

Chapter Five: From the old to a new Kairos?

5.1 Introduction

From the onset it must be clear to all that the new democratic dispensation is very different from the apartheid one. The strengths of the new democracy are many and varied. South Africans of all hues are faced with the challenge of ensuring that the famous words of Nelson Mandela at his inauguration will stay forever fulfilled when he said:

Never, never, and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another... The sun shall never set on so glorious an achievement! (1994:613)

Earlier the KD stated prophetically:

There is hope. There is hope for all of us. But the road to that hope is going to be very hard and very painful. The conflict and the struggle will intensify in the months and years ahead. (1986:27)

5.2 A reminder: The rationale for the publication of the KD

It is imperative to remember what the reasons were for the production of the Kairos document in the first place. One of the major reasons was the excessive oppression that was taking place as shown above, and the immeasurable resistance that subsequently just as effectively ensued, until the apartheid government gave in. The other reason was that from the KD's perspective people's liberation was the sacred right of all human beings given by God. The KD makes its position very clear when it explains what it means to live under an oppressive regime:

A regime that has made itself an enemy of the people has thereby made itself an enemy of God. People are made in the image and

likeness of God and whatever we do to the least of them we do to God.
(Mt 25:49) (KD, 1986:24)

The fight for freedom was against apartheid. But it should also have spelled out that it was not just against that system but for something better than that system. It should be freedom for its own sake. Reading in Galatians 5:1 these words are unequivocal:

Freedom is what we have – Christ has set us free! Stand, then, as free people, and do not allow yourselves to become slaves again. (GNB)

Nelson Mandela's understanding of freedom is the following:

I was not born with a hunger to be free, I was born free – free in every way that I could know. Free to run in the fields near my mother's hut, free to swim in the clear stream that ran through my village, free to roast mealies under the stars and ride the broad backs of slow moving bulls. As long as I obeyed my father and abided by the customs of my tribe, I was not troubled by the laws of man or God. (1994:616)

Mr Mandela asserts that he had developed a hunger for freedom when he began to realise that it had been taken away from him and from all people who looked like him (ibid). There was a progressive development towards this hunger and he then decided to join the African National Congress (ANC). Now that Mandela and his comrades had walked out of prison, and the fact that all South Africans could now vote and had actually done so and, for the first time in the history of South Africa, had ushered in a new democratic government the road ahead was still long, winding and uphill.

When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has been achieved. But I know that this is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first

step of a longer and more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning. (1994:617)

True freedom then has become elusive when the words of Mandela are taken seriously. If, in spite of having voted there is still non-freedom, then, in a sense, there is always a kairos. There is a new kairos challenging the democratic government and mainly the very black people that have been suffering for such a long time. The legacy of apartheid is a fact and the resultant ramifications of its effects are very evident. Mamphele Ramphele puts it well:

We also should not underestimate the psychological legacy of three centuries of colonial rule followed by apartheid. Both black and white South Africans have work to do to lay the ghost of racist stereotyping to rest. (2008:15)

More poignant also is what Desmond Tutu says with regard to this apartheid damage:

Perhaps we had not realised how wounded and traumatised we all were as a result of the buffeting we had all in various ways taken from apartheid. This vicious system has had far more victims than anyone had thought possible, because it is no exaggeration to say that we have all in different ways been wounded by apartheid. (1999:154)

Tutu mentions that it was the TRC that actually sharpened his vision into the abyss of the apartheid atrocities. Perpetrators had become the victims, the prisoners of their own machinations. They were like people who had been riding a tiger, and could no longer get off it without it ravaging them.

Tutu continues:

In one way or another, as a supporter, a perpetrator, a victim, or one who opposed the ghastly system, something happened to our humanity. All of us South Africans were less whole than we should have been without apartheid. Those who were privileged lost out as they became more uncaring, less compassionate, less humane and therefore less human; for this universe has been constructed in such a way that unless we live in accordance with its moral laws we still pay a price. And one such law is that we are bound together in what the Bible calls 'the bundle of life'. Our humanity is caught up in that of all others. We are human because we belong. We are made for community, for togetherness, for family, to exist in a delicate network of interdependence. (ibid.)

5.3 The legacy of apartheid that created the old Kairos

The old paradigm which proscribed the freedom of black people was attacked by blacks themselves who responded to the challenge that had been thrown at them. They fought against their given status of perpetual serfdom and so refused to co-operate with those who were oppressing them, as mentioned earlier. Those who were born after the late eighties and early nineties, may not find it easy to conceptualise the damage that was done by apartheid. It must be extremely difficult to live in a situation in which people find themselves not knowing why things are as they are. It was like when children of all races grew up under apartheid but could neither read nor understand why when people are black they live in an ignominious way and all people who are white live differently and under much better conditions.

Few young people of all races today will ever understand the damage apartheid did to those who grew up directly under it. The researcher as a participant also remembers many very vivid mind-changing incidents that happened to make him realise as never before, how oppressed toxic apartheid has been for his mind. But the mess created by apartheid is at times like a scrambled egg. It appears almost impossible to unscramble apartheid within a short space of time and without trauma. Mandela's Long Walk to

Freedom warned of the danger of revealing certain state secrets. The long walk to freedom would also symbolise the long walk it is going to take to free the mind. It will need a lot of hard work, patience, dedication and love. The evil committed by apartheid is immeasurable.

But the words of Desmond Tutu during the hearings of the TRC need to be repeated. There had been public hearings on the biological warfare conducted by the apartheid government despite the new democratically elected government being unhappy that such hearings should be conducted because undertaking that everything would be done to make sure that the security of the state was not compromised:

What was revealed in these public hearings was devastating... It soon became clear that, contrary to previous claims by the apartheid government, its Chemical and Biological Warfare programme had certainly not been only for defensive purposes. It had major offensive characteristics. What was so shattering for me was that it had all been so scientific, so calculated, so clinical... (1999:142)

Apartheid had become an umbrella for sadistic and murderous tendencies. It had not just produced victims but also monsters. The people who had run that system, both commanders and foot soldiers, would live with tortured thoughts long after their victims had forgiven them. At the end of the day, apartheid probably also did more damage to its perpetrators, especially those who had to carry it out, than can be imagined. How could people who believed in God, people who went to church almost every Sunday, read the Bible that talked of love of neighbour and all the great principles of the Bible – how could they have conceived such an evil system, a system that even turned perpetrators into psychologically damaged victims? Tutu, like all decent people, continued to marvel at all this:

The evidence that emerged at our hearing showed that scientists, doctors, veterinarians, laboratories, universities and front companies had propped up apartheid with the help of an extensive international

network. Scientific experiments were being carried out with a view to causing disease and undermining the health of communities. Cholera, botulism, anthrax, chemical poisoning and the production of huge supplies of Mandrax, Ecstasy and other drugs of abuse... were some of the projects of this programme. (ibid.)

It is not surprising that Tutu became so astounded, considering that he had made the point that in all probability, drug addiction in the Cape Flats could be attributed to that Chemical Warfare:

For me, the Chemical and Biological Warfare programme was the most diabolical aspect of apartheid. I was ready to accept that its perpetrators would do almost anything to survive but I never expected them to sink to this level. (ibid.)

It can never be properly articulated how that heinous policy of apartheid affected ordinary black people because in the fight against apartheid, there were a number of boycotts, including school boycotts and boycotts of white businesses in town. It is impossible to really fathom the depth of efforts that were made by ordinary people in their fight against apartheid.

5.4 The death of Apartheid

At the time, the KD's message of hope appeared to be misplaced as more deaths and more repression was perpetrated by the regime on the oppressed of South Africa. But then within five or six years, FW de Klerk was to make his famous 1990 February speech which altered the course of South Africa. The KD in its message of hope had also stated that, in spite of all the hardships:

There is hope. There is hope for all of us.... God is with us. We can only learn to become the instruments of his peace even unto death. We must participate in the cross of Christ if we are to have the hope of participating in his resurrection. (1986:27)

Then Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, had also mentioned his moments when he just held on to his hope:

There had been so many moments in the past, during the dark days of apartheid's vicious awfulness, when I had preached, 'This is God's world and God is in charge!' (Tutu D, 1999:2)

Then of course Tutu shares some very deep thoughts shrouded in his characteristic humour:

Sometimes when evil seemed to overcome goodness, I had only just been able to hold on to this article of faith. It was a kind of theological whistling in the dark and I was frequently tempted to whisper in God's ear, 'For goodness sake, why don't You (sic) make it more obvious that You (sic) are in charge?' (ibid.)

The release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders was almost like a resurrection, marking the beginning of the death of apartheid. The resultant changes were so profound that it was difficult to recognise South Africa as a nation that was tearing itself apart. The euphoria was palpable. The hope, after all, was being realised. The very act of releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners was itself a monumental step for South Africa. Tutu mentions that after voting there was understandable jubilation as people danced and cheered:

The atmosphere was wonderful and such a vindication for all those who had borne the burden of repression, the little people whom apartheid had turned into the anonymous ones – faceless, voiceless, counting for nothing in their motherland – whose noses had been rubbed daily in the dust. (Tutu, 1999:3)

The new dispensation meant more than just a new start and new views that hitherto had never been thought of. Suddenly, there was going to be a normal view of working in the public sector and serving also ones people in a society

that could rightly be regarded as still very “abnormal” at the time because old habits die hard.

South Africans were suddenly propelled into a new direction just when everybody thought the country was at the brink of a war in which none could win using weapons. Language hitherto used before, language of anger and bitterness, language of condemnation, had to change and change rapidly and radically as people were plunged into a new mode of being human. It meant a new way of looking at serving the public. Indeed the changes would be breath-taking. For a great change, black people would also begin to feel part of the country and in fact would end up running the country. Performing public service such as being appointed to act in the jury was so vital that in Athens where democracy is purported to have begun Pericles is quoted as telling the Athenians that:

It is not poverty that they should consider shameful but the refusal of even a poor man to make his public political contribution to the running of the state. (Cartledge P, 2000:72)

Nelson Mandela puts it more comprehensively:

In life, every man (sic) has twin obligations – obligations to his family, to his parents, to his wife and children, and he has an obligation to his people, his community, his country. In a civil and humane society, each man is able to fulfil those obligations according to his own inclinations and abilities. (1994:615)

To support the above claims, the researcher invokes the words of Pope John XX111 which resonate with the idea of true liberation:

A regime which governs solely or mainly by means of threats and intimidation or promises of reward, provide men (sic) with no effective incentive to work for the common good. And even if it did, it would certainly be offensive to the dignity of free rational human beings.

Authority is before all else a moral force. For this reason the appeal of rulers should be to the individual conscience, to the duty which every man has of voluntarily contributing to the common good. But since all men are equal in natural dignity, no man has the capacity to force internal compliance on another. Only God can do that, for he alone scrutinizes and judges the secret counsels of the heart. (Pacem in Terris, 1963, in Villa Vicencio, 1986:117)

Then Mandela went on to point out what he thought was also inherently evil about the system of apartheid in South Africa. It did not allow for full humanity, genuine *ubuntu*, for one to serve one's fellow human-beings:

But in a country like South Africa, it was almost impossible for a man of my birth and colour to fulfil both of those obligations. In South Africa, a man of colour who attempted to live as a human being was punished and isolated. In South Africa, a man who tried to fulfil his duty to his people was inevitably ripped from his family and his home and was forced to live a life apart, a twilight existence of secrecy and rebellion. (1994:615)

5.5 The building of democracy begins

Speaking about the day of his inauguration, Mandela paid tribute to those countless people who sacrificed for the struggle when he stated the following about the day of liberation:

That day had come about through the unimaginable sacrifices of thousands of my people, people whose sufferings and courage can never be counted as repaid. I felt that day, as I have on so many other days, that I was simply the sum of all those African patriots who had gone before me. That long and noble line ended and now began again with me. I was pained that I was not able to thank them and that they were not able to see what their sacrifices had wrought. (1994:614)

While Mr Mandela had been referring mostly to his comrades who had struggled side by side with him, he could well, as he often did, also have been referring to the countless people that would forever remain nameless but who nevertheless had made an invaluable contribution to the struggle for liberation. Those people could have been the mothers and fathers who eked out a living to feed their children and educate them for the nation, or for them to directly contribute to the struggle as the parents of the 1976 children of the revolution, for example, could testify.

Whilst the democratically-elected government has done remarkably well to begin a process that attempts to normalise a previously inhuman situation – a situation that had been abnormal for more than three and a half centuries - it can be favourably argued that the negotiated settlement was the next best thing outside of an outright victory. Its strong points start with the new Constitution of the country which is under-girded by a strong Justice system headed by the Constitutional Court (CC). It is thus not surprising that Albie Sachs, a judge of the CC, mentions the tremendous role played by judges in safeguarding democracy:

I see the role of judges in the world of diversity and conflict as striving for the protection of human dignity. The court is very, very important in terms of the basic norms, standards and values of the society, which continually evolve and develop. (*Mail and Guardian* Article by Jackie Kemp titled: Steering a ship called dignity, July 3 – 9, 2009)

One of the challenges of the South African public is to adjust to what it means to be under a democratically-elected government. The South African parliament is the nearest to what government of the people, by the people, for the people means. It began with the Government of National Unity (GNU) and the proportional representation system agreed upon during negotiations. It should be noted that apart from a number of definitions of democracy, there is also this explanation:

Democratic governments are those in which fundamental human rights of citizens are protected by the collective and in which the views of a population-at-large, not just a ruling elite, are reflected in the actions of the government. (*Origins of Democracy*, Research paper at www.icpd.org/democracy/index.htm)

But in the same vein, it was the Greeks who, it is claimed, created the slaves even though they are reputed to have been the first in the world to introduce democracy:

But the Greeks were the first to create the slave in the complete sense, what is sometimes called the chattel slave: that is, an unfree (sic) person who has been alienated forcibly from his or her natal family and community, traded as a mere commodity and kept as property without any effective personal, let alone political rights. (Cartledge, 2000:178)

5.6 The KD and the new government

In the quest to know whether the KD could be useful today, after fifteen years democracy, it is very clear that the context has changed. It is no longer a context in which people are dealing with an illegitimate government. The new government does not have to use unnecessary methods such as having to appeal to “state theology” to legitimise its existence. It has no need to because it is elected by the majority of the people of South Africa on the basis of justice and the Freedom Charter. The new democratic state, however, wasted no time in harnessing the use of the prophets who had fought against the apartheid regime. Des van der Water makes this point in his article, *A Legacy for Contextual Theology*:

With the country’s first democratic elections and the adoption of the Interim Constitution in April 1994, the churches had become effective allies with the new government of National Unity. It is notable that a number of prominent church people and Christian activists of yesteryear... were taking their place in the corridors of power. Prophets

of the apartheid era were becoming parliamentarians within the new social dispensation. (Speckman & Kaufmann, 2001:47)

But there are lessons to be learned here for the future. One of the distinctions that must be made is that a democratically-elected government does not necessarily mean a democratic government. These lessons should caution all governments about the co-option of religion or religious leaders as a disguise for the misuse and abuse of power. It is important to note that both the previous government and the present government have at least one common denominator: power. The difference between the two, however, is huge. The previous government had arrogated power unto itself and was an oligarchy.

Russell Botman also makes a similar point in the same book in his article entitled *The Crisis in Contextual Theologies: A Way Ahead?*

Contextually, the nature of the state has changed. The post-apartheid state has a secular, constitutional sovereignty. It has no religious pretensions and no longer has its own sovereignty as with the Apartheid regime. South Africa now has a secular constitutional state although its constitution has a theistic appearance with its inclusion of the name of God. The Constitution of South Africa ends with “Nkosi, Sikelela l’Africa (God bless Africa). The inclusion of the name of God means nothing more than that the country is a secular state acknowledging religion but without claiming legitimacy on the grounds of religious values. (Speckman & Kaufmann, 2001:120)

Power has its own trappings, regardless of who is wielding it. The state has to operate from the position of power, and rightly so. For the sake of especially the poor, the South African government has to guard against using power against its own citizens. There is no guarantee that those who fought for liberation will do their best to uphold the principles of justice.

There are certain red flags to be noted. Some states will not use state theology but other mechanisms besides state theology to justify their actions.

