

**TOWARDS A STRATEGIC TRANSCULTURAL
MODEL OF LEADERSHIP THAT ENHANCES KOINONIA
IN URBAN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

**Synthesising a Multicultural Model of Leadership that Transcends
the Socio-political Barriers within the Cities of Southern Africa.**

By

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KEY WORDS

Transcultural, Strategic, Multicultural, Macro-cultural, National, Identity, Micro-cultural, Leadership, Models, Socio-political, Barriers, Reconciliation, Koinonia, Kyrios, Paul, Pauline, Antioch, Belief, Systems, Election, Predestination, Community, Values, Styles, Structures, Belief, Philosophy, Change, Ubuntu, Synthesis, Synthetic, Semiotic, Situational, Leadership, Apprenticeship, Southern African, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Moshoeshoe, Smuts, Mandela, Mutendi, Cassidy, Tutu, Christian, Political, Paradigms, Tribal, Postmodern, Neo-African.

SYNOPSIS

The research conducted was done on the basis of providing an initial platform or starting point for insight and discussion into what a strategic transcultural model of leadership might look like which was relevant to the early 21st Century Christian context in the cities of Southern Africa. A strategic transcultural leader is essentially a transformational leader who exhibits an ability beyond the norm in being able to cross socio-political barriers and thus inspiring the multicultural dynamic, while also honouring the individual cultures represented. In order to study strategic transcultural leadership models a strong leadership angle was taken, which employed investigating six leaders, three political and three Christian as to the structures, styles, values, transcultural abilities and Christian/political beliefs and/or philosophies they employed.

The thesis poses the problem of urban unrest in the cities of Southern Africa. The problem of an influx into the cities, of the many different ethnicities and tribes from throughout Southern Africa and the pressures this has caused is briefly alluded to. This problem has been further exacerbated in South Africa by the arrival of many peoples from throughout Africa, south of the Sahara seeking their fortune without having to leave the African Subcontinent, and in Zimbabwe by the political policies of the Zimbabwean government, over land and in clearing away her unapproved urban high-density housing, and her informal business and white farming sectors of the economy. With these issues in mind, there is a need for strategic transcultural leadership to address these and other issues of unrest. The examples of Mandela and De Klerk as transformational leaders, inspire hope, that the vacuum of strategic transcultural leadership seen in Africa at large and specifically in relation to Southern Africa can be met, as is noted by the progress made in recent years in the arena of transformational leadership which the Group of eight and the United Nations and others allude to. While this is true, there are still problems in relation to the political decision-making within South African, as seen by Mbeki's stance in the past on HIV-AIDS, and Zimbabwe's woes.

The stage is set from a missiological and historical perspective by looking at multicultural models of leadership in the Early Church with specific reference to Paul and the Antiochan model he used as a prototype. The Jerusalem Church is mentioned as a bi-cultural model, which has significant use outside of large urban environs. However it was the Pauline-Antiochan model that provided a platform, in the later use of a synthetic-semiotic model, to deduce or synthesis a transcultural model. Paul's model of leadership was analysed specifically in relation to the five elements already noted (structures, styles, etc.) and is particularly useful as a model as Paul himself provides firstly an insight into a man of bi-cultural heritage yet someone who was empire-conscious. Paul was able to uphold both the cultural distinctive or uniqueness of both the Greek and Jew (noting Paul's use of both Hebraic and Hellenistic styles of the diatribe for example) as well as the universal, in that he was empire-conscious which played into his Kingdom perspective. Secondly he provides a reasonable grounds for understanding that if the belief system of the individual is changed on one of its most fundamental levels – allegiance – then given time the macro-cultural identity of a nation, even empire can be significantly altered.

He was able to do this primarily because the Graeco-Roman Empire had a common *lingua-franca* in Greek, and the Christian community – as the followers of the *Way* became known as – had an ethos of reconciliation, enhancing the multicultural and one also of inclusivity (for example a worship style that encompasses both Jewish and local expressions) enhancing the particular. In declaring the One God of Israel and Jesus Christ – *Messiah*, as the only true

Kyrios, Paul replaced the Emperor and the whole Greek pantheon of the Gods with the one true God and Father of us all, and his one and only Son.

