to its people. This people have been in trouble since February 4, 1961 until today. However the youth of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Angola, though their dignity has been stolen by the politicians, as has happened to

the most young people in the country; have produced a new book of psalms of laments as their way to bring about healing, reconciliation and at the same time asking God's forgiveness.

The youth knows that the future of Angola is in their hands no matter what the politicians are doing and saying. The youth does not have access to the news besides that provided by the state media. So they really do not know what is going on in the country despite of being caught by the police or army and press-ganged into the army.

In the following pages one will see how the Christian youth responded to the crisis in their country with different dynamics. Here are some of the songs:

"A strong man is he who wants to love"

When one day the sun will shine

Brightening the hearts that now tremble in terror

In the anguish of many horrors; how happy when brother

Will, with love search for a brother

Without any thought of the past to recall.

It is communion in dealing with love and gratitude;

Wisdom still need to cultivate and grow

In this world so unhappy

To love those lost and search for unity

Hatred remember no longer

Yes, only on love meditating.

A strong man is the one that wants to love

And cares not about whom he loves.

To be perfect, is in love

Altruism and communion

To love without discrimination

For every Man, being Man is equal.

The same bread to eat,

To bring about unity

With love to make peace

As in life we all have the same rights.

A life of horror, why?

Life of horror, why? Life of terror!

Life without love, why? Life without union!

How happy life is, when there is love

And communion!

O! How ungrateful he who knows not how to love,

*Having the gift of love Man began to hate;
 O! so very much in this life he has to give;
 He forgot love and began to kill.*

*(Of science) He tore altruism from dealings,
 All he wants is to receive instead of giving.
 The good talent of mankind love shines
 Turned into a killing weapon!*

*Of science he made madness and bad luck
 Now all he has is the dream of tears
 This fertile land with so much to give
 Instead of bread to nourish.
 Receive only corpses to bury them!*

*This fertile land is good to live,
 But now is a field of war where people die!
 Blood that runs and cannot be stopped
 For Angola is a play on the stage
 For whoever wants to watch!*

*Man of power sow corruption,
 Clear it is known that unity is unwanted there!
 Angola, dear Mother, look after your children!*

Because of so much hatred they lost their trophy.

Our steps walk the path of destruction

Our steps walk the path of destruction

My God listen to our prayers.

Wars, hunger, misery no end,

All by hatred caused

Man kills man. Morality has no place

Humanity suffers misery and disgrace

O! How sad that no one loves his brother!

Our steps walk the path of destruction

He who sows evil, they say in the book

Misery will he reap.

What Man has done

Man has destroyed what God has done

Man has put in jeopardy

The gift God in love to him has given.

With love all that hurts, heals.

With hatred all evils awake.

*Search the way of love that leads to peace
Conquer the heart that hatred has destroyed.*

*Look, there comes war, hunger and disgrace
When man is no longer rational!*

*Man has destroyed what God has made
Leaving love behind he followed his own desires
Running away from Goodness,
He fell deep into horror's pit
Now man sees an enemy,
Man sees a rival, in every Man.*

(Rev Vasco R. Chipuca, 1999. Translation by Maria V. Pereira).

Obviously the idea which comes to the person in despair, (that is in all the above songs) anguish and in state of loss is the sense that God no longer cares about this person. The psalmist asked God: "why have you abandoned us?" The Angolans are lamenting their fate and bring to God's notice the status quo of their country. They sing and through it they are able to cure the emotional side of their crises. In the songs we find a similar description like that one found in psalm. For example this one: *Man has destroyed what God has made.*

Leaving love behind he followed his own desires

Running away from Goodness,

He fell deep into horror's pit

Now man sees an enemy,

Man sees a rival, in every Man.

The psalmist expresses his anguish by saying: 'they set your sanctuary on fire; they desecrated the dwelling place of your name, bringing it to the ground', so, the Angolans in exile are lamenting what is happening in Angola. In these songs as well as in the Psalm one can find a true *lament*, which shows the manner in which a God-fearing person orientates himself or herself in a personal experience of suffering (Taylor 1955:38). In these songs one finds the emotional parallel with the lament in the Psalm 74. In studying and analyzing both the Psalm and the Angolan poetry one finds that the notion of retribution in the Psalm is a coping mechanism.

The question that comes to mind is: does the current Angolan situation represent the wrath of God towards Angolans? To answer this question many would say, yes it is, while others would say, no. The researcher's honest opinion would be that affliction should not necessarily be seen as divine judgment on sin simply due to the reference to be 'cast off forever' and 'anger against the sheep'. Many scholars believe that the mention of the destruction of the Temple showed in this psalm as well as the settled life in Israel (as well as in Angola in this case) "indicates that the psalmist, as it is the case in

many psalms, conceives their suffering to be inflicted because of sin” (Oesterley, 1939:135). Whatever the case may be, it is clear that the psalmist was going through a difficult situation, a situation that can be compared to that of millions of Angolans today. We learn with the psalmist that during the time of despair it is easy to be disorientated and to feel emotional distress, perhaps physical illness and to have the feeling that Yahweh is absent.