The problem to be faced is that, when people are engaged in a struggle for liberation, in most cases the leadership will after some time begin to own the struggle together with its fruits. Whereas previously the oppressive state treated people like their underlings or slaves, it does happen that people who engage in the liberation of others tend to forget that it was for the people that they waged a struggle in the first place. It is not surprising therefore that Paulo Freire pointedly says:

Many of the oppressed who directly or indirectly participate in revolution intend – conditioned by the myths of the old order – to make it their private revolution. The shadow of their former oppressor is still cast over them. (1970:31)

5.7 South Africa today

5.7.1 The escalation of militant protests despite a new democratic government

It has been pointed out that South African township people seem even more militant over bad government than people in other countries in Southern Africa. Why? Perhaps it is that they remember the more recent struggle they had for their freedom. It could be that people looked at the situation in Zimbabwe and realised that they could no longer leave things in the hands of their leaders and hope for the best.

There are a number of examples from the press which attest to what might be termed the people's fury.

5.7.1.1 The cancer of widespread corruption continues: Manifestations of the legacy of a colonial mentality

Apartheid was itself a corrupt policy and it enabled people to continue corruption with impunity. One would have thought things would begin to be different, but widespread corruption continues to dog the South African

community. There was a report that in Mpumalanga the community at Thandukukhanya protested vehemently against what it alleged was:

“...widespread corruption within the municipality, including nepotism, the awarding of tenders, service delivery and addressing unemployment”. They were against the mayor and her councillors. The homes of... [name withheld] ...and three other councillors were torched, as was a shopping centre owned by Indians, four trucks, and the local clinic, library and community hall. Foreign shopkeepers were chased out of Thandukukhanya and their businesses looted. Two people died... (*The Star* of July 01, 2009)

There were other recent protests in places like Zeerust in North West Province. It was reported that:

Lehurutse residents protested throughout last week and threw stones at motorists in the N4. People arrested during the protest face charges of public violence and those arrested also face charges of robbery... They stopped some of the vehicles and robbed motorists. (*The Star*, June 29, 2009)

There is a Setswana idiom that says:

BANA BA MOTHO BA KGAOGANYA TLHOGO YA TSIE
(Children of the same family share the head of a locust)

The above is a powerful message: a family will always share something regardless of how small it may be. It was unheard of that leaders would eat alone while the other members of the family are starving. Leaders or the elders would never make themselves comfortable while the rest are suffering. The cries for meaningful service delivery leave a deep sense of shame on all decent people. Greed is also fuelled by an insatiable appetite to consume, thus the disease of consumerism which actually and strangely enough, drives capitalist economies. C Douglas Lummis makes the following telling point:

...much of the consumption which we associate with affluence is 'conspicuous consumption', the specific pleasure of which is that there are others who cannot afford it. Nor is conspicuous consumption limited to the rich: establishing a mental association between a product and the upper-class life styles is how non-essential goods are sold to the poor, as every advertising agency knows. Nor is conspicuous consumption unknown in poor countries: the implantation of the desire for it is a big part of what modernizations have touted as 'the revolution of rising expectations'. By implanting in people the desire for elite status, and by convincing them that bits and pieces of that status are infused in various consumer goods, the salesmen hope to keep the development squirrel mill turning over... (In Sachs W, op. cit. p48)

It is at best a sign of confusion, or a serious lack of analysis, to denounce colonialism when the mentality of colonialists, as hoarding of land, goods and wealth, as seems to be the case in Zimbabwe, becomes the norm and practice of the previously oppressed leadership. Hall reminds everyone that the earth is the Lord's even if in some sense it belongs to human beings:

Ownership, far from producing the sense of "belonging," produces anxiety, the anxiety of which Jesus often spoke: the anxiety of those who worry about tomorrow, who hoard up treasures on earth, who build greater barns and lose their souls. Anxiety of ownership – a thing that Marxism also recognizes in its way – leads inevitably to distortion. The home becomes a fortress, a defense (sic) a false attempt to achieve permanence and security. The tents of the wilderness, say prophets, are more truly home than the palaces of Solomon. (1976:85)

There can never be a defence for of greed which has become the new and unforgiving colonial slave driver controlling life in the new South Africa amongst most of the elite. It is tantamount to declaring war, not against poverty but against the poor. It becomes a mockery of all that is beautiful about African traditional religion and the spirituality of ubuntu, and indeed all religions with the exception, of course, of Satanism. It has been so much part

of the culture that even when King Moshoeshoe was besieged on the Thaba Bosiu Mountain he could still send some herds of cattle to his enemies to eat while encamped at the foot of the mountain.

This version of UBUNTU/BOTHO which says: "I am because we are" has been lost. It needs to be revived. Mayibuye i-Afrika (Let Africa return) should mean a return to the values of Africa. These values can heal a nation suffering from a continuation of crime even after apartheid. The following words make a lot of sense: The poverty of spirit of the rich has led to the material poverty of the poor.

The privacy of life which Western man has come to almost make a religion of, to them [Africans] becomes a hurdle, resulting in depression, mental disturbances and often even suicide. John Mbiti is right when he changes the Cartesian dictum to 'I belong, therefore I am'. There is no person who does not belong. Belonging is the root and essence of being. Therefore the whole system of African society and the ordering thereof (law) is based on this. Everyone has someone he/she belongs to, who should reap the benefit of his/her life, or take on the responsibilities which arise out of that life... (Setiloane G, 1986:10)

Augustine Shutte also makes a similar valid point as Setiloane's:

I only become fully human to the extent that I am included in relationships with others... living in the spirit of UBUNTU is not just a conventional obligation. It is my very growth as a person that is at stake. It is a matter of life and death. A person who is generous and hospitable, who welcomes strangers to her house and table and cares for the needy, increases in vital force. She builds up an identity that is enduring, that will not disintegrate – even in death – but continue to be the centre of life for all. A final aspect of a person existing only in relation to others is that personhood is a gift. (2001:24-25)

5.7.1.2 Sloth in service delivery

Some of these protests occurred in Cape Town at a housing project called N2 Gateway where people had occupied houses illegally. There are constant strikes and threats of strikes from those who are engaged in building stadiums for the 2010 World Soccer Cup (The Star June 29 2009). There has also been a huge doctors' strike for more pay and better working conditions (June 29 2009). There have been many such uprisings within the country especially since the latest elections of April 2009.

Siphamandla Zondi, director for Africa at the Institute for Global Dialogue, gave the following explanation for these protests:

These protests remind us that the struggle was not merely about ideological victory or political power as such, but also about making it possible for the poor, with the help of a legitimate government, to lead decent and happy lives. (*The Star*, July 28, 2009)

This was the whole point about the publication of the KD and the fight against apartheid. Otherwise it is pointless just to exchange one form of government for another whilst the situation of extremity is not completely eradicated. It is worth repeating what the KD said about the suffering of the time:

...we have those who do not benefit in any way from the system the way it is now. They are treated as mere labour units, paid starvation wages...all for the benefit of a privileged minority... It is not in their interest to allow this system to continue... They are no longer prepared to be crushed, oppressed and exploited. They are determined to change the system radically so that it no longer benefits only a privileged few. And they are willing to do this even at the cost of their own lives. What they want is justice for all irrespective of race, colour, sex, or status. (1986:21)

5.7.1.3 The humiliation of unemployment and destitution of job losses

A former Minister of Social Development in the Cabinet in the democratic government and who is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC made a strong plea for unemployed youth to be given employment and social grants if not yet employed:

Social Development Minister Zola Skweyiya has warned of a potential uprising in South Africa if the country fails to provide jobs for youth. (*Sunday Times*, July 1, 2008)

Skweyiya also pointed out that unemployment was the root cause of Kenneth Kaunda losing power, and the reason for Zimbabwe youth to invade white-controlled farms. He also warned of the danger that the South African economy was failing to absorb young graduates. (ibid.)

There was a report of serious job losses - put at 179 000 – in just one quarter:

The formal economy shed 179 000 jobs in the first quarter as fallout from SA's first recession in 17 year took its toll... Analysts said the job losses reflected a labour market "in distress", and warned the economy could shed up to 400 000 jobs this year as companies cut costs with global and local demand waning. (*Business Day, SA loses 179 000 jobs in one quarter as slump hits hard*, June 24 2009)

5.7.1.4 Recession exacerbated by excessive and often misplaced government spending

At the same time, the newly appointed Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan, also warned about excessive and inappropriate government spending especially because of the recession:

...falling exports and the high current account deficit all contributed to a negative picture which demanded the adoption of new approaches. He conveyed a strong message on the need for austerity, calling on government departments to tighten belts... Expenditure would have to be deferred in some cases. (*Business Day, Gordhan warns state to cut costs as revenue falls short*, June 24, 2009)

The above warning comes amidst more spending that the government needs to make even as the recession bites. According to the *Sowetan* newspaper the government will have to spend R2 billion rebuilding houses that had extremely poor workmanship, despite having already spent about R500 million in the past three years rebuilding houses that had been built shoddily. (July 10, 2009)

Another R58 million had been given to a consortium to build RDP houses and three years later not a single house had been built (*The Star* July 9 2009). It is such carelessness that puts the government in an awkward position where functionaries do not seem to share the government's vision of creating better living conditions for its people. Pravin Gordhan's warning on government spending becomes very appropriate in these circumstances.

In the *Business Day* publication quoted above, there is mention of another ominous warning by newly appointed Minister of Mineral Resources of further job losses because in her view:

SA's mining industry had been hard hit by sharply lower commodity prices due to the global economic downturn and was under "severe strain"... Analysts had forecast that the sector could lose more than 100 000 jobs this year owing to the crisis. (Minister says mines under severe strain, July 24, 2009)

There was some comfort though because the minister, in the same article, is quoted as saying that "government led processes" to save jobs had been

successful to some degree because the losses had been confined to 25 000 jobs “representing about 5% of the total employment in the industry”. (ibid)

5.7.1.5 Lack of appropriate skills: One of the residues of Bantu education and job reservation

Bantu Education has had a debilitating effect on the economy of the country. Willem Saayman emphasises the inadequacy of Bantu Education to equip young people and mentions the recent attacks on Africans who come from outside South Africa:

On top of it all, a new element has been added to the explosive mix: the presence of large numbers of poor legal and illegal immigrants from many African countries. In a situation where housing is inadequate and unemployment very high, it is easy for the anger of the poor, unemployed and homeless to be directed against them. (*Missonalia*, Vol. 36 No. 1, April 2008, p20)

But this anger seems to be exacerbated by other things apart from desperation. Saayman captures it again:

All of this plays itself out in post-1994 South Africa, characterised by very conspicuous crass materialistic consumption as a way of life for a small minority. (ibid.)

When mostly unemployed people, or those who have been working for years without serious personal economic development, see their peers who had been without any means of earning a livelihood suddenly appear well off because they have become councillors, all sorts of human emotions such as jealousy and envy spring up and a new form of restlessness takes hold. Jean Paul Sartre says in his preface to Frantz Fanon’s book:

...he [Fanon] shows clearly that this irrepressible violence is neither sound and fury, nor the resurrection of savage instincts, nor even the

effect of resentment: it is man (sic) recreating himself. I think we understood this truth at one time, but we have forgotten it – that no gentleness can efface the marks of violence; only violence itself can destroy them. (op. cit. p18)

There is a danger, though, with regard to the above matter of protests against service delivery, if the definition of freedom by the Greeks is anything to go by:

One ancient Greek definition of freedom was not having to be dependent on anyone else; conversely, unfreedom (sic) was having to depend on another for one's livelihood and lifestyle. (Cartledge P, 2000:179)

If the above definition of freedom means not to depend upon anyone for one's livelihood, then it is still a long journey that has to be travelled for freedom to be truly entrenched. The original self-reliance that had characterised the African before colonisation needs to be revived. People need to be made aware that there are other alternatives to life than being reliant on others for one's existence. In spite of continuous oppression people were born with resilience, otherwise none would have persisted with standing up as toddlers after every fall and none would have walked after stumbling and falling so many times. There are many wonderful stories of young people who have obtained outstanding results in education while living in shacks; there is a huge number of people who have succeeded in spite of all odds.

There are two serious challenges that cut across Church and State concerns. The one challenge is that schools and universities in South Africa do not promote entrepreneurship or do-it-yourself employment. Education in South Africa is geared towards helping people "look for employment", to put the onus on someone to find people something to do. Added to this challenge is the fact that most schooling was about how to remember rather than how to think. Why is that a challenge? It is so because the new democratic

dispensation is creating space for people to unravel themselves as they evolve.

This researcher can never recall a lesson at school in which he was asked by the teacher to write a letter on “how to employ someone”. It was always a letter on how to apply for a vacancy. The whole paradigm of teaching then was truly training for subservience, or training to be under somebody. Ramphela recalls what Hendrik Verwoerd had tried to do:

Of the biggest challenges in Post-1994 South Africa is the state of [the] education and training system. The social engineering of Hendrik Verwoerd, who in the 1950s formalised and refined apartheid as a system of governance with deep socio-economic ramifications, reached its zenith when as Minister of Education he imposed Bantu Education on African people... 'The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all aspects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour'. A clearer commitment to education for servitude one could not find. (2008:171)

The schooling system then was also not helping in enhancing the self-realisation that black people needed, as is required by any other developing nation. Instead it was creating a mindset of dependency and servitude, as intended. This observation may appear innocuous, but it is this kind of mentality that under-girded Bantu Education and which is now causing the country to find it difficult to employ the majority of people who have finished school. What will remain a mystery, though, is how black people were not cowed by apartheid, nor disabled by Bantu Education, and indeed were spurred on by the adverse conditions they experienced. It could be that they also had the resilience and patience of the male weaver bird which builds a nest using one blade at a time. If the female bird destroys the nest because it is a security risk for its young, the male weaver has to start all over again. There seems to be a shared resilience between the male weaver bird and the people who succeeded in spite of apartheid.

5.7.1.6 Political patronage: A form of manipulation and oppression

There is another danger that needs to be checked before it takes root which is constituted by a serious distortion of people's liberation, namely, government by patronage and which is just as dehumanising. Government by patronage also dehumanises the dispenser of it for it is an arrogation of power to oneself which actually begins to show tendencies of dictatorship. It is when leaders forget that it is the people who bestow power upon a leader, or leaders, to govern on their behalf. Patronage is another form of control and could be easily regarded as bribing others in order to dominate them. Needless to say, that would be very far from what the KD advocated, nor indeed, those who paid the ultimate price for the liberation of all the people of South Africa and all those who laboured hard to see the country free. The following words cannot be over-emphasised:

True dominion does not consist in enslaving others but in becoming a servant of others; not in the exercise of power but in the exercise of love, not in being served but in freely serving; not in sacrificing the subjugated but in self-service. (Moltmann, 1977:103)

This leads to some examination of the use of power. This examination is essential for the oppressed to understand if they are not to repeat the abomination of the past. Ruling by patronage could spell a new enslavement. This kind of evil could be expressed in Jacques Ellul's words as he ponders the second temptation of Jesus which concerned being tempted with power:

At issue here [referring to one of the temptations] is the conquering and ruling of all the kingdoms of the world. Once again it seems to me that rule is to be taken in the broadest sense. What is envisaged is not just military conquest or political domination but every kind of secular domination, including that of masters ("Do not call me master"), employers, ecclesiastics, institutions, parents, and so on. Every kind of power which men (sic) exert, or try to establish, over other men, is in view. Whatever may be the means of power, whether money, personal

authority, social status, economic structure, military force, politics, artifice, sentimental or material extortion, seduction, spiritual influence, what is proposed by Satan is power in any or every form. (1976:55)

5.7.1.7 Persistent racism

The other serious challenge to the new democracy is endemic racism brought about by the legacy of apartheid. South Africans cannot look at themselves as different from other human beings who experienced the results of years and years of isolation from each other and still expect that there would be immediate cohesion because people have voted. For example, Souden and Nkomo, referring to the infamous Reitz incident at the University of the Free State where white students humiliated a few elderly black female and male workers by allegedly making them drink urine as a “prank”, made the following submission in answer to Professor Wilmot who had asserted that the Reitz fiasco was a mere “act of common assault”:

Context is important here. Our understanding has to be informed by the history of apartheid South Africa. Furthermore it is important to understand the history of the institution itself, how black employees have been mistreated and that discrimination has been commonplace for black students. (Article: *Racism is our Legacy*, *The Star*, July 2, 2009)

It is this researcher’s considered view that the denial of the damage done by years of separation of communities, with whites in leafy suburbs and blacks in depressed townships in the main completely deprived of social amenities and entertainment facilities, - that denial itself – constitutes a crisis because it is a denial of an existent racism that disables a proper response to the crisis. Mandela’s words underscore this point:

The policy of apartheid created a deep and lasting wound in my country and my people. All of us will spend many years, if not generations, recovering from that profound hurt. (1994:615)

These wounds do not go away easily. They create other wounds as they go along. One of those wounds is denialism. There had been a huge hope that the TRC would also assist in lancing the boil of racism in one way or another. Sampie Terreblanche, however, makes this damning statement about the TRC:

Unfortunately, the TRC has ignored the gross human rights violations perpetrated collectively and systemically against millions of black people under white political domination and racial capitalism. Its inability and/or unwillingness to systemically analyse South Africa's history of unequal power structures are puzzling. By only trying to cover the 'truth' about one form of victimisation under apartheid and ignoring another (and perhaps even more important) form of victimisation, the TRC has failed dismally in its quest for truth and reconciliation. (Terreblanche S, 2002:125)

No doctor can give proper medication without a proper diagnosis of the illness. It is only once the reality of what happened has been faced that healing can begin. Ramphela also makes a similar diagnosis in her observation:

...we face dilemmas in transcending the divisions and values we inherited from apartheid. Forging an identity as a non-racial, non-sexist, egalitarian society, the kind of society to which we committed ourselves in our constitution, requires us to lay to rest the ghosts of racism, sexism, ethnic chauvinism and authoritarianism. These are stubborn ghosts that will not be easily exorcised, with an enduring global resonance that has proven tenacious even in mature democracies. (2008:25)

Theresa Oakley-Smith, managing director of Absolute Indaba and a contributing editor of *The Star*, makes the following observation while decrying the lack of diversity that was displayed by Hellen Zille in choosing an all-male and almost all-white cabinet:

This lack of diversity in political groupings is symptomatic of a broader South African malaise.