The three political leaders – Moshoeshoe, Smuts and Mandela – and the three Christian leaders – Mutendi, Cassidy and Tutu – are investigated in terms of the five elements (structures, styles, values etc.) that comprise the model of leadership. Each of these leaders in turn made a lasting contribution to national and/or tribal change. After looking at the six leadership models an initial conceptual framework for a multicultural model of leadership is outlined. However, in order to bring significant current postmodern/neo-African/tribal/multicultural paradigms of thought and the associated socio-political forces and philosophies of the day, to bear on the evolving model, these were specifically highlighted and brought into the process of synthesising a model.

Lastly once all these inputs are brought together in a tabulated framework, and the evolving multicultural model is screened against three known working scenarios, and further synthesised such that the refined model was then called a strategic transcultural model of leadership. Before this can be achieved however, various North American multicultural models posited were looked at in a literary review, which served to reinforce the understanding of the need to balance the universal and the particular aspects of culture.

In refining a strategic transcultural model, the thesis next attempted to address the problem of developing a national macro-cultural identity. A strict delineation in a postmodern era between Church and State was considered to be not only unnecessary but a modern myth, also noting that the State mirrors the Church in many of the problems of community and identity. Thus the meso-level of the Church provided key insights into the macro-level of the State. An argument all along was posed for not just orchestrating a macro-culture based on multiculturalism, nor in just upholding the micro-cultural individual identities at the expense of participation in a national framework and beyond this the global village, but an argument was made for a both/and scenario. In doing this the thesis sought to address both the macro-cultural and individual cultural identities at every level and in every element of the model of leadership. The plausibility of the argument for today was based on the prevalence of a language of choice – in most cases English – and an ethos of reconciliation and inclusivity for which Madiba and Tutu among others have set the standard.

A final picture of a community based on both was posited for reflection, a picture that John paints where the great heavenly host (mirroring the macro-level of the Kingdom) is contrasted with the micro-level of a people made up “from every tribe and language and people and nation” (Rev 5:9).

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CHAPTER 1: THE OUTLINE AND PARAMETERS OF THE THESIS

1.1 Objective Statement/ Title

Towards a Strategic Transcultural Model of Leadership that Enhances Koinonia in Urban Southern Africa.

1.2 The Problem of Racial Harmony in Urban Southern Africa

There is a continued demographic shift to urban centres of the many different ethnic groupings represented by the two nation-states of South Africa and Zimbabwe. In addition, the cities of South Africa are experiencing an influx of immigrants from other African nations further to the north resulting in racial and ethnic tensions and escalating pressure for employment. These factors underscore the need for an integrated national identity while promoting acceptance of cultural differences in either nation. City centre Christian institutions reflect this diversity and tension, demonstrating the growing demand to provide for a working multicultural model in the greater suburban areas associated with the cities.

In Southern Africa, the Christian Church has often been content to let socio-political events determine her composition and calling, though there have been key voices within her midst which have steered a prophetic-visionary course. The problem being addressed in this thesis is the paucity of working models that could instruct the Church. By working models, this thesis is alluding to successful multicultural institutions whose proactive stance enhances *Koinonia* (Christian fellowship/ *Ubuntu*) between cultures. If the Church could rise to the challenge of creating new models of leadership that will enhance cultural synergy then such approaches would both impact and instruct society at large.

Though models exist to promote leadership in ethnocentric groupings, there is a rapidly growing need to identify and promote models of multicultural leadership for the inner-cities and within the greater suburban environs. This need is being enhanced in the suburbs with the relatively recent influx of the new moderately wealthy and also extremely wealthy indigenous African sectors of society. Western styles and structures are becoming more mainstreamed into all sectors of Southern African society through media and global marketing with each passing generation. In addition there are a growing number of South Africans of varying ethnicities – mirroring what has also taken place in Zimbabwe – for whom English is their first language of choice, which Dawid Venter argues has as much to do with the role and status of language in society as individual choice (Venter 1999:162).