Many Angolans are repeating the words of disorientation found in the mouth of the psalmist again and again. In doing this study one finds a clear link between Ps 74 and the songs as well as the commentaries of the ordinary Angolan citizen in the street. This is what constitutes the counterparts as the researcher indicated earlier). Curiously enough in both cases (Psalm 74 and Angola) people trust and leave everything on the hands of God, and deep in their hearts they believe that God will change the course of the events that fall upon them, just as the psalmist did reminding God of His enemies.

Is the Angolan Diaspora a counterpart the Diaspora of Psalm 74?

Historically speaking the answer is no. Israel went to exile because failed to comply with God’s requirement in terms of land management and the treatment that the poor received from the rich (Amos). The Angolan are displaced due to factors of lack of vision to govern, tribal nationalism, foreign intervention and colonial legacy. However in both cases one can see the faith on God’s deliverance of the Israelites (Ps. 74) as well as the believers in Angola (religious songs). Because of their faith in God they patiently wait for

God's intervention in the crisis. The emotional outcry of the exiles in both cases are similar. Both speak of the destruction of their countries as caused by the external enemies and consequently the poor living conditions as a result.

5.7: - Conclusion

Israel was born as a Priestly nation, she had specific tasks to perform in the world. Her perceptions about who God was changed since Moses took her out of the hands of Pharaoh to the desert. When Israel received the Ten Commandments as a chosen nation did not realize that God chose them in merit of love alone. Israel entered the promised land and constituted for herself Kings. There again was another change. Then there came the time of exile. Again the change was there because not all the people of Israel went a small remnant was left in the country. Those who returned to Israel says Anderson, (1979:238) "brought different idea of who God was, as well as those who preferred to remain in Babylon". To many Angolans displacement has been a classroom where different lessons are learnt as well. And the most difficult less to learn for many Angolans is that which concern with change. This change comes in form of displacement, to leave a home and all the relatives including the culture is the most difficult lesson to learn.

In the emotional, socio-economic and political front one finds the counterparts between Psalm 74 and and the Angolan displaced people.

Chapter Six

6: - Conclusion

6.1: - Introduction

What are the conclusions that can be drawn from the research related to the Angolan 'exiles'? The current situation in Angola reflects not only the political fragility of the Angolan State, but in larger scale of the African Democracies. It reflects to a certain extent the legacy of colonization in Africa. So in the case of Angola little has been done in the sense of promoting healthy co-existence of the different ethnic groups. There is a well-known slogan in Angola which says, *Um so povo, uma so nacao*, (one people one nation). This slogan as it is, represents the false pretension of the Angolan politicians. They are trying in doing so to cover up the true dimension of the Angolan peoples. In Angola there is not one people, but many peoples and one country. Maier (1996:97) quotes Pepetela who says, "There was this well dressed woman asking a policeman why the police had not burned down the shacks there on Boa Vista where mainly Umbundu people from the center of the country live. The policeman said he could not do that because these were people's homes. The woman said, 'They are not people, they are only Bailundos' [Ovimbundu]."

6.2: - The research findings

Here again one draws the conclusion that as the Jews suffered because of the social, political, and economic structure of their country as well as (later) their belief in Christ, so are some Angolans suffering in the same way. The socio-political and economic set up of the Israelite community (in that time) is similar to what is currently happening in Angola, which is (the researcher believes) the main cause of Diaspora in that country.

The researcher found in this study that the presence of centralised state in Israel meant severe restraints on the general populace, the question of political rights and privileges must be considered in two contexts, the macro and the micro-level of social organization. At the nation level, political and economic power was seated in a very small group of people, the Royal family and the royal court, high civil and military officials, large landowners, wealthy merchants, leaders in the priesthood, and others. This governing class controlled the economic well-being as well as the legal and political viability of the rest of the country's inhabitants, who fell into a range of classes or professions with diminished status and power. However, at the local level the situation shifted, albeit not structurally. While the presence of the centralized state and its governing class was recurrently felt, social and political life continued along traditional lines in the villages, lower-class urban neighborhoods, artisan enclaves, and similar contexts. Here the customs and

norms inherited from the past determined an individual's political status and power. As was the case at national level, the structure at the local level was predominantly hierarchical, even though the group in power was proportionately larger in the latter context than in the former. On the other hand, it might be argued that power exerted, often subtly and according to traditional warrants, in the local context was more determinative of social viability than were the egregious acts of the state and the wealthy. The power, privileges, and political options present in Israelite society can be indicative of prevalent moral values.