We are blessed with a broad range of diversity, we are one of the most diverse nations in the world – and yet, after 15 years of democracy we still gravitate towards people who look like us...

Very few of us have close friends of different races and many of us still feel uncomfortable in neighbourhoods where people look or behave differently from us. (*The Star, Crossing the Great Racial Divide*, May 18 2009)

Racism dies hard even in places that appear quite liberal today. I am here referring to Canada. There is a sad story that occurred in Canada around the 1930's regarding Herb Carnegie, a hockey player who was regarded as a wizard in hockey. But because he was black, "Herb Carnegie never made it to the NHL (National Hockey League)".

In his day, Carnegie was a blur on skates, but he would never get further than the Quebec Senior League. In 1938, then – Maple Leaf owner Conn Smythe said he would give \$10, 000 to any man who could "turn Carnegie white". (*Toronto Star*, Wednesday, January 28, 2004)

5.7.1.8 Inequalities

When Mr Nelson Mandela, for example, experienced trips outside prison he could not help noticing the huge difference between the life of white people and the life of black people. He made the following observation:

These trips were instructive on a number of levels. I saw how life had changed in the time I had been away, and because we mainly went to white areas, I saw the extraordinary wealth and ease that whites enjoyed. Though the country was in upheaval and the townships were on the brink of open warfare, white life went on placidly and undisturbed. Their lives were unaffected. (1994:521)

That was another huge travesty of justice against both white and black people perpetrated by the apartheid system. Whites had been successfully insulated against the sufferings of their own fellow human-beings in South Africa. The tragedy is that those two worlds that Mandela spoke about still exist to this day although with a slightly different complexion. In the past, whenever people spoke of “dismantling apartheid” it sounded as fruitless an exercise as trying to unscramble a scrambled egg. The geographical damage that was done by apartheid appears to be permanent: The poor will always be the sufferers who have to spend more money on transport going to work simply because they are black; when there are industrial actions affecting transport black people again continue to suffer because they cannot get to work on time; when there are marches in the city hawkers who happen to be black again suffer because the strikers will loot their stuff and leave them dry.

5.7.1.9 Different race groups operating from distorted perceptions about each other

There is the challenge of dealing with distorted perceptions of people who live in the same country, claiming it as their own, and yet almost all riddled with suspicion about the other. The worst thing about South Africans is that the Afrikaans saying that “dit maak nie saak hoe dun ‘n papier is nie, dit het altyd twee kante” (it does not matter how thin a paper is, it always has two sides) is usually ignored. It is for this reason that Mr Mandela spoke of a system that dehumanises all. He gives the panacea for this in his book:

How would the ANC protect the rights of the white minority? They wanted to know. I said that there was no organization in the history of South Africa to compare with the ANC in terms of trying to unite all the people and races of South Africa. I referred them to the preamble of the Freedom Charter: ‘South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.’ I told them that whites were Africans as well, and that in any future dispensation the majority would need the minority. ‘We do not want to drive you into the sea’... (1994:527)

Here again the KD makes a valid point to illustrate that there are no winners in an oppressive or tyrannical situation:

Apartheid is a system whereby a minority regime elected by one small section of the population is given an explicit mandate to govern in the interests of, and for the benefit of, the white community. Such a mandate or policy is by definition hostile to the common good of all the people. In fact because it tries to rule in the exclusive interests of whites and not in the interests of all, it ends up ruling in a way that is not even in the interests of those whites. It becomes an enemy of all the people. A tyrant. A totalitarian regime. A reign of terror. (1986:23)

5.7.1.10 Could disengagement from political activity be caused by “struggle fatigue” for some?

There is the danger that those who drive reconstruction could be suffering from what has been coined as “struggle fatigue”, that is, tiredness from being constantly engaged in a continuous fight in one form or another against apartheid. But even if they did not suffer from this, there is this very human element of those who were involved in the struggle that they should in a way serve their own interests first and an understandable stance of entitlement. Jean-Paul Sartre in his Preface to Frantz Fanon’s Book has described the onset of this fatigue of oppressed people in the following manner:

Sheer physical fatigue will stupefy them. Starved and ill, if they have any spirit left, fear will finish the job; guns are levelled at the peasant; civilians come to take over his land and force him by dint of flogging to till the land for them. If he shows fight, the soldier’s fire and he’s a dead man; if he gives in, he degrades himself and he is no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up his character and make his inmost self fall to pieces. The business is conducted with flying colours and by experts: the ‘psychological services’ weren’t established yesterday; nor was brain-washing. And yet, in spite of all their efforts their ends are not achieved... (Fanon, 1963:13)

The efforts to destroy the leaders of the struggle and even the ordinary people who suffered did not succeed indeed because the majority has emerged strong and decisive. But that should not deceive the people into thinking that there have been no scars emanating from the battle against oppression. There are people of all colours, who have this belief that it is possible now to forget what happened and move on. This researcher strongly agrees that South Africans cannot linger for too long on the past. The past becomes extremely complicated and at times incorrigible for it has tarnished all, both oppressor and oppressed. It definitely must be used as a point of reference though because it is the people's history and it is what made them who they are. Jean-Paul Sartre says it succinctly:

Our victims know us by their scars and by their chains, and it is this that makes their evidence irrefutable. It is enough that they show us what we made of them for us to realise what we have made of ourselves. (op. cit. p12)

Personal pride might make people deny the facts of oppression. But this denial is far more dangerous to any transforming society in that there will be no proper diagnosis of challenges and thus no correct remedy that can be applied. It does not need a rocket scientist to understand the implications of these denials. There is no way people can live for years in the mud and filth of apartheid, both oppressed and oppressors, and still come out of that situation unscathed. For example, Archbishop Tutu Emeritus recounts how difficult it had been during the first meetings of the TRC for people to trust each other:

We came from diverse backgrounds and we were to discover that apartheid had affected us all in different ways. We learned to our chagrin that we were a microcosm of South African society, more deeply wounded than we had at first imagined. We found that we were often very suspicious of one another and that it was not easy to develop real trust in one another. We realised only later that we were all victims of a potent conditioning which gave us ready made judgments of those who belonged to other groupings, although we

would, most of us, have protested vehemently that we were not using stereotypes. (1999:70)

The above should really dispel the tendency to deny that years of oppression left scars on the lives of the people of South Africa. Apartheid was not just an enemy of black people. It was a highly toxic attack on the community of South Africa. This attack came in many varied forms as Ramphela points out. It was also under-girded by the abuse of the security systems of the country and the corruption of the personnel running those systems, as Tutu realised at the TRC hearings. That is why it is so vital to have this transformation which Ramphela describes in the following words:

The term 'transformation' is used here to denote fundamental changes in the structures, institutional arrangements, policies, modes of operation and relationships within society. (2008:13)

The lifting of the lid from a boiling pot brings its own challenges and fair share of violent protests. There are reasons for this:

After decades of exploitation and repression, and after two decades of creeping poverty and rising unemployment, the poorer segment of the population (almost exclusively black) was living in abject poverty and destitution. It was indeed going to be an enormous task to get the South African economy going again, to restore its international standing and to reconcile the distributional conflicts that the transformation from the apartheid regime towards a democratic dispensation unleashed. (Kakwanja P and Kondlo K, 2009:107)

5.7.1.11 Globalisation and the negative effects of multinationals and market forces

Today governments are unable to secure freedom for those they govern. The operative word in the twenty-first century is *profits*. The profit motif leads to a smaller labour force being needed to do the work which used to be done by

many people. Mechanisation of work has led to huge unemployment. Outsourcing of work has deprived many workers of social benefits such as pensions and medical aid, just to name but a few of these ills. Malls in the black townships have killed the corner shops. This appears to be the new kairos and is much more difficult than the fight against apartheid. It is captured in the words of Patrick Bond who describes a phenomenon called global apartheid:

The phenomenon of global apartheid is defined by Washington-based Africa advocates Salih Booker and Bill Minter as ‘an international system of minority rule whose attributes include differential access to basic human rights, wealth and power. (2004:4)

This is the new challenge that is facing the world and governments. Whereas there used to be nation states, today they are merely nation states by name only. Markets determine what governments will do. Kim Yong Bock states in an article quoted by the researcher:

The nation state was supposed to be the political expression of the people’s will and sovereignty. It was to provide security against foreign enemies and socio-economic threats, and to ensure the welfare of all the people. Now in many ways its role is superseded by the corporate powers, that is, *the trans-national powers in the global market* (my emphasis). (Quoted by Mabuza in Speckman & Kaufmann, 2001:108)

A similar view is mentioned by Terreblanche in his analysis of the situation after apartheid in South Africa:

But with the rise of global capitalism and the ideology of neo-colonialism, power relations within the industrialised countries (the so-called Rich North) shifted drastically towards private sector corporations. In all capitalist-oriented countries – but especially those of the Rich North – power has been concentrated in the hands of the relatively small managerial elite of large corporations which control not

only huge economies and financial resources, but also formidable ideological and propaganda power... the economic, financial, and ideological power concentrated in the Rich North has also increased dramatically vis-à-vis that of the governments of countries in the Poor South. (Terreblanche, 2002:104)

Yong Bock though, maintains that governments are not completely powerless. They can still do something for their people.

Still, a truly democratic state can do much for the people. But increasingly the political effectiveness of liberal democracy is being questioned, even as dictatorial states are being rejected. The result is political helplessness. (Speckman & Kaufmann, 2001:108)

In other words, the challenge is for good leadership even in such situations. A good leader is not afraid to make tough decisions as long as he or she knows that they will benefit the people. Ramphela again comes to the fore when this point is raised:

Leadership is vital for this shift to occur, whether at the personal, family, community, institutional or societal levels. Good leaders expand the boundaries of possibility to enable others to reach beyond what they thought were their limits. (2008:27)

Governments find themselves unable to carry out social programmes that have meaning even though there is no doubt that the will is there. Witness the many uprisings where people are crying for service delivery for which people are no longer prepared to wait. It is what they see happening in front of their eyes that causes this restlessness. The media plays no small part in directing the minds of people to issues that make them angry. Whilst it is understandable that the media has to do its work by exposing what is happening in the country, there are also many good things that have been done since the democratic government took over. Little is said of them.

It is also a fact that the new government has to compete with the private sector in salaries and other incentives. There have been endless fights between trade unions and the government and the Church's voice has not been heard. It is no longer a struggle against apartheid. It is about how to put food on the table. This is the challenge to both State and Church. The whole point about the Kairos Document, indeed, about the struggle for liberation, was so that people may not just be free, but actually have the minimum of their needs met. People want to be employed and be able to live healthy lives.

5.8 The promotion of transformation in South Africa

5.8.1 Democracy creates space for the continuous struggle towards full humanity

The question continues to be asked as to why in this new democratic dispensation, there seems to be a growing turmoil of protest against those who are the custodians of democracy. There is such a surprisingly high militancy in the protests that at times one would gain the impression that nothing has been done, since the new dispensation, to change the material conditions of the people. There is no doubt that there are unfulfilled needs. The Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT) organised a celebration, in 1995, of ten years after the publication of the original Kairos Document in 1985. At that celebration there was a review of the three types of theologies as had been propounded by the KD. It is so remarkable that one of the testaments could well have been published yesterday in 2009:

While democracy and justice have made tremendous gains since the writing of the first Kairos Document, many people today experience a deep sense of disappointment, even disillusionment and anger. Many of the changes which people expected have not materialised. This is often described as the non-delivery of all that had been promised and hoped for. (Dladla, 1996:70-71)

While it is understandable that there are serious protests over poor service delivery, the new leadership has been voted for by the vast majority and appears willing to listen. So, ten years after the publication of the KD, the Kairos theologians agreed that Romans Chapter 13 had become applicable in that the new government was a democratically-elected one and could not be looked at as “undemocratic and illegitimate” (Dladla op cit:p76). The new government had become acceptable:

If the present government is democratic and legitimate, then we must now regard it as God’s servant working for our good and we are obliged, in terms of Romans 13, to obey the state. (ibid.)

Where does the Church fit in now? Archbishop Buti Tlhagale, in a special letter to the new President, Mr Jacob Zuma, made the following plea:

The greatest legacy that any leader can leave behind is one of enhanced dignity for all the people of South Africa. This dignity will be enhanced by choices, policies and programmes that are life giving. I would like to be part of this future and to see the churches and other faith-based communities contributing to the building of a life giving culture in South Africa. (*Sunday Times*, April 26, 2009)

One of the reasons for the slowness in nation building could be that at times some of those who are governing have adopted the same tendencies as those who were their masters before: Ramphele refers to China Achebe’s critique of post-colonial masters:

Achebe ascribes this failure of leadership to ‘the failure of our rulers to re-establish vital links with the poor and dispossessed of this country’. (2008:68)

It is thus essential to take intellectuals such as Ramphele seriously because they speak from a proven record of their involvement in the struggle against apartheid. The following words from her need to be noted:

The challenge for our young democracy is whether the political elites will rise to the task of establishing these vital links with all those who are poor and vulnerable. Such links are essential for the development of an ethos of civic duty amongst those serving the public that would compel them to put the interests of the poor people first. (ibid.)

Ramphela's words are also echoed by Archbishop Tlhagale in the open letter already cited above:

The voices of civil society and the faith-based community are important, but most important are the voices of the marginalised, the suffering and those who are not yet living the South African dream. (ibid.)

The other side of the coin, of course, is that there should be a commensurate effort to assist the poor to stand up and use the space created by the new dispensation. Mr Mandela, speaking about an ANC manifesto that combined the Reconstruction and Development Programme with affirmative action, called "A Better Life for All", gave the following warning:

Just as we told the people what we would do, I felt we must also tell them what we could not do. Many people felt life would change overnight after a free and democratic election, but that would be far from the case. Often I said to the crowds, 'Do not expect to be driving a Mercedes the day after the election or swimming in your own backyard pool.' I told our supporters, 'Life will not change dramatically, except that you will have increased your self-esteem and become a citizen in your own land... I challenged them. I did not patronize them... if you want better things, you must work hard. We cannot do it all for you; you must do it yourselves'. (1994:605)

South Africa is not going to grow from self-praise alone even though it is necessary not to be cynical about success and progress. Whilst it is acceptable to constantly express encouraging statements about the "rainbow

nation”, there is a need for a critical examination of where South Africans are and where they want to be. It will not help in the development of the country to use intimidating accusations such as labelling critics as Afro-pessimists when people express critical statements regarding the slowness of progress in the new democracy.

Being self-critical is a bitter medicine which has to be taken by South Africans if a strong nation of self-reliant people is to develop to its maximum potential. South Africans should not do things to please the world only but should do them to please themselves mainly. If it is true that in ordinary life those individuals who do not indulge in a critical analysis of their own actions seldom reach very far, it should also be true of any nation. If it is true that a person who always lives on blaming others, rightly or wrongly, does not get very far in life so too is it true with a nation that attributes all blame to others. Much as the Bible says one cannot live by bread alone, nations cannot live by blame alone, if that slight distortion of Jesus’ saying could be allowed.