1.3 Proposition and Objectives

Proposition

The Church since the fall of Rome has been very astute at planting the gospel into other cultures. Using indigenous languages to communicate has been a key to this success, even though the scriptures were in Latin for much of the early expansion beyond the Roman Empire, which resulted in cultural, sometimes even national transformation. After the rise of Protestant Christianity, the Church has been even more proficient at translating the gospel into the indigenous cultures and tongues (West 1999:65-66; Walls 1996:40) thereby building renewed yet often monocultural communities. However, despite this proficiency at building monocultural communities, the Church has rarely been able or even willing to

translate multiple cultures into one community of the gospel, with the noted exception and early success of the multicultural Pauline community in the Graeco-Roman world.

Southern African church history reflects this continued trend, and should not be viewed as a unique picture of separatist church structures, but as part of this continuum, even if an extreme representation of it for the most part (cf Roy 2000:88). The proposition presented in this thesis is that *successful incarnation of the gospel into a multicultural context requires models of leadership that both enhance multiculturalism and also promote the underlying multiple cultures albeit from the platform of a common – but not exclusive – language and ethos*. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that the multicultural model of leadership which was first seen in Paul is evident to varying degrees – albeit contextualized – in successful strategic transcultural models of leadership in Southern Africa.

If this proposition is correct, then the key elements of these models – i.e. the structures, styles and values, ability to cross socio-political divides (transcultural ability) and the backing philosophies/belief systems – of leadership present in both Pauline and the Southern African multicultural leadership models analysed in this thesis should also be visible in growing multicultural church models today. This is a proposal, and it is not anticipated that this thesis can be absolutely proven through either the presence or lack of certain key elements (see Section 1.7: Definitions, and subheading – *Model of Leadership*). However, it is anticipated that the presence or absence of these key elements in multicultural Christian church and Para-church organizations and their ongoing application will provide a basis for determining the validity of this supposition. In synthesizing a strategic transcultural Christian leadership model relevant for Southern Africa, it is realised that this thesis will not provide a conclusive *formula* that will work in every situation. While the thesis will hopefully provide a somewhat unique framework and penetrating insight into a model of leadership relevant to today's multicultural church, it may at best in the future, give a framework for understanding the way ahead.

Objectives

A primary objective of this thesis is to analyse models of multicultural leadership based on the values, styles, structures, transcultural ability and the backing philosophies/belief systems of leadership necessary for effective multicultural synergy. To this end in each of Chapters 4 and 5, two South African and one Zimbabwean, comprising two black and one white Southern African leader (purposely – providing balance regionally and racially) have been chosen who were known for their abilities in crossing socio-political boundaries. There are many church leaders, who with good intent set out to attract new residents from different cultural groupings to their churches with limited success. This proposal argues: if a model of leadership that both enhanced multicultural interaction and promoted the underlying micro-cultural aspirations was actively used, the chances of creating a successful multicultural congregation might possibly be radically altered.

A second objective of this thesis is to make initial suggestion into the arena of a macro-cultural or national identity. It is perceived that the transcultural model of Christian leadership synthesised within, should give an initial indication of the basis for an integrated national identity. As Church and society mirror one another in some respects, models deduced for the Church should have a bearing on models of leadership needed and issues of identity in the greater urban societal context. Initial insight into the concept of a new synergistic macro-cultural identity will be posited it is hoped as a result of this research.

A third objective of this thesis is to propose initial concepts of Pauline structures of belief and community as a basis for future investigation into the structures required in present day society in Southern Africa for budding effective multicultural structures of belief and community. This tertiary objective will provide initial insight into the structures used by Paul to effect a cultural transformation which demanded ultimate allegiance to Christ and emphasised Christian values and beliefs and multicultural community.

1.4 The Major Areas of Research

Early church models of leadership

This thesis will explore the models of leadership that were employed by the Early Church. For the purposes of this analysis, the *Early Church* is defined as the first century Church with a specific focus on the Gentile Branch. Thus, this thesis will look predominantly at Paul and the leadership model – inspired by his theology – that he and his missionary teams employed in establishing the Gentile Church. It will also look at his belief in Christ as the only true *Kyrios* in inspiring cultural change. Using Antioch as the Pauline prototype, the theological reflection of this thesis will provide a framework and a missiological perspective which will inform church development in the present day Southern African urban context. The thesis will also conduct preliminary primary research into Pauline structures of belief and of community which in part reflect the values and the leadership styles employed by Paul. However, this preliminary research into structures of belief and community will not be conclusive but rather is intended to be a starting point for future research. Any model of leadership proposed in this study for application within Christian organizations will be suggested as a *synthesis* (see Section 1.7, Definitions) taking into account historical and current 21st Century events and conditions in Southern Africa.