It is true that one of the problems found in Angola is the issue of cultures. The Angolan culture, that which is inherent to Angola, is a product of the meeting of two cultures: an African foundation, fundamentally progressive in terms of civilization, and a European, more specifically, Portuguese influence. The Portuguese culture uses, politically, the assimilation approach to influence the African culture. These two cultures are in place there. One is urban and impostor by nature, namely, the European. The other one is traditional always timid and afraid to be swallowed by the urban one. Here again people were told to forget their roots and embrace only the European culture. A vivid example of this is the names of its citizens. If a person goes to the urban areas one will not find children having traditional names. This kind of cultural alienation is the fruit of colonization and suppression of local values. To a certain extent the issue of culture is one of the reasons for the crisis that Angolans are facing today.

The researcher's question for the conclusion was: What are the conclusions that can be drawn from the research related to the problem of the Angolan 'exiles'?

Firstly, the political nature of the Angolan state as shown in chapter two is oppressive in a way that does not leave space for democratic dialogue. Secondly, because the state is not democratic imposed on the people a certain ideologies that do value Angolans in the merit of the place of birth and tribe which make some tribes to be 'slaves' in their own country (this method was used by the Portuguese during the colonization period as well as British in Kwazulu Natal, used Indians to work in the suger plation). Thirdly, because of that there is no any sign towards a promotion of healthy co-existence of the different ethnic groups in Angola. Fourthly, all the resouces of the country, (petroleum, gold, diamond, forestry, cotton, coffee and fisheries) are being channeled to buy modern weaponry to kill its own people. This is like the fuel on a fire, accelerating the phenomenon of Diaspora. Also there is a foreign hand to the Angolan problem. This means that this contemporary phenomenon with its own dynamics and in terms of how it is determined by forces from both inside and outside Angola, can be compared with the experience of displacement and exile in Old Testament times.

In the exgesis of the Psalm 74 one finds that the Israelites in the exile were uprooted from their own land by foreign forces, the Babylonians who put in

Jerusalem symbols of their country. They felt as though God had forsaken them. They lamented their fate to God, for God to remember His Covenant which He made with them. From this covenant flows blessings to everyone in order the people as well as those afflicted physically or spiritually by the presence of the 'enemy' in the land could not be in shame. In exile the Israelites (some of them) got positions in the hierarchy of the Babylon state, living better life than in their own country. They developed written literature as well as a certain culture which became the culture of the post-exilic community. Although Israel was called as a religious nation she always had a secular (political) entity attached to her. Israel was never a homogenous society.

6.3: - Suggestions

After completing this study, the researcher suggests having looking to all the facts discussed in this Thesis that the issue concerning the exiles / refugee crisis in the African Continent today is not a new phenomenon, it is old as society itself, thus it should be reviewed and considered as a priority in African politics today. Considered, because there are issues in many African countries that could not simply be ignored. Thus people leave everything and live in Diaspora. Reviewed, because the refugee / exiles status should be reviewed by the nations involved in conflicts, thus allowing the asylum seekers permission to live in the country where they are as residents. One of the reasons why the writer feels this way is the fact that people who did not

know much about African life per se created the strange African borders. The writer suggests, to view the refugee issue in a long term and not simply in a short term perspective.

Angola will not have real peace if the foreign bodies (UN) who are working there to 'promote' peace and reconciliation continue to take sides on the conflict. So the writer's humble suggestion is that this should stop if the international community wants peace for Angola.

There is much emphasis given to foreign individuals or collectives as those skilled in the so called 'problem solving' in detriment of the local individuals who may know the causes of the Angolan crisis better but they are not given the chance only because they do not have financial means. So time has come to give the Angolan themselves a chance to negotiate their own fate.

Angola has made so many treaties for peace in that country but its people have not seen a single day without tears. In knowing how the people of Angola want and long for peace in that country, a right denied by the army and the politicians who want better life for themselves and also knowing how the security system of the country works to reprise any form of anti-government manifestation, the researcher concludes by saying that there is no possible human solution to Angolan crisis. The solution has to be a spiritual one. Only God's intervention can bring real peace to that country.

6.4: - Conclusion

Once Jean Jacques Rousseau said, "It seems ridiculous to me to attempt to study society (le monde) as a mere observer. He who wishes only to observe will observe nothing, for as he is useless in actual work and a nuisance in recreations, he is admitted to neither. We observe the actions of others only to the extent to which we ourselves act. In the school of the world as in that of love we must begin with the practical exercise of that which we wish to learn". This thesis was a learning experience. In and through it the researcher tried to stop observing and start acting. From the Psalm the researcher concludes in a situation like that of the psalmist and Angolans the believers are urged to pray as the psalmist did because the trouble of God's people is God's own concern. He says that as it was with the psalmist, he only repeats the words of the psalmist who said: "have regard for your covenant, for the dark places of the land are full of the haunts of violence. Do not let the downtrodden be put to shame; let the poor and the need praise your name. Rise up, O God" (Psalm 74:20-22a. NRSV).

The writer hopes that this research makes some contribution towards addressing the challenge of Diaspora in Angola and in the African continent in wider perspective.

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