On the other hand, while the turmoil over service delivery mentioned above may appear to be disorderly and anarchic, it could be that the protesters are letting leaders know that their votes must not be taken for granted and that their liberation is non-negotiable. There is perhaps a thin line between a timocratic government – government by those who love honour – and a democratic one in which government is by the people, for the people and of the people. Freire’s words must not be ignored:

The revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the sake of the leaders, but by both acting together in unshakable solidarity. This solidarity is born only when the leaders witness to it by their humble, loving and courageous encounter with the people. (1970:124)

Perhaps herein lies the source of so much disgruntlement from the people, that they feel unloved and used. It could be that people want to see evidence of care and compassion from their leadership. Siphamandla Zondi, quoted

earlier, makes it clear that it is absolutely vital to have leaders who have vision and are prepared to lead in a bold manner: But he also decries the fact that no political party seems to be training leaders specifically to lead with a view to inspiring their own communities:

We need more than bricks and mortar. We need principled and conscientious leadership at a local level. We need men and women whose personal motives are to inspire and mobilise communities to take charge of their own development. No party can claim to have this calibre of leadership because none has a deliberate programme of leadership development. (*The Star*, July 28, 2009)

Freire makes the following apt observation that the oppressed tend to be emotionally dependent on their liberators and the liberators know this and will take advantage of it.

Using their dependence to create an even greater dependence is an oppressor tactic. (1970:53)

Liberators must understand that it is their duty to help the people who have become dependent so that they are able to reflect and act and help them to be independent. The researcher has already pointed out that the liberation of anyone is a sacred right. It is for this reason that people give their lives so that others may be free:

However, not even the best-intentioned leadership can bestow independence as a gift. The liberation of the oppressed is a liberation of men (sic), not things (my emphasis). Accordingly, while no one liberates himself by his own efforts alone, neither is he liberated by others. Liberation, a human phenomenon, cannot be achieved by semi-humans... (ibid.)

As this researcher pointed out elsewhere in this thesis (see 5.7.1.6 Political Patronage; 5:10 Kairos and Liberation) it others to then a is unacceptable for

people who liberate others to then abuse them by using methods such as patronage which creates further dependency:

When men are already dehumanized, due to the oppression they suffer, the process of their liberation must not employ the methods of dehumanisation. (ibid.)

5.8.2 Detoxification of the apartheid mentality: A necessity for transformation

It is a difficult matter to talk as if there is now complete freedom when there are still quite a number of serious issues to deal with. Ramphele calls them the ghosts that must be laid to rest:

The process of transformation to normalise South Africa has at its core the laying to rest of these lingering ghosts lest they continue to haunt our future. The most stubborn ghosts are those whose names we are often too afraid to mention: racism, ethnic chauvinism, sexism, and authoritarianism. (op. cit. p10)

The apartheid era and particularly the days when the apartheid government was also fighting hard to retain its power, was a time of crisis. There had been this fallacy that after apartheid life would return to “normal”, and thus the end of the kairos. To reconstruct a new society even as the country is engaged in deconstructing apartheid is proving to be even more difficult as the South African icon, Mandela, pointed out above (1994:617). Transformation or substantial change is very demanding. Ramphele’s words on transformation cannot be ignored:

Transformation of a society entails a complete change in both form and substance, a metamorphosis, as happens in life cycles of insects such as butterflies...

The scale and scope South Africa embarked on after apartheid is without precedence. The country has had to wrestle simultaneously

with political, economic and social transformation at all levels.
(Ramphela, 2008:13)

The statement above intimates that the burden on the leaders driving transformation is immeasurable. Leadership of this kind would demand single-mindedness and extremely selfless altruism. Ramphela also introduces a spiritual dimension to that leadership even as she elucidates the type of change that is envisioned:

Shifting the frame of reference is about transcendence. It is a deeply spiritual matter that forces one to be true to deep convictions even if one may be going against conventional wisdom. (2008:27)

Ramphela illustrates this change very clearly and this researcher agrees with her completely in this view and supports the following statement from her concerning transformation:

It is about making oneself vulnerable by abandoning known ways of seeing the world and engaging with others to explore different approaches. (ibid.)

5.8.3 The need for constant vigilance to safeguard liberation

Among the liberated there will also be the new oppressors who want to practice how to wield power over others. To this researcher there will always be a *kairos* until everyone is truly and decisively free. As Taylor points out above, the people themselves need to know that nothing now stands between them and their progress in life. Half measures will not do and the efforts which end up creating a huge dependency syndrome will not liberate anyone. Dependency is another form of oppression because people become indebted to the one on whom they depend.

When we want to help the poor, we usually offer them charity. Most often we use charity to avoid recognizing the problem and finding a

solution for it. Charity becomes a way to shrug off our responsibility. But charity is no solution for poverty. Charity only perpetuates poverty by taking the initiative away from the poor. Charity allows us to go ahead with our lives without worrying about the lives of the poor. Charity appeases our consciences. (Yunus M, 1999:249)

Yunus' point for is unarguably true. But one would not like to discard charity altogether because there are times and situations which can only be helped by charity simply because the recipient is down and out. Charity then becomes like the oxygen mask for when someone cannot breathe on one's own but requires some assistance. There is thus sometimes a place charity before development. But definitely charity alone and as an end in itself cannot be viewed as development and consistent charity creates dependency. Ivan Illich argues that charity can also be used for control of the other:

Welfare is not a cultural hammock. It is an unprecedented mediation of scarce resources through agents who not only define what need is, and certify where it exists, but also closely supervise its remedy – with or without the needy's approval. Social insurance is not reliance on community support in case of disaster. Rather it is one of the ultimate forms of political control in a society in which protection against future risks is valued higher than access to present satisfaction or joy. (Sachs, 1992:96)

Being a black person in South Africa or in Africa sometimes gives the impression that it is an easy matter for rulers to feed their dictatorial appetite on those over whom they exercise control. It is for this reason that Nelson Mandela's pledge is so significant when he said at his inauguration:

We have, at last, achieved our emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

Never, never, never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another... (emphasis mine) The

sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement. Let freedom reign. God bless Africa! (1994:614)

Culture can, at times, also be abused as people become coerced into living in a particular way and are made to believe that the only life worth living is one where people live under certain specific rules. The immediate question is why do some want to control others? As democracy develops a new culture develops in which elected people act, not as servants of the people but as “bosses” because they are in control. It should never be forgotten that those who are elected should be servants of the people who elected them and should help in creating conditions in which people feel the difference of moving from oppression to liberation. People who serve should not be the ones who eat the food first before those they serve have eaten. One of the serious dangers in the liberation of people is the diversion that has been brought about by an unparalleled consumerism and a gluttony for acquisitions.

It has been said that the African National Congress’ Polokwane Conference is regarded by many as a prophetic life-changing episode because it was a radical response to and utter rejection of government by patronage as another form of subtle oppression. What happened at that conference may not have had a semblance of religion, but standing for the truth is as much a religious exercise as praying. When people reclaim their freedom, it is a religious exercise because freedom is God-given. The poor cannot be helped by a “helicopter” approach when dealing with their plight, just because the socio-political practitioner happens to be in better social circumstances than the poor. Jesus, for example, comes as:

...one of the poor, and as a poor man who showed solidarity with other poor people. (Pixley and Boff, 1989:58)

Indeed, the KD also mentions this point quite clearly:

Throughout his life Jesus associated himself with the poor and the oppressed and as the suffering (or oppressed) servant of Yahweh he suffered and died for us. "Ours were the sufferings he bore, ours the sorrows he carried" (Is. 53:4). He continues to do so even today. (1986:20)

It could be added here that it was not just about poor people but all the marginalised people of the world. Witness the number of daring encounters he made with the Samaritan woman at the well, or the man mugged on the road to Jericho, or Zaccheus the tax collector. Brueggemann calls it compassion:

Compassion constitutes a radical form of criticism, for it announces that the hurt is to be taken seriously, that the hurt is not to be accepted as normal and natural but is an abnormal and unacceptable condition of humanness. (1978:85)

The KD did not spell out what kind of liberation or freedom was possible, nor did the Kairos theologians spell out what was desirable. Within the legitimate clamour for service delivery, there should also be the awareness that the new democracy has come to create space for people to self-actualise. It would not be surprising if the new democratic government is striving to bring awareness to its citizens that people and communities can stand up and take responsibility for their lives. There is also a sense in which the uprisings are the flexing of muscles and an unmistakable refusal to be abused again by the powerful. It is truly ironic that what the KD said in 1986 can easily be repeated today even under the new dispensation. At the time of apartheid the following words were extremely relevant:

On the other hand we have those who do not benefit from the system the way it is now. They are treated as mere labour units, paid starvation wages... and all for the benefit of a privileged minority... They are no longer prepared to be crushed, oppressed and exploited. They are determined to change the system radically so that it no longer

benefits only the privileged few. And they are willing to do this even at the cost of their own lives. What they want is justice for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or status. (KD, 1986:21)

5.8.4 The importance of faith and personal transformation in contributing towards radical change in communities

The words of Nico Basson show how a person can be truly transformed and become a positive contributor to bringing about change in the country. He was born of conservative parents in the then Northern Transvaal and had been a soldier in the South African Defence Force (SADF) which was regarded as the arch enemy of the oppressed. He had served in Namibia as a soldier where the SADF had engaged in serious excesses. Basson decided to expose those excesses. He wrote:

I think peace and stability in this country (South Africa) can only be achieved when the individual goes through a transformation process. I changed my viewpoints after a long process of self discovery and development in the spiritual field. We must become facilitators of attitudes. We must change rigid attitudes towards a more open and holistic society... (Article: *Total Onslaught* in Tribute Magazine, 1992:30)

The above shows how important it is for people who want to be involved in transformation to be prepared to forego old paradigms with a view to creating new ones. Diamond cuts diamond as the saying goes. A change of paradigm is one of the most difficult exercises in a human-being's life, as this researcher can testify. Few people understand the power of accepting vulnerability once one's vision has changed. It often involves huge sacrifices which may include loss of life. This is the hidden and paradoxical power behind the crucifixion. For Jesus to be able to change the world it needed him to be crucified. The Mandelas, Sobukwes, Sisulus, Bikos, Hellen Josephs, Lillian Ngoyis all had to undergo their own form of "crucifixion" before they could be effective in bringing about change. The story of Ramphela herself is another example. And she makes it clear what type of leadership could drive that change:

Leadership is vital for this change to occur, whether at a personal, family, community, institutional or societal levels. Good leaders expand the boundaries of possibility to enable others to reach beyond what they thought were the limits. (ibid.)

Ramphela's views above also coincide with the researcher's in his belief that it is not just leaders who are benevolent that are needed for transformation. It is also very vital to have inspiring leaders who are able to awaken the true spirit of the people to stand up and regain their own pride in doing things for themselves especially when space for this has been created. Wounded people do not need leaders who encourage a victim mentality which constantly feeds upon blame, whether that blame is legitimate or not. Wounds must be dressed and it is well-known how persistent hurt can be and how indelible the marks of wounds of oppression can be; but there are people who have already paid the ultimate price for this liberation and created space which must be taken full advantage of.

The well-known stories of people such as Viktor Frankel about how they survived Hitler's concentration camps, and the South African heroes of the struggle, Nelson Mandela and the men with him at Robben Island, including Robert Sobukwe who was in isolation on Robben Island, gave all people an awareness of a new way of life, a philosophy that made it possible for victims of heinous oppression to realise that it was not what happened to you that mattered most but rather what it is that you do in life with what happened to you. There are countless women who not only stood by their husbands but who also fought for the struggle in their own right, while others joined the liberation armies against oppression. They chose to be in control of their situation rather than be controlled by it. It is these men and women of tremendous resilience who remain a reservoir of strength for South Africans.

The power of religion in general, and in the researcher's case, Christianity in particular, to give courage to many people so deprived has been the reason why many down-trodden people espoused this religion. The present researcher can at this stage only speak of Christianity specifically because of

personal experience, and is not intending to pit Christianity against other religions. The restoration of dignity and self-respect goes with the recognition of one's ability to think for oneself. Part of the new democratic dispensation should include this resuscitation of self-respect and recognition of other people's thinking capabilities. Moltmann's words in this regard are incisive. He states that the Gospel announces the Lordship of God (Yahweh) which will be limitless and boundless and brings with it righteousness, fellowship and peace. The announcement is addressed to all those who experience life as misery. These are the prisoners, all those who are poor and oppressed and whose lives are filled with hopelessness.

The message that God has seized the power over his enslaved people is the call to the new exodus: "Awake, awake, put on your strength. O Zion... loose the bonds from your neck... (Is.52:11f)... The new exodus into freedom surpasses the old one through its festive character... In the proximity of the rule of God, what was till then impossible becomes possible. (1977:78)

One of the most outstanding outcomes of liberation by God is that one is now able to choose, whereas before, because the person had been so poor and oppressed, choice was a luxury. Much as Moltmann puts it poetically this researcher fully endorses his view on liberation:

The fetters are no longer binding. They can be thrown away. Weakness is no longer unnerving. Men can lay hold of its strength. Dust is no longer degrading. It can be shaken off. In the proximity of the rule of God, that is to say, 'petrified conditions begin to dance'. Hope becomes realistic because reality is full of every potentiality. Even though liberation is made possible through the message 'God is king', yet it is equally the act of men who 'free themselves', who repent and go forth. (ibid.)

The above mentioned words add to this researcher's argument that in most cases people's liberation is not treated as a sacred right, nor is it treated with

the respect and dignity it deserves. It is thus very essential that people who were in the dumps, who were down and out, hopelessly oppressed, must themselves be participatory to their development. It is dangerous “to do things for people” as that kind of act will merely serve to increase people’s reliance upon things being done for them:

Participation is practised widely in development circles... It inspires what is sometimes referred to as the ‘non-operational’ approach which refuses to do things for people or over their heads but at the very least works with them and at best enables them to do what they are perfectly capable of doing for themselves. (Taylor, 2000:100)

One of the essential requirements of any leader is to rekindle among the people that confidence to know and act with the understanding that people are born with dignity and sufficient capacity to think for themselves. People must be free to even make mistakes as long as the process is about learning:

[Participation] guards against the notion that outsiders know best, even if an outsider’s perspective can be useful. It accepts that people, whether rich or poor, are as wise as anyone about what is best for them and how to bring it about. Participation respects their ability to and assumes that everyone has a contribution to make... (ibid.)

5.8.5 The revival of Ubuntu as a way of life for South Africa’s transformation

It is this researcher’s contention that if action for liberation is devoid of compassionate leadership it becomes an exercise in both egotism and narcissism. Compassion should always be the driving force for wanting to lead or for agreeing to lead when requested to do so by the populace. It is the same compassion that Africans refer to as ubuntu. Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, Chairperson of University of Cape Town Council, gives the following explanation:

In Africa, the word “ubuntu” wonderfully encapsulates so much... It means “I am, because we belong together”. It is to live and care for others, being kind, just, fair, compassionate, trustworthy, honest, assisting those in need and upholding good morals. Ubuntu is about generous magnanimity towards others – especially those who are different. Ubuntu can help us in the vital task of forging a South African identity. (Article: *Another View*, *Sunday Times*, August 9, 2009)

To be abused again after the struggle for liberation is supposed to have been won is unacceptable. The word cruelty is used here because nothing can ever justify the erosion of people’s rights again after a liberation war had been won and new leaders have taken over. It does happen at times that some former comrades of the struggle can stand in solidarity with leaders who have lost the plot and no longer have the vision they once had of a free people. Freire’s thesis hits the nail on the head when he says:

Not all men (sic) have sufficient courage for this encounter – but when men avoid encounter they become inflexible and treat others as mere objects, instead of nurturing life, they kill life; instead of searching for life, they flee from it. And these are oppressor characteristics. (1970:124)

What runs through Christian theology is this powerful metaphor of life where John quotes Jesus telling his disciples that:

I came that they might have life and have it in abundance. (John, 10:10)

Echegaray also states quite clearly:

Jesus chose the way of complete solidarity with the masses. A power not based on this kind of solidarity would have been power founded on a lie... a power not exercised in solidarity with the masses is a

perfidious power and a power threatened at its very foundations.
(1980:30)

The above simply means that anyone who does not mind being led by leaders who despise them has been completely subjugated. Echegaray further emphatically makes the point that:

Jesus does not accept hierarchies built on a foundation of wealth and oppression. (1980:87)

5.9 The KD and economic justice

Kairos theologians had not realised that political liberation was toothless without economic liberation. The number of uprisings calling for service delivery against the democratically elected government attests to this. The KD concentrated more on the system of apartheid with its core of racism without emphasising that the refusal to share resources of the land equally was the driving force behind the oppressive system. Mamphela Ramphela elucidates this point quite unequivocally:

Political freedom without economic power has proved meaningless to countless post-colonial countries. This becomes apparent when one compares the post-colonial development of African countries with that of the 'Asian tigers' (Hong Kong, Singapore, North Korea and Taiwan). These Asian countries first achieved economic power, which led to high levels of economic growth and industrialisation, resulting in their establishing themselves as developed countries by the end of the 20th century. (2008:21)

This researcher agrees wholly with Ramphela that for political freedom to be truly experienced as genuine liberation it should go hand in hand with economic power. That was the reason why people were oppressed and precisely why people fought against their oppression. The serious offence of apartheid was not just about discrimination. It was also about human dignity.