Southern African models and paradigms of leadership

The thesis will focus on three political and three Christian leadership models – linking these models to their belief systems/philosophies – as a means to suggest a synthesis that has application for multicultural leadership models within Christian organizations. Through examination of the various leadership models employed by the six leaders, the thesis will employ the concept that various African traditional and Western historical Christian *models of leadership* have provided a historic *thesis*, while African Initiated (or Independent) Church *models of leadership* have provided an *antithesis* – the reaction to the original state of affairs. The objective of the comparison of the thesis and antithesis will be to propose a *synthesis* which is appropriate to the multicultural Christian context within the cities of Southern Africa for this generation. It is the intent of this thesis to develop a synthesis of a new model(s) of leadership which will be useful within multicultural Christian organizations for the cities of Southern Africa today. After analysing the six Southern African political and Christian models of leadership, various factors such as Postmodern, Tribal, Neo-African and Multicultural paradigms of leadership together with global/regional forces of Globalisation and fragmentation will be briefly examined in determining a synthesis for relevant models of leadership to today's Southern African context. A dynamic component will be added by interviewing certain Christian leaders to explore the relevance and validity of the conclusions of this thesis.

1.5 The Axioms and Limits of this Research

Even a surface level examination of the extent of the diverse factors affecting the implementation of the *synthesis model* including the impact of multiple cultures on church

leadership models reveals that the process of analysis could be virtually unbounded and an impossibly long iterative process. Elements such as the religio-political and the socio-economic complexity of the Southern Africa context, and the different African and Western philosophies vying for dominance, as well as the various ethnic/tribal/national/global political and economic forces are but a few of the numerous critical aspects that influence Southern Africa today. Thus, in order to make the research manageable a few axioms and limits have been chosen up front in order to restrict the field of research.

Axioms

Firstly, the thesis posits as an axiom that from the start of mission history in Southern Africa, mission work and mainline churches reflected certain key traits of their relevant societies at large. In some cases these traits became flaws in the structures of the church which caused more inherent problems than any other period of Church-Mission history. Each new generation of Western dominated Church-Mission history (with few exceptions) merely repeats these inbuilt flaws in its own way. If it is true that these underlying flaws are visible in each generation of Western dominated Church-Mission history, then it should be possible to pick these out in each generation. Thus, this thesis focuses on certain individual leader(s) in mission-church history and secular history not only to examine their unique contributions as prophetic voices against the tide but also to provide insight into these inherent flaws. Likewise the focus on one of the leaders of the Zion Christian Church in the history of the African Initiated (or Independent) Church (AIC) illustrates the broader AIC reaction to these Western church and societal pressures and provides a unique insight into the indigenous structures that counteracted these flaws. The prophetic lone voice of the AIC was motivated entirely by indigenous forces to stand against the tide of external influences. These flaws and contributions to the prophetic voice will be reviewed through the lives of six leaders as a necessary limiting restriction to make this process of analysis and synthesis achievable (see below – limits).

The second axiom posited here is that the highly successful African Initiated Churches (AICs) and particularly the Zionist churches have often intuitively supplied the necessary models to counteract these inherent flaws within their contexts. In this thesis special attention is given to Samuel Mutendi's role in the Zimbabwean branch of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC). It is a tenet of this thesis that these AICs, together with Pauline models of leadership provide a basis for understanding a way forward in the new emerging multicultural climate in the cities of Southern Africa. The concepts gleaned from both Mutendi's role in the ZCC and Pauline communities are not seen as directly transferable to the present growing multicultural situation, but nonetheless provide significant insight into the urban Southern African context. As indigenous cultures represent the majority population in the region, and because AICs are among the fastest growing group of churches in Southern Africa, the inclusion of Mutendi is seen as critical in providing a middle staging ground for finding workable, contextually relevant model(s) of leadership.