The African Ubuntu had been grossly violated. The philosophy and spirituality of Ubuntu says:

Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu (IsiZulu)

Motho ke motho ka batho (SeSotho)

A human being is a human being through other human beings

This ubuntu philosophy, which is the core of this researcher's culture, involves quite a number of issues which are also evident in other people's writings. For example, ubuntu philosophy would be in agreement with Pobee's view that the poor are not only those without power, but also those with power:

Poverty is a reminder of the heartlessness in the world and by the same token a call to the rich and powerful to return to their humanity. (1987:67)

It is a fact though, that while economic freedom is the sine qua non of any liberation, it comes with a certain price: realignment of norms and values and a change of behaviour. It does become an unavoidable irony when those who were materially poor during the time of the struggle suddenly become well to do and actually begin to flaunt it. What usually happens in instances like these is that those who suddenly become well-to-do begin to develop an attitude towards their peers who are still wallowing in dire poverty. The reason for this seems to be, as Pobee observes:

The issue of poverty is of course linked with issues of power. Wealth goes with power. (1987:61)

5.10 The KD and liberation

What then is freedom? Or put in a different way, what is liberation? What is the core of it? The researcher reluctantly observes that when decolonisation in Africa began in Ghana in the early 1960's there has not been a commensurate tendency to respect the God-given right of persons to be truly

free. For example, the Gospel perspective on liberation is based on the fact that whenever people came to Jesus he would ask them one question: “What would you wish I do for you?” Jesus never imposed himself on people. The power to choose is a sacred one and belongs to those who experience freedom and has always to be respected (see p220 above). The kind of God who says, “Listen! I stand at the door and knock” (Rev 3:20 Today’s English Version) makes a statement that ultimately the choice is yours to open the door simply because even if God has the power to do so, God leaves that prerogative to the individual to make a choice. Leaders of the people need to respect that right for people to choose. Ellul empowers his readers when he says that to accept liberation means the following:

Accepting freedom is to recognise that one is under the protection of God alone. Conversely, to put oneself under the protective authority of God is to be free. To seek any other protection whether it be in the army, in fortresses, in alliances, or in the state, is to fall into slavery again. If there is freedom only because God frees Israel, an exclusive relation between Israel and God is implied, and the liberator is thus the only security that this people can find. (1976:97)

To have power should not necessarily be viewed as an evil in itself. It is the use of it that is of material importance here. It is impossible to claim solidarity with the poor masses while exhibiting symptoms of dominance in whatever form, as Ellul so brilliantly articulated above. The reason for this proviso is found in Helder Camara’s words again:

The temptation of people endured to long centuries of domination, which have deprived them, and still deprive them, of the right to think, to make decisions, and to act, is to wait passively until they are told what they must do. When the lay and religious animators who devote themselves to them tell them that they have not come to act for them but with them, they come up against the fear of brutal repression; the poor do not dare to speak, to express themselves, to act, for fear of being crushed by the strong. (1979:49)

Camara makes a very valid point especially when he mentions how people who have “endured long centuries of domination” have had their God-given ability to think being filtered away by deprivation, and how those same people were afraid to make decisions because of the fear of brutal repression. Fear becomes a powerful instrument for the conditioning of the mind.

Freire’s words hit the mark here in support of the researcher’s agreement with Camara:

...the oppressed, who have adapted to the structure of domination in which they are immersed, and have become resigned to it, are inhibited from waging the struggle for freedom so long as they feel incapable of running the risks it requires. (1970:32)

While the KD did not spell out in detail the desired outcome with regard to the type of freedom it was advocating, it nevertheless looked to a futuristic result:

A prophetic theology of our times will focus attention on the future. What kind of future do the oppressed people of South Africa want? What kind of future do the political organisations of the people want? What kind of future does God want? And how, with God’s help are we going to secure that future for ourselves? We must begin to plan the future now but above all we must heed God’s call to action to secure God’s future for ourselves in South Africa. (1986:26)

5.10.1 The search for liberation: A continuous process

The kind of freedom that was being envisaged was not politically explicit and the KD did not insist on spelling out what true liberation would entail. The KD did not state what it is that frees people to be who they want to be. If it was a business it could be said that the KD did not spell out key performance areas (KPA’s) with which the liberation could be gauged once it had been attained. It is not surprising then when other people begin to wonder whether the eyes of the people were distracted and their gaze removed from the ball:

Electing a democratically legitimate government should never have been understood as somehow delegating our obligation to continue to safeguard and deepen that democracy. Hence, standing back today and citing a lack of decisive leadership from government is not a valid position to take. The question is: how did we fail to advance the transformation that in 1994, at least, we could acknowledge would require radical structural transformation? (Isobel Frye, Director at Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute, *Sunday Times*, June 8, 2009)

Frye gives some explanation for this lack of foresight:

Part of the explanation might be that, in the moment of victory, we lost faith in ourselves. The gargantuan task that lay before us covered our belief that we could fashion a nation along the principles that had always guided us – equality, dignity and freedom. We chose to be guided by international voices, who hailed our victory in one breath, yet gave us the “real rules” of the game [in the] next. (ibid.)

The KD was also too cautious and not bold enough to say what would safeguard people’s freedom. To be governed does not imply subservience to some powerful individual or group of individuals who alone call the tune. The KD mentions that as much as the Jews were under the yoke of the Romans, they also suffered from internal oppression:

In the time of Jesus the Jews were oppressed by the Romans, the great imperial superpower of those days. But what was far more immediate and far more pressing was the internal oppression of the poor and the ordinary people by the Herods, the rich, the chief priests and elders, the Sadducees and the Pharisees. These were the groups who were experienced more immediately as oppressors... (1986:20)

The above is very interesting because it could have certain implications regarding what actually constitutes oppression. The KD speaks of Rome as

the imperial power of the day using surrogates to govern those in Rome's domain. There have been quite a number of examples where one type of oppression was substituted for another. Today there are different forms of superpowers: for example the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). At the tenth commemoration of the publication of the KD, Kairos Theologians who had re-assembled, including invited overseas partners, issued a report in the form of a booklet entitled *Kairos 95 – At The Threshold of Jubilee*. The title of the report had been the theme of the conference. (The researcher was then General Secretary of the ICT and had engineered the commemoration with Dr Molefe Tsele as the organiser of the conference.)

5.10.2 The indivisibility of freedom

It is mind-boggling how tyranny actually imprisons even those who run it and keep it going. Those who are oppressors also need to be liberated from an oppressive system. The KD does imply this view in the following words:

As Christians we are called upon to love our enemies (Mt 5:44). .. once we have identified our enemies, we must endeavour to love them. That is not always easy. But then we must also remember that the most loving thing we can do for both the oppressor and for our enemies who are oppressors is to eliminate the oppression, remove the tyrants from power and establish a just government for the common good of all the people. (1986:24)

Nelson Mandela was unequivocal about the need to liberate whites also: He mentioned that freedom was indivisible:

It was during these long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed... I am not truly free when I take away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I

am not free when my freedom is taken away from me. The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity. (1994:617)

One of the scourges of oppression is that it tends to leave a mark on both oppressor and oppressed and it could be that the new leaders then emulate their previous masters:

The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor, and adopted his guidelines are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. (Freire, 1970:31)

One would hope that the following words of Michael Taylor would not prove to have been prophetic of the new dispensation in South Africa. Taylor makes a critical view about the Magnificat in Luke 1:46-55. He finds that it does not promote harmony in the power relations between those who were oppressed and their oppressors:

The kind of strategy hinted at in the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55) and informing many a revolution is no solution. To remove the mighty from their thrones and exalt the humble and meek and those of low degree is only to offer another social group the opportunity to behave like the one before, once power is in their hands. One oppressor with his egocentric behaviour is simply replaced by another. (2000:95)

Taylor talks of the possibility of these activists as having exchanged places with their former oppressors and also having appropriated their values. Thus the fight against colonialism does not just then become a fight against injustice alone, but subconsciously becomes a yearning to have what the oppressors have, as it becomes evident that most of the behavioural mode and lifestyle of the oppressor is now inhabited by most of those previously-oppressed and are now in the position of power which brings them closer to the pot of gold. It is indeed interesting that there is a term “previously

disadvantaged” as compared for example with “previously oppressed”. Fanon spoke about some of these previously oppressed leaders when he said:

The colonised man (sic) is an envious man. And this the settler knows very well; when their glances meet he ascertains bitterly, always on the defensive ‘They want to take our place’. It is true, for there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself up in the settler’s place. (1963:30)

The above could be true for ordinary political wrangles where oppression is merely in respect of one party over another. The above-held views by Taylor and Fanon do not hold water in the South African situation. It could be that individuals will behave in such an egocentric and even autocratic manner. But it does mean South Africa is unique because of the checks and balances of its world class constitution safeguarded by a Constitutional Court.

But there are other prophets who are not necessarily Church leaders. The reference here is to Nelson Mandela who stated categorically:

I have never cared very much for personal prizes. A man does not become a freedom fighter in the hope of winning awards... (1994:603)
(Mr Mandela was referring to his excitement when he heard that he and Mr de Klerk had jointly won the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize)

The exemplary leadership style of Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and others, in word and deed, needs to be emulated. One often wonders what South Africa would have been like had these leaders been freed much earlier from Robben Island, and those in exile returned. It remains the task of present-day prophets to guard against what Fanon cautioned against:

In Capitalist societies the educational system, whether lay or clerical, the structure of moral reflexes handed down from father to son (sic), the exemplary honesty of workers who are given a medal after fifty years of good and loyal service, and the affection which springs from harmonious relations and good behaviour – all these aesthetic

expressions of respect for the established order serve to create around the exploited person an atmosphere of submission and of inhibition which lightens the task of policing considerably. In capitalist countries a multitude of moral teachers, counsellors and 'bewilderers' separate the exploited from those in power. (1963:29)

It is noteworthy that Fanon is not specific but generalises about those in power. Fortunately in South Africa lessons from the past have been learnt and chances of the above happening again are slim.

There are two ways of looking at the struggle in relation to Prophetic Theology and the new South African dispensation. It can be accepted that confusion reigned supreme when the announcement came that a new democratic order was coming.

5.10.3 Liberation: Space for reconstruction

It is always easier to stand against than to stand for something. The struggle was against the system of apartheid and that was a clear and measurable target. Reconstruction is far more difficult. Much as apartheid was a heinous crime against humanity, it united all people of goodwill, black and white, to stand up and be counted. In South Africa it can be said that, in spite of the fact that there was no outright military victory against apartheid forces, political and moral victory was assured.

The new dispensation meant that the time for reconstruction had arrived. A number of issues had to be taken into account, however. It had to be acknowledged that there were some formidable, though not insurmountable challenges, militating against a full realisation of the fruits of democracy.

It is unfortunate that, even as South Africa celebrates a democratically-elected government which reputedly has one of the best constitutions in the world, children have been dying unnecessarily from malnutrition and from HIV/Aids. Sadly also, even though apartheid is officially over, South Africa is host to more than two million refugees from Zimbabwe and other neighbouring

countries where there is strife. Others have come into infected by mothers, due to the lack of a comprehensive programme for addressing the issue. Fortunately, the government has again taken up the fight against the pandemic with a new vigour.

Even though South Africa does have an obligation to assist its neighbouring countries, as those countries had done for us during the apartheid years, the huge immigration does put a strain on the country's economy. It is still debatable whether South Africa could have contributed more decisively towards justice and compassion by using more effective methods to bring an end to an oppressive regime in Zimbabwe.

5.11 The meaning of moral and political victory over Apartheid

5.11.1 Resisting the temptation to dwell on bitterness and blame

One of the unintended consequences that comes with oppression was well-captured by Mr Mandela when he alluded to the outcomes which had not been foreseen by the oppressor:

But the decades of oppression and brutality had another unintended effect, and that was that it produced the Oliver Tambos, the Walter Sisulus, the Chief Luthulis, the Yusuf Dadoos, the Bram Fischers, the Robert Sobukwes of our time – men of such extraordinary courage, wisdom and generosity that their like may never be known again. Perhaps it requires such depths of oppression to create such heights of character. My country is rich in the minerals and gems that lie beneath its soil, but I have always known that its greatest wealth is its people, finer and truer than the purest diamonds. (1994:615)

It is very interesting that, whilst Mandela mentions the struggle against the oppression of one human-being by another, even at that time, he had also realised like the KD had, that the fight against apartheid was a fight against a system rather than the people themselves. He simply refused to attack the

persons who had themselves already been dehumanised by a system in which there would never be any winners because oppression always shows up the oppressor as a pathetic loser. Mandela therefore knew that he and his comrades was engaged in fighting the system of apartheid which had imprisoned the very people who had espoused it because they also had no peace. It was a system that capitalised on skin colour or race. Therefore all who lived in this system were imprisoned because all people, whether black or white, had been born with their respective colours and that was never going to change. It is for this reason also that racism is evil whichever way one looks at it. It is also true that racism and power go together and that those that tend to use power find themselves in a position which they use to marginalise others.

There is also the challenge of resisting the temptation to play the blame game whenever it is suitable. This is not a suggestion for abandoning history, otherwise why would there still be commemorations of the holocaust long after it had occurred? It would be wrong to forget that for more than three and a half centuries black people were not just oppressed but were dispossessed of their land, their culture and their dignity. That will stay true whether people remember it or not. But there is also the need to move forward so as to counter the effects of what black people went through and to become a serious player in world affairs. If an individual lives a life of continuously blaming others, whether true or not, that individual usually does not succeed in life. The same is true of a nation.

5.11.2 Eschewing self-pity arising from a mentality of victimhood

The other serious challenge is how to fight against the understandable temptation of living with the mentality of victimhood. In this new democratic South Africa, black people need to know that nobody can now victimise them as they are now running the country. Instead of self-pity and behaving like victims, blacks now need to remember that they are survivors and that they must join the government as it embarks on nation building. The building of a strong and progressive country requires moving forward with the knowledge

that apartheid has been vanquished forever. Of course it cannot just be forgotten that there has been a lot of damage in many ways. But time does not stand still and the need for reconstruction has become increasingly urgent. It has to be admitted though that the past does create a mentality that causes people to stall while gazing on their victimhood even when this mentality prevents their advancement and development. There is always a sphere of control, however small, where the person or individual has to make some kind of choice as was made by people like Nelson Mandela and Victor Frankel and thousands others who, as mentioned earlier, showed in their lives with regard to the torture they suffered and incarceration they experienced that with their strong resilience they could not never be destroyed.

5.12 The long route of the South African Kairos

Reading Sol Plaatjie's book, *Native Life in South Africa*, it becomes clear that the notion that kairos is a one time event must be discarded, considering the setbacks that black people had to suffer since the formation of the union in 1910. The Native Land Act of 1913, for example, which gave rise to blacks becoming "squatters" (2007:50ff), was only meant for black people and no white person in spite of coming from outside South Africa has ever been called a "squatter", even today. Of all the laws in South Africa, this was the most disempowering because it actually made Africans landless and thus without any means of remaining independent:

And no matter what other principles one might read into the Act, it would be found that the principles underlying it were those of extending the 'Free' State land laws throughout the Union – an extension by which natives would be prohibited from investing their earnings in land whereon they could end their days in peace. (ibid.)

It is not surprising that Plaatjie quotes a Wesleyan minister who said about the signing of this Act by the then Governor General:

I blush to think that His Majesty's representative signed a law like this and signed it in such circumstances. (ibid.)

Plaatjie himself agreed with the strong sentiment expressed above:

Personally we must say that if anyone had told us at the beginning of 1913, that a majority of members of the Union parliament were capable of passing a law like the Natives' Land Act, whose objective was to prevent natives from ever rising above the position of servants for whites, we would have regarded that person as a fit subject for the lunatic asylum. (2007:57)

It is not surprising that in Plaatjie's observation the debate concerning this Act created great alarm:

As might have been expected, the debate on the Bill created the greatest alarm amongst the native population, for they had followed its course with the keenest interest. (2007:51)

Countless efforts were made to rectify the situation but without success. The above is mentioned to highlight how in a sense, the Land Act was also part of a kairos for black South Africans. Therefore a kairos is a long process with given moments for people to act. It is for this reason that a new moment in the long kairos could not be amiss even in this new dispensation. An explanation of this view follows below.

The challenges for black people in this country have been many and varied. One of these challenges was brought about by the introduction of a landless population that was turned into squatters on their own land. The 1948 rise to power of the Nationalist Party became another very decisive moment because it brought in a host of extremely disempowering laws against black people and the policy of apartheid became entrenched. Fighting this policy cost lives and many families became scarred for life.

Even now:

Four out of every ten employed South Africans are unable to cope with account payments, and at least one-fifth of civil servants are under garnishee orders, in which they are locked for the next four years.

This is according to Statistics SA data, which show that the number of civil summonses issued for debt increased by more than 10 percent in the three months to May, compared with the same period last year.

(*The Star, Business Report*, July 24, 2009)

The above has been quoted so as to highlight and juxtapose the plight of the unemployed as compared with those who are employed. If the employed feel the pressures of financial vulnerability, what prospects could there be for the unemployed. This is what the former Minister of Social Development, Dr Zola Skweyiya, warned about as mentioned earlier.

Matthew Lester, in a column titled Tax Talk, also makes the point that the government cannot on its own and alone create jobs. He refers to the statistics of the unemployed and says:

Isn't it terrible how flippant we are about these numbers (sic). It doesn't matter what the official unemployment rate is, if you are unemployed, it's 100%. And nobody can tell you how desperate that is, unless they've been there.

The problem is that we confuse "participation" with whingeing.

Our constitution encourages us to debate in everything we do. But we complain and offer no constructive suggestions.

Creating jobs is just not going to happen if we leave it to the government alone. Jobs are found in an ecosystem created by role-players. And South Africa's role-players are at war with one another and it's high time for a cease-fire. (*Business Times* section in the *Sunday Times*, June 14, 2009, Professor of Taxation Studies at Rhodes university)

5.13 The position of the Church in the new South Africa

It can therefore be said that, indeed, increasing poverty and unemployment are some of the elements of the new kairos. Whereas during the apartheid era it was Church versus State, people like Lester are calling for a new matrix for doing things. The Church needs to begin to be realistic in its view of the Kingdom of God. The Lord's Prayer is about calling the Kingdom of God to happen here on earth "as it is in Heaven". Sermons alone are not going to bring about this transformation.

If the Church is not prepared to be in dialogue with not just the State but also with Trade Unions, Big and Small Business and the unemployed, its impact will be minimal. The Church has been too quiet after 1994. Church-State relations do not always have to be antagonistic. South Africa needs to adopt the African family values that prevailed before the confusion that occurred after colonisation that destroyed African culture with its spirituality of ubuntu. Africans had families to which all those of that clan and surname belonged. It is only after colonisation that, as Africans were being deflowered of their culture, they began to speak of extended families as opposed to just 'families'.

The kairos is here no longer caused by the present South African Government as this Government now belongs to the people. Whatever crisis there is in the country it has to involve the Church. The Church in particular seems paralysed in the new dispensation. According to Kumalo the reason for this inertia is to be found in the following:

The Church is suffering from a struggle fatigue. Those who were active then have now become tired. There is also a sense that the Church is asking itself the question: how must it relate to a legitimate government? Things have become complex whereas things have been simple before: the Church was fighting an apartheid system of government ... (Interview)

One seems to sense a paralysis of inaction never experienced before in the South African churches. The Church should not underestimate its ability to effectively influence events in spite of its own weak disposition. Kumalo also made the following point:

The Church needs to have a strong leadership in place, with basic principles and with a particular agenda. There is what we call a *missio ecclesia* where the Church has a mission to itself, and a *Missio Dei* where the Church has a mission of God out there. Thus the Church must strengthen itself because it is only a powerful Church that can withstand powerful forces of oppression. (Interview)

Dr Alan Boesak, addressing a conference on World Mission and Evangelism held in San Antonio, Texas, in May 1989 - and at which the present researcher, who was then director of Mission and Evangelism at the SACC, was leading a delegation from the SACC - pointedly mentioned the following:

The church is not prophetic when we make our decisions in assembly or in the synod or wherever. The church is only prophetic when we have somehow found the courage to live that confession in the world and to live out God's will in the world. (In Wilson, 1990:158)

In that same address, Boesak made the following wish:

It is a wonderful thing to be able to say to your children: "I am in this battle now, but you don't have to worry. But you don't have to fight, because your fight is with other things..." My son will one day speak to this gathering, but he will not come and tell you about children dying, or about children in detention, or about P. W. Botha or whatever their names may be as the years go by. He will not tell you about these things. He will speak to you of other things. Of love, justice, compassion and mercy that our country in the end learned to understand. (op. cit. 161)

Sylvia Talbot, then vice-moderator of the WCC Central Committee, speaking at the same conference as Dr Boesak above, made this assertion:

Words are powerful. I am sometimes critical of our propensity to resolutions and statements, especially when they are not followed up by action. Yet I know that when the Christian community speaks with a common voice against a travesty of justice, or to advocate justice and peace, its voice is heard. Our words confront the words of the powerful and carry power if we speak God's truth. Statements and resolutions offer hope to people in difficult and life-threatening situations. They testify to that. (op. cit. 97)

To corroborate the above the researcher also cites Moltmann when he states:

But Christ is his church's foundation, its power and its hope. As the Reformed confessional writings show, that is the reason why the Reformation subjected all human rules and statutes in religion and the church to the yardstick of the Gospel of Christ. (1977:5)

Moltmann continues:

It is only where Christ alone rules, and the church listens to his voice only, that the church arrives at its truth and becomes free and a liberating power in the world. (ibid.)

The above quote and the following statement from Moltmann can be used to challenge the stance that had been taken by the churches in South Africa vis-à-vis their service to the then ruling party. It is for this reason that the KD came into being.

Acknowledgement of the sole lordship of Christ in his church makes it impossible to recognise any other 'sources of the proclamation apart from or in addition to this sole Word of God'. It cannot admit that there

are any sectors of our lives in which we belong, not to Jesus Christ, but to other masters'. (ibid.)

The researcher also agrees with the views of Moltmann above in so far as they agree with the Confessing Church and refute oppression by political powers. The implications of these views are enormous for the Church at all times. No better words can replace what Moltmann so ably stated:

What the Confessing Church declared with these words, in opposing the state's claim to lordship, must also be said today in opposing the claim to domination asserted by unjust and inhuman social systems; and it must be said through the theological conception of the church. The theological conception of the church is therefore always at the same time a political and social concept of the church. The lordship of Christ is the church's sole and hence all-embracing, determining factor.... It can neither be shared nor restricted. That is why Christianity's obedience to this liberating lordship is all-embracing and undivided. It too cannot be limited, either by the church or by the state. (ibid.)

The new democratic government and the South African community as a whole inherited inhuman and unjust social systems even as negotiations were ushering in a new dawn. Proverbially then, the baby has come with the bath water. The Church has no option but to get involved. During the days of the struggle against apartheid there were many voices within and outside the Church arguing strenuously that church and politics do not mix. This was a rather shallow and perhaps even dishonest and ignorant viewpoint. This view of Moltmann proves the researcher's point:

Historically, the church has always had a political dimension. Whether it likes it or not, it represents a political factor. It is hence only a question of how it presents itself as a political factor. (1977:15)

Cochrane argues, quite rightly, that it is testimony to the above statement that apartheid was grossly undermined by resolutions that apartheid was a heresy as declared by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches [which met] in Ottawa in 1982, and the Confession of the black-based Dutch Reformed Mission Church formulated at Belhar, a suburb of greater Cape Town (in Prozesky M Ed.1990:82).

Added to the above, Cochrane found it necessary to mention the Harare Declaration of 1985 and the Call for the End to Unjust Rule which, inspired by the publication of the Kairos Document, shook those who were upholding the apartheid Government on theological grounds. (ibid.)

Albert Nolan, another leading theologian and fierce opponent and fighter against apartheid, states categorically that the theology of the KD:

...was decidedly partisan in the sense that it took sides against apartheid as sinful, evil and a crime against humanity. Like all prophetic theology it took sides against injustice and in favour of justice. Its strength lay in the fact that it did not compromise or try to sit on the fence. This was indeed what it accused the churches of doing. (Questionnaire response)

Whilst the efforts to topple the previous apartheid regime were conducted by very highly motivated revolutionaries with very high ideals, there have also been among the liberators those whose negative actions have almost cancelled out the high ideals which were part of the formulation of the Freedom Charter. The reason for this could be found in the words of Michael Taylor:

A Christian analysis of human nature revealed a darker side to it which, out of a deep-seated insecurity far more than sheer perversity, leads us to protect ourselves and defend what we perceive to be our own self-interests against the interests of others. What power we have as nations or classes or organized capital or labour we shall use for these

purposes, and the weaker we are the more vulnerable we shall be to policies that benefit someone else. (2000:95)

5.14 Views and attitudes of some former church activists to the KD

From the interviews and questionnaires, a range of ideas regarding the KD were expressed, as can be expected. Jim Cochrane, an activist who contributed to its formulation after the first draft had been prepared and had spent six months representing it in the Western Cape argues that:

It [the KD] was important in its time and has enduring importance as a monument to engaged theology. (Answer to questionnaire)

Cochrane further argues that it was:

...part of its time and not adequate to our current situation, either in South Africa or globally, except in reminding us about the easy accommodation of 'Church Theology' to the powers that be, and the importance of the "prophetic" tradition within Christianity. (ibid.)

Albert Nolan described the KD as a People's Theology:

It was not an academic document though it made use of the insights of some professional theologians. It was the faith of the people seeking understanding. (Answer to questionnaire)

Des van der Water, a Congregationalist theologian whose PhD (1998) was based on the KD, says of the KD:

The KD was a document whose time had come and of course it spoke quite powerfully to the situation of the time and the socio-political context. (Answer to questionnaire)

Other influential theologians, such as Luke Phato, who is engaged in the Healing and Reconciliation Committee of the SACC, and Maake Masango, a lecturer at the University of Pretoria (UP), and others interviewed through a questionnaire, also mention how the KD still remains an important document. From general views obtained through interviews and questionnaires, it is clear that the KD was an extremely important document. Professor Tinyiko Maluleke, Dr Smanga Kumalo and Danie Botha, a former Dutch Reformed Church dominee and Kairos theologian who is also an ex-member of the Namibian Parliament, gave extensive responses on their present views of the document.

Des van der Water shares similar views with Prof Maluleke of UNISA and President of the SACC, and comments that:

While the KD was sharply relevant during the latter 1980's in southern Africa, some of the issues raised then are still relevant today.
(Interview)

5.15 The position of Christian activists within governing structures

The KD made a telling critique of those churches and Christians who had supported the apartheid government. We now have a democratically elected government which has to base its policies on the will of the people. It should not be difficult to support the government in that sense. But the KD also made a very significant point when it stated clearly the importance of political activity:

Changing the structure of society is fundamentally a matter of politics. It requires a political strategy based upon a clear social or political analysis...It is into this political situation that the Church has to bring the Gospel. (1986:15)

It can therefore be said that the KD does not in any way discourage or decry the participation of either Christians or even Christian activists in politics. The

KD correctly points out that there are no Christian solutions to political problems but there are Christian ways of approaching political challenges (ibid.) There is therefore no contradiction according to KD's reasoning, when former Christian activists enter the political arena in this democratic era.

And yet, power and wealth tend to warp the minds of people who were known to be very sane but who suddenly undergo a radical change which begins to liken them to their previous oppressors. This need not always be the case because there are very many believers who serve in Government who do it as a calling at great sacrifice to themselves and their families. Their integrity cannot be questioned. Some wisdom comes from the words of Sylvia Talbot:

While some Christians continue to debate the appropriateness of the different forms of witness, other Christians are making their witness public and visible to express clearly what their faith says about matters of vital importance to our existence. The presence of Christians in places where decisions are made is as critical as our presence in places where people hurt. Until we understand that, internalize it and act on it, how will we really be able to represent or reflect Christ in our lives? (In Wilson, 1999: 96)

Talbot then also cautions against viewing people in government as though they are selling out. Her point about Christians being in positions where they can influence events or decisions is crucial. But caution must be taken regarding misplaced loyalties. People's interests must take precedence over loyalty to party leaders. There is a big difference between party politics and politics for justice and politics in general. According to an understanding of Christian faith, God incarnated Himself in Christ. Therefore the Christian religion is not static. It is dynamic and works through involvement in the world and in that sense the researcher supports Talbot's position above.

What has happened, though, is that while there were thousands of Christians who occupied positions of influence during the apartheid years, divisions, poverty, dehumanisation and general suffering took place. It is when one

contemplates this phenomenon that many questions arise as to what causes decent, God-fearing human beings to perpetrate pain on others who are not like them? What causes those who gained power through fighting for liberation, to suddenly turn against their fellow human beings and unleash mayhem on their lives and those of their children? The researcher's observation is that there is still a dissonance between faith and the practice among many Christian believers. It is a known fact that many Government workers belong to some faith, and yet this phenomenon has not translated into widespread faithful service to their fellow human-beings, and thus the outcry on poor service delivery. The number of protests happening so frequently in the new dispensation is a consequence of unfulfilled promises brought about by government employees whose actions are completely incongruous with the Government's strategic plan and intended outcomes.

5.16 People's expectations on democratic governance

5.16.1 Leadership and service

There is a concern, though, which arises from a point that the KD was silent on, namely, what could happen if and when the oppressed come to power. In that sense those who propose that there is a need for a new people's theology (Nolan) and that the KD does remind us of the easy accommodation between church and state (Cochrane) are not far removed from Maluleke's assertion.

There is a danger, though, that there could be a misinterpretation by those in power that they are being attacked unfairly or are not being given a chance, or that their contribution and sacrifice as public servants is not valued. This is where the challenge is going to be: how to convince those who get into power that it does not matter who is in power, because if there is no leadership from the front in such a way that the oppressed become proud of their leaders, South Africa will not become what was envisaged by those who fought so hard for its liberation. History is strewn with examples of wasted lives and opportunities because lessons of the past had not been learnt. Paulo Freire, a

champion of the oppressed people in Brazil who had been expelled by the military government in 1964, found that an element of humility in leading the oppressed was absolutely necessary. He sees the use of constant dialogue among the oppressed as an essential part of liberation.

To its credit, the new democratic government has a policy of BATHO PELE, meaning, people first. It is the implementation that is lacking. The government can have as many excellent principles, excellent schemes and pour huge sums of money into service delivery but if the implementers do not actually follow-up with service delivery, there will be constant uprisings. An article in the Sunday Independent titled A Place God and Batho Pele have forgotten cites the plight of a family at Gobe Village in the Eastern Cape. While the woman and her son are registering to vote she mentions that life at the village is tough although she will vote for the ANC, “the party of Mandela”. The article, written by Caiphus Kgosana, says:

If electricity is a luxury for this family, water is even scarcer. One of ...’s sons who ekes out a living at a factory in Gauteng, brought with him a Christmas gift last year – a large, round green tank that catches rain water through roof gutters. The water is undrinkable and the tank is virtually useless when it’s not raining. Drinking water is obtained from a communal tap that villagers pay R5 to a local headman to access. “We only get free water when there is a funeral or a function”...

When the rain tank runs dry, he loads two 25-litre containers into a wheelbarrow and pushes them several kilometres down the road to a stream from which he draws water.