Limits

As a necessary limit for what could otherwise be an unbounded iterative process, this thesis will focus on only three political leaders and three 20th/21st Century Christian leaders and the models which they employed. As noted above, one of the three Christian leaders will be a leader of an African Initiated Church. Three political leadership models will be analysed to provide historical context and prophetic relevance, while three recent models of

Christian leadership will be examined to give an initial insight into current models of multicultural leadership for the early 21st Century Southern African context.

As an extension of this first limit, a second limitation will be that even these six leaders will not be reviewed in depth, but after a relatively brief introduction into their lives and rise to prominence in leadership to give context, the focus will be on the leadership models employed by each. The analysis of their *models of leadership* will give particular regard to that which encouraged or inhibited multicultural synergy (see Section 1.7 – Definitions). The models of leadership reviewed will be mostly limited to the individual, but not entirely so. As organisational leadership models tend to be a reflection of strong organisational leaders – particularly in the case of founding leaders – these will also be drawn upon.

A third necessary limit of this research must be the actual geographical area it hopes to comment on. The geo-political land mass of Southern Africa is a debatable concept and could easily have included the front-line states bordering South Africa at a minimum, but for the purposes of this thesis in order to provide focus and yet sufficient depth of insight, the sphere of research has been limited predominantly to the two present day nation-states of South Africa and Zimbabwe, and secondarily for historical and geographical purposes, to the land-locked Kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland. South Africa by virtue of its size and complexity will tend to unapologetically dominate the horizon. The close historical, cultural and mission/church ties of Zimbabwe and South Africa have, for the purposes of this thesis, been seen as reason enough to include them together in the same sub-continental region, while particularly Lesotho's inclusion is useful for historic concerns as one of the leaders analysed settled in and another was born in the region now called Lesotho.

1.6 Methodology and Process

Methodology

This thesis will undertake initial investigation into what is largely a new area of research and as such will thus be done in the form of a proposition. Research will be conducted in the main part as a literary study, where various leaders and aspects of leadership as well as all relevant background information will have been reviewed and analysed from archival pieces of literature, websites and other printed news media where applicable. This written information (electronic, archival and news media) is supported in most cases, particularly where the model of leadership of each the three Political and three Christian leaders is being analysed, by interviewing a number of individuals who knew and/or had privileged access to information pertaining to the six leaders or are themselves the leaders in question.

The synthesis of a new model of leadership applicable to multicultural Christian institutions informed by the three models of political leadership and three models of 20th/21st Century Christian leadership will be further tested against known current working models employed by three Southern African Christian multicultural institutions. As only one leader from each of these *test-case* multicultural institutions will be interviewed, this is not seen as reasonable grounds analytically, as a means to substantial confirmation, but as grounds for an initial perspective on the proposition made and multicultural model(s) deduced.

It was found that the subject matter was extensive for most of the leading personalities researched but that only limited historical literature was available for Bishop Samuel Mutendi. This being in large part a literary research it was to some degree dependant on

historical or current references, biographies and/or autobiographies of the six leadership figures analysed because of the diverse nature of the study. Where these could not be found, as was the case with Mutendi and Cassidy, beyond the researcher-missionary Inus Daneel's and Ann Coomes' invaluable written contributions respectively, the literary sources were supplemented by extensive interviews as conducted by the author of this thesis. In the cases of Moshoeshoe and Mandela, video material was also obtained to supplement written accounts, while the written information on historic leadership figures was in part supplemented by academics and experts – specifically regarding Moshoeshoe, Smuts, and Mutendi. In other chapters, where electronic references enhanced written records, these were employed; while in chapter 3 a substantial research into specifically Pauline thinking was conducted by a thorough investigation of the whole Pauline Corpus.