This is not God’s front yard; it’s a place that he (sic) and the Eastern Cape provincial government forsook a long time ago. Service delivery and fancy titled government interventions such as “Batho Pele” pass quickly by the main road. They never enter Gobe village. (*Sunday Independent*, Caiphus Kgosana, *A Place God and Batho Pele have forgotten*, March 1, 2009)

The researcher has quoted this article at some length to highlight the point made above that either service delivery becomes the vehicle of liberation or there is continued poverty and suffering. Unless those at the forefront of service delivery are determined to do their bit, the government will spend money in vain. Service delivery is not just a give and take exercise. It is a mutual undertaking towards creating an egalitarian society. Thus there should be a dialogue to make it possible to lead in an informed manner so as to be precise in making service delivery. Paulo Freire encourages dialogue among the people who are led and their leaders:

...dialogue (among the oppressed) cannot exist without humility. The naming of the world (taking full responsibility), through which men (sic) constantly re-create the world, cannot be an act of arrogance. Dialogue, as the encounter of men addressed to the common task of learning and acting, is broken if the parties (or one of them) lack humility... how can I dialogue if I am closed to and offended by the contribution of others? ... Someone who cannot acknowledge himself to be as mortal as everyone else still has a long way to go before he can reach a point of encounter... (1970:78-79)

The removal of poverty, particularly as an act by those who are believers in God, is a divine imperative. Orlando Costas asserts the following:

The Bible does not glorify poverty; it condemns it as a scandalous condition and demands justice for the poor. Precisely for this reason, God identifies himself with the poor. This is also why Jesus assumed a life of poverty and why Paul associated the preaching of the cross with the humble and ignorant (1 Cor.1: 18ff). The Gospel is a protest against the scandal of poverty and a call to eradicate it from human life. Those who respond to this message must themselves renounce any form of manipulation and oppression and commit themselves to the well-being of their neighbour. They must surrender totally to the God who in Jesus Christ has promised to liberate the world from oppression. And oppression (an obvious consequence of sin) is a

fundamental cause of poverty... The call to conversion implies not only commitment to transform the present, but also the hope that the transformation will one day truly come to pass... (Samuel and Sugden, 1982: 83ff)

5.16.2 Leadership and power

South Africa needs leaders who know that their election to public service has to do with service delivery so as to promote a better life and dignity for all. If they see themselves as having found a way of getting rich by being servants of the people without delivery it will be quite a challenge. Admittedly, those who have been elected must receive undiluted respect and honour. But they in turn need to respect and honour those who elected them. The elected ones have to know that they are exercising power at the behest of the voters. From a Christian perspective, Echegaray points out:

Jesus knew that a power not exercised in solidarity with the masses is a perfidious power and power threatened at its very foundations. (1980:30)

There is nothing wrong with people being elected to serve the people. It is quite a sacrifice that elected representatives make and the country does owe them a lot of gratitude. Power is there to be used for the good of the people as a whole. It is for this reason that I agree with Boff when he says:

Christianity is not against power in itself but its diabolical forms which generally show themselves as domination and control of the masses... (1985:57)

After all, the KD was an attempt to dislodge the suffering masses from the iron grip of merciless power. Somewhere along the line Moltmann's words will have to be impressed upon those who govern:

True dominion does not consist in enslaving others but in becoming a servant of others; not in the exercise of power, but in the exercise of love, not in being served but in freely serving; not in sacrificing the subjugated but in self-sacrifice. (1977:103)

5.16.3 Leadership and the poor

What Moltmann says should not be difficult to comprehend because presently South Africa is still blessed with the presence of those who fought and sacrificed almost everything to see South Africa free. It is that spirit of sacrifice which has to be invoked and utilised. There is also absolutely no reason to doubt the determination and sincerity of purpose in dealing with poverty. Perhaps it is at this point that the words of the KD should be recalled. It mentions that people who have been exploited and paid poor wages have very little benefits accruing from their sacrifices. The workers had been deliberately put far from their positions of work and have to use the little they receive for transport whilst they have no participation in the running of the places of work or the governance thereof:

They are no longer prepared to be crushed, oppressed and exploited. They are determined to change the system radically so that it no longer benefits only the privileged few. And they are willing to do this even at the cost of their own lives. What they want is justice for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or status. [All emphasis mine] (KD, 1986:21)

Yet while it may be easy to distinguish between oppressed and oppressors, between the rich and the poor, Pobee makes a wise caution. He accepts that:

The issue of poverty is linked with issues of power. Wealth goes with power. (1987:61)

But there is a numbness and insensitivity to the poor by the rich that they themselves suffer from some kind of poverty of spirit, that serious lack of

Ubuntu which renders a person less than what he or she actually is. Pobebe again says:

Poverty is a reminder of the heartlessness in the world and by the same token a call to the rich and powerful to return to their full humanity. (1987:67)

Boff also makes a telling statement concerning the poor:

Faced with the injustice that is made concrete in poverty, God himself is indignant... Jesus histories (sic) this intervention: God comes and restores justice to the oppressed not because the oppressed person is pious and good but because he or she is a victim of the oppression that has caused his or her situation of poverty. (1985:25)

To support a much deeper understanding of the condition of the poor, the following explanation is apt, namely, that we tend to be in denial that oppression is at the core of poverty and that this oppression arises from the powerful who are indifferent to the plight of the poor. The following description of the poor is so apt that it forces the researcher to describe it in the words of their writer:

...through the whole story of poverty – as lack of basic economic needs for subsistence, as dispossession both economically and socially, as inability to overcome loss, calamity or deprivation, as need for help in order to survive... (Samuel & Sugden, 1982:43)

The poverty of spirit and the complete lack of humaneness (Ubuntu) and utter cruelty becomes the disease suffered by oppressors everywhere as they destroy the poor. The researcher cannot agree more with the words below which give a far better description of the offenders and enemies of humanity:

...there is a ruthlessness of power, a denial of rights, an arrogant indifference to need which penetrates society – in the exercise of

political and administrative power, of judicial power, of economic power – which amounts to systemic oppression... we must not hide our faces and refuse to see or recognize that at the core of poverty is something we can do nothing about unless we do it about ourselves as well – remove the structures of domination and oppression from the lives of the people. (ibid.)

The above quote, in putting poverty as a systemic product, fits neatly into the purpose of the writing and publication of the KD and the reason why struggle heroes and heroines such as Nelson Mandela and others had actually waged the war against the system of apartheid.

5.16.4 Leadership and justice

The issue of justice is so central when we encounter oppression that it cannot be ignored and must be actively promoted. Boff's words must be taken seriously:

God is only encountered on the path of justice. The living God is not a God of prayers, incense, and asceticism. In Isaiah 1:11 – 18 we learn that what pleases God are not sacrifices and prayers but “to seek what is just, to help the downtrodden, and to do justice to the orphan”. (ibid.)

Walter Brueggemann also states emphatically:

...there is no freedom of God without the politics of justice and compassion, and there is no politics of justice and compassion without a religion of the freedom of God. (1978:18)

There should be a constant effort to impress upon the elected and those in the employ of government that people come first and that they will no longer stand by while those they were with in the trenches continue to appear to have a glorious life alone. The critical warning of Archbishop Tutu during the time of apartheid is still applicable today:

But it will not be that the hungry masses will forever just look on at the groaning tables of their wealthy neighbours... if we are not careful it could be that starved men and women will march on empty stomachs, to invade the well-stocked larders of the wealthy. Desperate people use desperate methods. We will die as fools, if we cannot learn to live together as brothers – to paraphrase Martin Luther King. (1982:85)

One matter that has not been mentioned by any of the interviewees is the question of reconciliation and healing which, for example, was mentioned by Dr Wolfram Kistner:

I suggest that the concern of the Kairos Document is reinforced and better understood if considered in the setting of the universal dimension of God's reconciliation in Christ. The universality of God's reconciliation in Christ obliges Christians to combat and demolish structures in the Church and in society which obstruct God's concern for the living together of all people in peace, and for justice to be accorded to all people, as well as His concern for the protection of His Creation (sic) against destruction and reckless exploitation. (Brandt, 1988:207)

It is this writer's submission that South Africa's new democratic order, which is extremely and supremely significant, has at least created space for the long and arduous reconstruction of a broken community. If there is one thing that would constitute a *kairos moment*, it would be the difficult road of healing the South African community. It is not an impossibility because the masses have stood together regardless of race or gender and voted for a new and democratic government in peace and happiness, the past notwithstanding. It can however, not be ignored that there are presently many voices articulating frustration with the present service delivery because things are moving ever so slowly. One senses a deliberately simplistic view of the situation obtaining in the country. It is a simplistic view because it overlooks several very poignant challenges.

5.17 Is there justification for a second KD?

Jim Cochrane, one of the theologians who was also active during the publication of the KD and had assisted in its distribution, agrees that in its time the KD was important but that it is no longer adequate in our current situation. He does concede however, that it still does remind us:

...about the easy accommodation of 'Church theology' to the powers that be, and the importance of the prophetic tradition within Christianity.
(Questionnaire)

While it may be true that the KD is "no longer adequate" in our current situation, it is necessary though to note that there are still tendencies even with this new dispensation for Church leaders to have "easy accommodation" with the present government in the same manner that prevailed between the Dutch Reformed Church and the state.

Fr Albert Nolan also seems to harbour the same sentiments as Cochrane but gave a yes and no answer. He also believes that the KD:

...is relevant as an example of contextual and 'prophetic theology', but that the KD is no longer relevant because the context has changed... what is needed is a new people's theology. (Answer to questionnaire)

Tinyiko Maluleke, a professor at the University of South Africa (UNISA) and incumbent president of the SACC, and also a signatory to the KD, feels differently. According to him the KD:

...is still very relevant for South Africa. One of the weaknesses of the responses that the KD invoked was that it invoked more reaction outside than inside South Africa. It became a hit in Europe even though

it was vilified there also. Kairos Europa would not have been born if it was not for the KD. Latin America was inspired to write the Road to Damascus...It could be that the time has come for us as South Africans to go back to it. It has a lot of reference because power is still with us and we have seen how state power transforms those who appropriate it. It is not that those who appropriate state power will come and impact upon the state. The state also impacts on them, especially the kind of state transfer we have had because literally we had former liberation activists and former liberation theologians moving into palace. The power of the palace over those who have entertained it has been amazing: it has been phenomenal. That is the kind of angle we need to look at. There the KD again becomes extremely relevant. (Response to Interview)

5.18 South Africa experiencing a paradigm-shift

There can be no escaping that there will always be those who govern and those who are governed. The question is how this should happen? One of the challenges South Africa faces is that at times there is an underestimation of the effects oppression had on all the people, both black and white. And for this researcher, that underestimation could lead to denial which would then result in a refusal to effect corrections whether they are personal in one's own life or in society as a whole. It cannot be avoided that oppression leaves an indelible mark on those affected, both oppressed and oppressors. The denial of this could easily constitute a kairos because it would be difficult to administer the correct medicine when the illness has not been properly diagnosed. As researcher-participant one had experiences which proved beyond reasonable doubt that constant oppression and continuous exclusion leads to self-oppression and self-exclusion in a number of situations in life, until one realises the damage that had been done to one's psyche.

Moving from apartheid to a democratic state required a paradigm shift. Let it be admitted that there has been one in Regele the country. and Schultz describe a paradigm shift thus:

A paradigm shift is nothing short of a revolution. In a revolution everything is turned upside down. All of our assumptions come into question and many are abandoned... [there are] two kinds of change: continuous (incremental) and discontinuous (chaotic). When a paradigm shift occurs, the change is completely discontinuous and generates chaos everywhere. (1995:185)

For example, Regele and Schultz quote Joel Barker that “when a paradigm shifts, everything goes back to zero”. But they go on to say:

When a paradigm shifts, the rules change, the game changes, and what we believe changes. If we operated under a paradigm that is passing and do not understand the change, we will find ourselves lost and confused about the future and our role in it. (ibid.)

Sometimes the question arises as to whether South Africans have a tendency to expect too much in terms of the price that has to be paid for change. We do have a past and we:

...are all prisoners of the past. It is hard to think of things except in the way we always thought of them. But that way solves no problems and seldom changes anything. It is certainly no way to deal with discontinuity. (Charles Handy, 1991:54)

The South African situation is such that it could be regarded as splendid because a new constitution was drawn up and as a country, conducted relatively peaceful elections to set up a democratically elected government in 1994. There seemed to be an assumption that everything will stay peaceful because of the stress-free nature in which such radical change occurred.

Then there is the huge challenge of HIV/Aids. *The Toronto Star* (Canada) mentioned the figure of 600 people dying per day in South Africa, according to Quarraisha Abdool Karim, a researcher at the University of Natal (Toronto

Star, Tuesday, August 5, 2003). This number was seen as a conservative one and that it would grow as time went on. The then President of the country, Thabo Mbeki, had been accused of adopting a denialist stance.

The KD never went as far as spelling out the kind of paradigm or frame of reference that would be necessary if the oppressed themselves were truly to take charge of their own lives. This is an important point because oppression leaves residues within people's minds which militate against them. Margaret Legum's article states:

...in many countries traumatised by political oppression over generations, poor people have burdens much deeper than lack of resources. They have become severely depressed and demoralised and need special treatment. (*The Star*, May 7, 2007)

At times South Africans find it difficult to accept that they are like all other people and cannot take short-cuts to true liberation. South Africans are in denial that the situation in South Africa needs a lot of therapy for all those who were previously disadvantaged and for those who are still experiencing situations of dire poverty and deprivation. There is also therapy needed for all those who were in positions of power and privilege: how to let go and assist with Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). Failing which, another disaster may be looming. The miracle that South Africa had a bloodless transformation should not be allowed to die. It is necessary therefore that everything must be done to reinforce the belief all share that life is worth living in the new democratic South Africa.

There must be visible moves which have to be made to move faster towards qualitative transformation. This thesis has tried to address these urgent issues. Again the Church has a challenge to which it must respond. What role then should the Church play in this change of paradigm? The following quotation could give an idea the types of efforts made in other countries. South Africa may not go that route but much more needs to be done rather than just the giving of grants.

In Chile and Tunisia, specialised psychosocial community workers have been trained to work intensively with poor families. Through them families get access to what is needed to lift them out of poverty. For that families have to agree, for instance, that their children will be vaccinated and attend school, adults must undergo skills training, and addictive behaviour must be addressed. (ibid.)

One of the most important paragraphs in the article is something we all need to take seriously:

Resources to train an army of specialised family social workers would need a national consensus that eliminating poverty is the over-riding purpose of all government. (ibid.)

It is the above explanation of a paradigm shift that makes the South African change unique because of a lack of visible chaos. But then, looking deeper into the situation since 1994, there is something disconcerting: None other than the then Minister of Social Development, Zola Skweyiya, warned of dire consequences of joblessness. He “warned of a potential uprising in South Africa if the country fails to provide jobs for the youth” as he pointed out that there was a forty per cent unemployment rate even as more people are losing jobs. (*Sunday Times: Skweyiya warns of revolt by jobless youth*, June 1, 2008)

5.19 Some perspective on xenophobia in South Africa

Quite recently South Africa had to deal with the very grave situation of xenophobia which had been unthinkable before. There are several explanations why this could have happened. The unstable situation in Zimbabwe left the borders open and policing became almost impossible. When the non-South Africans arrived they did not stay in the leafy suburbs. They stayed in the informal settlements because that was where they could eke out a living. Informal settlements have no serious infra-structure. There are very few toilets, little electricity, if any, and the houses are mainly made of

corrugated iron. These tin-houses are extremely uncomfortable when it is hot, and when it is cold. The major complaint of South Africans was that “these foreigners take our jobs”. It is true that many restaurants employ people from outside, especially from Zimbabwe and according to information, pay them very little. It is understandable that people who are desperate will accept any form of pay as long as they can just live.

5.19.1 Xenophobia as a Global Phenomenon

Whilst it may appear that it is only South Africans who are extremely xenophobic, there was a thought provoking article in *Globe and Mail*, a Canadian weekend paper, giving an ominous report about xenophobia in Russia which was mainly perpetrated by so-called skinheads:

Tolessa, who studies at Moscow’s famous People’s Friendship university, describes a life dominated by fear. When a Nigerian man was beaten to death by neo-Nazis near the campus recently, every African in the city felt a shiver down the back, he says, knowing it could have been them... We can’t go out after 6 p.m. especially on the metro. When people look at us, they just see our colour – they call us ‘*chorniyy*’ (black). (Saturday, January 31, 2004)

What is even worse, according to the report, is that two parties with ultranationalist leanings made surprising gains in the previous month’s parliamentary elections. One of the parties openly advocated xenophobia “with a nostalgic call for the renationalization of key resources”.

The situation became unbearable when a dormitory where there had been foreign students was set on fire, killing 23 of those students. Of particular interest to the researcher is the insight given by the university director Dmitri Bilibin, where this arson happened. He said that:

...membership in skinhead groups is growing and xenophobia is becoming more popular, something he blames on the social chaos

caused by Russia's rapid transition to market capitalism and its sudden embrace of Western ideas. Many young people...have come to feel that their country, once the centre of an empire, was betrayed somehow, and ethnic minorities have become the scapegoat of choice. (ibid.)