An understanding of synthesis

The premise of *synthesis* is that there exists a prior (historical) condition, or the *thesis* and this is then followed by a known, more recent condition, which in turn is called the *antithesis*, using “anti” to indicate a reaction to the original condition. Lastly synthesis – rather like the swing of a pendulum which ultimately comes to rest in the middle – is seen as the ultimate outworking of these two prior extremes (Shenk 1990:197). Thus synthesis as used in this way, is a blended mutation of the two previous states into the current condition. *Blended mutation* is the term used to describe the result as the synthesis may employ elements from each of the former states while also inspiring change in such a way that new elements on occasion resemble neither of them.

The second premise of the concept of *synthesis* used here is that there are a few significant factors that often dominate the horizon in any one given era of Church-Mission history. In reality there are a vast number of factors contributing to a greater or lesser extent to the synthesis of models of leadership in any one time and place, and if analysed correctly these are so many and so vast that their precise nature and influence would be unobtainable. Yet the second premise of the dominating influence of a few significant factors is reasonable if these factors include the most significant societal and church forces of the time. In this study, the critical factors influencing the lives of the various leaders are the key to the analysis. In truth the process of synthesis is repeated over and over and yet on occasion there is an astonishing leap from one particular persuasion to another, as perceived in the phrase, *paradigm shift*. The concept of *paradigms* is used extensively by David Bosch in his major work *Transforming Mission*, a concept familiar in missiological circles. In the case of Bosch (1991:181-185), paradigms are the basis of a major hypothesis developed from Thomas Kuhn's theory of *paradigm shift* and Hans Küng's use of six major *epochs* or *paradigms* in western history which Bosch then relates to the history of the Church. This thesis will instead use the idea of *synthesis* as a concept that helps explain and give substance to *paradigm shifts*, whether situational or historical in nature.

If Zimbabwe is analysed on its own, the idea of synthesis can be best illustrated by the history of the Church and its interaction with the labour industry. For the purposes of this illustration a simplified model is used, suggesting that the early Catholic, the Dutch Reformed and the High-Anglican missionary churches – to name a few of the dominant players – which along with Western colonialism's impact on the overall Church, can be considered the *thesis*. The indigenous churches – the AICs – and thus in particular Mutendi's ZCC, are the *antithesis*. These indigenous churches were formed to a greater or lesser extent due to the impact on migrant labour movement by the city of gold –

Johannesburg and its associated mining industry as well as similar labour market requirements in the cities of Harare and Bulawayo. These market-determined communities required that the AICs seek out new indigenous leadership models within the church to accommodate the indigenous aspirations and inter-tribal groupings determined by labour and other factors. The *synthesis* of these two opposing forces is seen to be the emerging multicultural Church of today which is a significant factor in the inner-city already and is fast becoming one of the new emerging church models even in the outer suburbs.

The synthetic-semiotic model

The *synthetic model* – the process of synthesis seen as a model (Bevans 1992:82-83) – is the undergirding model used in this analysis. This should not be seen as a static one time process, as synthesis is repeated over and over again. Thus in using the synthetic model, this analysis modifies the first premise of synthesis indicated above – that of a precondition changing through a process to an end condition – with the concept of *dynamic synthesis* encompassing the concept of continuing change (Shenk 1990:194). This *synthetic model* is overlain by another model called a *semiotic model* (Gilliland 1999:36), to combat any natural tendencies to emphasize the author's own cultural persuasion. In the semiotic model used here, signs – events and persuasions perceived to dominate the horizon in the indigenous culture, traditional beliefs, precedent Christian traits, African Independent Church theology, and the interaction with the gospel, church and cultures – are interpreted. These signs are taken into account which enhance the social change already happening or desired in the context, but with a view to formation of a new/renewed identity, and thus brings about the desired balance of persuasion. Schreiter (1985:13) defines such a model as a contextual model which emphasising the need for social change but should not be viewed in such a manner that it does not also utilise the ethnographic approach which is primarily concerned with the need for identity.