Canada is regarded as a liberal and tolerant country. But even there the scourge of xenophobia is evident. In an article titled International Credentials lose value in Canada as reported in the *Globe and Mail*, Gurmeet Bambrah, a Kenyan woman who boasted 3 engineering degrees:

...owned and operated a business for 18 years. She oversaw the construction of water treatment facilities and other development projects financed by the World Bank. (January 30, 2004, article by Marina Jimenez)

But she was refused employment in her field when she arrived from Kenya. She had to do odd jobs. Many immigrants of a darker skin find this type of impediment when they arrive in Canada (ibid.)... Bambrah herself states:

I was a fellow of Britain's Institution of Civil Engineers, only one of 18 women in the world with that title. (ibid.)

The following comment in that article is quite revealing of the prevalent attitudes even at that time:

The failure to recognise foreigners' credentials costs the Canadian economy \$1- billion a year, the Conference Board of Canada says. The issue has galvanized politicians, lobby groups and academics who believe Canada's economic growth is stymied by the inability to absorb all this outside talent. (ibid.)

Note that "the issue...galvanised" interested parties to act, not so much out of moral conviction about the state of Canada which treats people of a different

skin colour in a xenophobic and racist manner but because it was not economically viable to do so! There were many highly qualified expatriates in Canada whom the researcher met. Some of them were driving taxis because they could not get better jobs.

5.19.2 Xenophobia as self-hatred

If then we look at what has happened in South Africa, it becomes reasonable to believe that, while there are some rumblings in spite of the quiet revolution that was brought about by the new dispensation, there is relative stability. There is a need to examine whether it is fair to accuse South Africans of xenophobia. Recently a minister of the South African parliament said it was not xenophobia but Afrophobia because the foreigners attacked are wholly black and come from African states. These are echoes of self-hatred as identified by Steve Bantu Biko in the early seventies.

Firstly, as already mentioned earlier, resources are very scarce for people who are unemployed. The fear and anxiety is not because people do not like other people. It is because of the scarcity of resources. It happens where there are situations of extremity. Historically, therefore, situations of extremity occur among those who are oppressed.

Secondly, there is a much deeper reason, apart from xenophobia, underlying these actions of rejecting people from outside South Africa. The fact that it is Black people who look at the colour of the foreigner's skin and act negatively against them needs a closer look. The question to be asked is whether that could be regarded as self-hatred. It could be said that oppression becomes internalised to the point where there is self-hatred. The hatred, in other words, turns outwardly and is expressed in hating the other. For example, Martin Buber states:

Hate is by nature blind. Only a part of a being can be hated. He who sees a whole being and is compelled to reject it is no longer in the kingdom of hate, but is in that of human restriction of the power to say

Thou. He finds himself unable to say the primary word to the other human being confronting him. This word consistently involves an affirmation of the being addressed. He is therefore compelled to reject either the other or himself. (Herberg Will, 1952:49)

When people no longer have pride in themselves they usually behave in a manner that is inhumane because they themselves are not treated in a humane way. Mtutuzeli Matshoba captures this in his writings about life in the hostels:

What do you say of the very idea of building such a place [as the hostel], of removing men from their livestock and what little land they had, and burying them in filth? Is that not meant to kill a man's pride? (Hodge N, 1984:226)

5.19.3 Xenophobia as part of frustration which causes scape-goating

Frustration does lead to the kind of anti-social behaviour seen with the xenophobic violence. The following comes from a psychological perspective to prove that when people are frustrated in their goals of life, they will behave in a particular manner:

Aggression is perhaps the most common single reaction to frustration. In deed there are those who believe that there is a necessary connection between the two and that frustration inevitably leads to some degree of aggressive behaviour. This is an overgeneralization. It is true that the sense of annoyance, bafflement, or confusion resulting from the blocking of organized, goal-directed activity often finds an easy outlet in aggressive reactions... When our activation level is high and behaviour is interfered with by things or people, we tend to become aggressive towards them". (Gerald, 1963:172)

Consistent oppression according to Barney Pityana, creates the following:

The bulk of the black people... have accepted their degenerate status. The pride of people hood in them has been shattered. They have more than just accepted their lot, for some even help destroy their worth as human beings. They are being resettled in droves, and 13 per cent of the land, and that the most uneconomic, is allocated for their use...

One has to take account of years of indoctrination starting from the first encounter of white colonists with black tribesmen, when whites were set up as a standard. From their capitalistic tendencies one has come to measure status by the amount of money one has. In this way the class situation was introduced as a value even for blacks. The urgency is that we have to liberate the mind of the black man (sic). (Woods D, 1978:48, 49)

The demonstrations then are a groundswell of the poor refusing to take their poverty lying down. When the poor themselves stand up it is a challenge to both the government and business. The rich are also not going to lie down and just let their wealth slip through their fingers. There will be a huge fight. Could this be the kairos, the given opportunity for South Africa to show its mettle?

5.20 Conclusion

In South Africa, Life has changed radically. It is this change that has created another paradox for the country. There is now free movement and people can live where they want. When the apartheid government built infrastructure, it was going to cater mainly for whites and a few co-opted blacks. The country is undergoing the strain of short-sighted city and town planning. No government in the world can cope within such a short space of time with the high extent of uncontrollable urbanisation. While race relations have eased and many black people's lives have improved tremendously, there are still many people who are angry, especially those who had been highly expectant of what they perceived as inevitable relief. Thus, instead of people becoming depressed there seems to be a groundswell of anger and despair. This then manifests itself in a number of ways such as suicides, femicides and so on. Crime has

always been rampant even during the apartheid years. But the violent nature of crime has never been as endemic as it is now, 15 years into the new democracy. It is one of the most difficult things to understand when, as happens in most cases, in the course of committing crime, the perpetrators use extremely excessive violence against their victims. When people's lives are far less than the value of cell phones, it spells a crisis.

The above is a challenge to all South Africans to use their experiences to fight against poverty and greed. Greed is one form of crime which incubates more corruption which in turn robs the country of valuable resources. It is always a fallacy and a lack of proper analysis to ascribe violent crime to poverty alone. In the main, most poor people are generous to a fault while they continue to eke out a living under the most difficult circumstances. The researcher, whose parents had been materially poor, has lived through that experience but had the rich values of ubuntu instilled him.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The original question posed by this thesis was whether the Kairos Document could still be used as a matrix for church-state relations. What has been clear above is the unquestionable importance that the document played during the fight against apartheid and in raising awareness in the Church. While it is also clear that the KD was not the only effort by the many churches to chip away at the apartheid monolithic structure, the KD was the document that was able to decipher where the problem lay. It had a methodology which, in this researcher's view, should be an all time prism through which church-state relations are viewed. The researcher accepts that the context has changed considerably and that the critique of the State will be on some other basis rather than on State Theology as has been the case with the apartheid government. Church Theology will also be different from the critique that had been made of Church Theology with regard to its relationship with the State. It is also clear from the research that Prophetic Theology will still be necessary although not necessarily against the State as had been the case with Prophetic Theology's critique of the State.

6.2 Hypothesis and research question

The research question was whether elements of the Kairos Document could still be useful to the Church in the new South Africa. The researcher's work in this regard validates this hypothesis, albeit with a radical modification of objectives and targets.

While accepting that the context in South Africa has changed irrevocably, the three types of theologies, namely State, Church and Prophetic Theology are still a relevant matrix through which the Church has to examine its own involvement with the State. But even more than this, the Church itself needs

to reclaim its space alongside the poor by keeping in check the kind of power the Church relies upon.

This researcher's findings are also in agreement with the views of a significant group of theologians and Christian activists, namely, that the Kairos Document has been enduring but that it would need adaptation to suite the new context brought about by the new democratic dispensation. Since power and wealth tend to have the same effect on human beings regardless of colour and regardless of their previous status either of oppression or poverty, the Church has to be vigilant by constantly engaging in social analysis. The Church has to involve itself more with issues of economic justice.

There is a new oppression that has become far more dangerous and difficult to fight and that is the oppression of greed which in turn promotes corruption. The resultant greed has also contributed immensely to paralysis in service delivery. The role of Prophetic Theology, especially in this area of moral decay, cannot be over-emphasised.

6.3 Summary of the chapters

6.3.1 Chapter One: Introduction

In the introductory chapter the relevance of the thesis, the hypothesis, as well as the methodology used in the research, was described. Some basic definitions were offered, together with an overview of the chapters to come.

6.3.2 Chapter Two: Church-State relations in the spotlight again

The relations between Church and State were found to move almost in the form of a continuum and depended on the particular church as a denomination. With some churches the relationship was too close, as was the case with the Dutch Reformed Church, and with others it was distant as was the situation with the SACC aligned churches. During the apartheid years there was virtually no confrontation between the DRC and the government of

the day on the question of apartheid, except for a few brave prophets within the DRC itself. On the other hand, there was a lot of confrontation from the leadership of the SACC-aligned churches and from the SACC itself.

There will always be prophets within the Church who may or may not be supported by the Church. There is a paradox here in that the Church always nurtures the people who then later become prophets, ironically from the teachings of what might be termed as a conservative Church.

6.3.3 Chapter Three: The Kairos Document: Yesterday and Today

There were so many compelling reasons for the writing of the KD in the mid-eighties that when it was written its time had come. The KD achieved beyond expectations what it had intended: A national debate ensued as never before. The government was livid with anger and galvanised its supporters such as Signposts and the Gospel Defence League. The Church was also provoked into action. But more than the negatives, more and more people began to be interested in the Church and in an activist theology which produced results. At the time there was a State of Emergency and people were dying from direct government action and from internecine fighting with the government allegedly using surrogate methods. The situation was calling for a serious rethink on all sides.

There had also been a lot of hatred emanating from all sides. The situation was just toxic. It was as if people were not living in the same country. The country was extremely divided. What was even more amazing was that the majority of the people who were at each other's throats were in the main Christians, with almost seventy per cent of them being church goers according to surveys of the time.

Both Church and State exercise authority and both have power. The State derives its power from the mandate given it by the people and has to receive this mandate from time to time, and in the South African case, after every five years, but the Church derives its mandate from the Gospel and usually never

has to renew it. Whereas it is much easier to monitor the State because of democratic principles, the Church is not a democratic institution and thus is fraught with many complications.

As shown above there are different challenges today which seem to be even more daunting than before. These are challenges of a lack of service delivery. People are rising up against their very own government with the service delivery mantra. A new form of enemy has taken root – the enemy of greed and excessive consumerism. Only recently the General Secretary of COSATU, Mr Zwelinzima Vavi, made a screaming headline titled *Greed Will Destroy the ANC*, and it was a scathing attack on his own comrades who seem to think it is “payback time’ because of the new mentality of entitlement.

He said that there was a danger that political power was now about access to resources and the ability to dish out tenders. “The tender is the new enemy of our movement, not the Congress of the People or Hellen Zille’s Democratic Alliance. It is crass materialism which is the most formidable enemy that we must confront and defeat. If we do not, the revolution is going [to fail]”. (Sunday Times, August 23, 2009)

What is interesting about the above quote is that one would have expected it from Church leaders. It now comes from a very strong leader of a very strong trade union. The Church seems to have taken a back seat. That is the new kairos today. It had been easy to fight a clear and known enemy called apartheid; yet it has become extremely difficult for the Church to even make a whimper about the moral and ethical challenges of today. That seems to be the real crisis.

6.3.4 Chapter Four: The Kairos Document: A theological analysis

The relevance of the three theologies as analysed in the KD:

The present writer has found the research quite convincing regarding the natures of both Church and State that they need constant subjection to be

tested against the background of Church Theology and State Theology. Admittedly, there have been phenomenal changes. It has to be remembered though that these changes were not brought about by negotiations alone. Negotiation came as a result of the tremendous pressure that had been applied from all sides. It is these pressures that made it possible for leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela, working within the ANC leadership, to initiate talks with the apartheid government to rescue the country from further ruin.

Lack of Social analysis

The KD had decried the lack of social analysis by the Church in its theological approach to issues in the land during the apartheid era. The KD, in its social analysis lens, identified the issue in this manner:

It would be quite wrong to see the present conflict as simply a racial war. The racial component is there but we are not dealing with two equal races or nations each with their own selfish group interests. The situation we are dealing with here is one of tyranny and oppression. We can therefore use the social categories that the Bible makes use of, namely, *the oppressor and oppressed*. (1986:20)

The most devastating aspect about the race issue is that it fostered psychological and attitudinal damage which itself in many unacceptable ways harmed both black and white for a long time. Most black people tend to suffer from an apartheid-induced inferiority complex whereas most white people tend to suffer from an apartheid-imposed superiority complex. To ignore this effect of apartheid on the white and black people of this county would lead to inaccurate corrections that would lead to harmony and peace in this country. The humiliation brought about by racism will stay with those on the receiving end for quite some time. The same can also be said of the white people. For years they viewed themselves as superior and that is not going to change overnight. This aspect still remains in the domain of the challenge to the Church, and this time, to the State also.

There is therefore always a need for appropriate training in social analysis to be given to all practitioners of religion. The answer to the question of whether it is still necessary to do social analysis today is a resounding yes and always.

6.3.5 Chapter Five: From the old to a new Kairos?

On the Tenth Anniversary of the publication of the KD the Institute for Contextual Theology held a conference in Johannesburg which included overseas partners. The Theme of the conference was KAIROS 95 - At the Threshold of Jubilee. The following statement comes from a working paper titled: What is Our Kairos Today?

While democracy and justice have made tremendous gains since the writing of the first Kairos Document, many people experience a deep sense of disappointment, even disillusionment and anger. Many of the changes which people expected have not materialised. This is often describes as non-delivery of all that had been promised and hoped for.

The living conditions of the majority of the people have not changed. The poor appear to be getting poorer, while the rich become richer. The RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) does not seem to be delivering the jobs, houses, water, electricity, etc., which it promised. There is a serious crisis in education, in the health services and in the civil service. Civil servants like nurses, teachers, policemen and policewomen, municipal workers and other officials are demanding better wages and salaries. The government says it does not have the money.

In the meantime more and more people are joining the ranks of the unemployed. Crime is on the increase and our crime rate is said to be higher than anywhere else in the world. Corruption at every level in government departments and in business gives rise to more and more cynicism and despair. It appears that no way has yet been found to

integrate the position and authority of hereditary chiefs into a democratic government.

The Kairos, however, is not just the sum total of these social problems – it is the growing perception that the government may not be able to solve all these problems, that the government may not in fact be able to deliver on its promises or to live up to influence the society, to instil values, or to point the way ahead. The church does not seem to have any solutions. It is not preaching any real alternatives. There is no message of hope about a future which will be really new, different and hopeful. There is no message of hope for the poor.

There is a crisis of expectations but there is also a crisis of hope and trust, a deep mood of disillusionment and despair. This is our Kairos, and challenge, our opportunity and our moment of truth... (Dladla, Ed. 1996:70-71)

Today there is a different atmosphere and the tensions of racism and oppression have eased somewhat. While there is a lot of violent crime, space has also been created for South Africans to work together to bring about a peaceful and prosperous country. There is evidence that a very large number of both black and white people want to make the country a great one in spite of the many challenges still facing it. Previously, areas which were predominantly white are gradually increasing in the number of black people entering those areas and the ideal would be a move towards meeting the demographic habitation requirements of the country.

7 Recommendations for further research

One can never exhaust the theme of this research. There is always room for further research.

1. What part can the Church play in South Africa in the face of so many safeguards for democracy in South Africa? Account must be taken of

the part played by law makers in Parliament and the Constitutional Court. How does the Church relate to NEPAD and other Millennial Goals.

2. How can the Church begin serious co-operation with people of other faiths to promote highly responsible citizens in the country? How can interfaith dialogue be strengthened in South Africa to enable people of different faiths to contribute significantly in the enhancement and consolidation of transformation?
3. What does “Economic Justice” mean for South Africa, taking into account the true meaning of poverty. Can South Africa afford to operate along the same paradigm as the so-called developed nations? There is a need to redefine poverty and richness. Should ministers of religion not be encouraged to learn the basics of economics to enable them to engage their congregations in economic debates?
4. Can the Church and other Faith Based Organisations also look into their own SADC, that is, Southern African Churches for Development.
5. Research into the white prophets who defied their own “volk and nasie” (kith and kin), would assist many people to learn more about how these prophets such as Dawie Bosch and Geyser worked tirelessly as truly faithful servants of the living God. Only a few, such as Beyers Naudé, have been celebrated.
6. Is there a kairos regarding ecological issues in South Africa?
7. The contribution of black organisations and leaders in the townships should be researched and the findings published. There are many unsung heroes whose stories must be told.