The *semiotic model* also helps to discern vacuums created by cultural upheaval which can often be caused by the dominance of one culture at the expense of another. These cultural upheavals have created a series of vacuums over the last three hundred years which within the new emerging synthesis may have a substantial negative residual effect if not dealt with constructively. For example, the labour migration driven by Western oriented demands has created whole villages of mothers and children almost devoid of fathers. These itinerant workers have a transitory lifestyle which may produce additional single parent offspring in the cities. Subsequent urbanization has compounded this process, caused extensive breakdown of the extended family and tribal structures. The multicultural context of the cities of Southern Africa offer a unique and somewhat complex opportunity to find workable constructs that will counteract the negative effects of cultural upheaval and which will aid and assist Church growth. The perspectives so derived in areas of multiculturalism could be an instruction to society at large bringing with them a greater understanding of reconciliation and the dignity of other cultures.

This process of moving beyond individual isolated cultures to a synthesis of a new all-embracing Christian multiculturalism could be a positive influence upon the current synthesis already underway in Southern African society at large. At present there is wide-ranging debate regarding what it means to be South African or Zimbabwean – as regards a *national cultural identity* or what *macro-culture* this might employ – in part due to conflicting philosophical demands and the current political conditions of both nation states. The proposed model(s) will it is hoped be relevant to a changing urban context increasingly

reflecting the many faces of the nation, and thus the need for a model(s) in the church that both reflects and leads a multicultural society, becomes ever greater.

In the Zimbabwean context, the debate is more muted due to current political conditions. However, there is a clear need for a positive multicultural model in Zimbabwe which addresses the country's diverse African cultures, both indigenous and foreign. This study will hopefully provide insight for redressing the current Zimbabwean situation. It is recognized that the implementation of its proposed leadership model(s) will be severely limited in the current Zimbabwean environment. Currently there are a great many African nationalities represented, especially in Harare, even though Zimbabwe's professional and business expertise of all ethnicities and her predominantly white farming population (affecting among others Shona, Manyika, Ndebele, Tonga, English and Afrikaaners) has been severely reduced. Added to the indigenous diversity still resident, there is always hope for a return of some expertise from all the ethnic groups now in exile, which could inspire a future multicultural dynamic and economic growth.

Theological reflection

This thesis has been conducted on the two-fold bases of *Missiology* (within Theology) and *leadership* (within Management Sciences). Many pastors and theologians obtained a sound theological basis to, but few have had an emphasis of leadership within, their training. Recognising the valuable insight this emphasis might afford, and interdisciplinary nature of Missiology to begin with, both missiological and leadership concepts – within the aspects of multiculturalism this thesis seeks to address – have been utilised. A great deal of weight has been placed on the theological reflection in this thesis which provides long range balance of perspective and missiological insight to the *synthetic-semiotic model* of analysis used. This theological reflection as well as the inclusion of present day inputs such as the philosophical/economic/political forces in Southern Africa is necessary to counterbalance the historical, cultural and philosophical inputs gleaned from the analysis of the six leaders under review. This research makes suggestions primarily in the realm of Christian organizational leadership, with an inferred significance in the socio-political arena. With this clear intent, the author makes no hesitation in stating that the biblical account, particularly the whole of the Pauline corpus and Luke's account of the *Acts of the Apostles* has been used to provide insight, direction and theological underpinning to the thesis.

The entire Biblical account of the Pauline epistles is taken as being authored directly by Paul. The author notes the dissent among academics regarding the extent of Paul's authorship of these epistles, and indeed notes that some academics would exclude the letters of 2 Thessalonians, Colossians and Ephesians as "debateable", and also the pastoral letters (1 Timothy, 2 Timothy and Titus) as highly dubious and should be "contested" (Kummel 1975:251), but sides with the position of not a few theologians who would favour direct authorship of Paul in all the epistles bearing his name. It is also noted that this is a Missiological thesis, and as such is not directly a Biblical Science thesis thus warranting, some would argue, a narrower gauge of the Pauline letters safeguarding the authenticity of the Pauline theology drawn upon. It is however the author's opinion that such limitation would result in the loss of critical elements of Paul's theology and praxis, particularly as regards his perspective on the *mystery of the Gospel*. From this perspective, one derives Paul's understandings of reconciliation and multicultural leadership critical to this thesis. As a result, the very nature and direction of this study requires the inclusion of the whole biblical account of the Pauline corpus.

1.7 Definitions

Wherever indigenous African cultural terminology and/or Greek words have been used directly by the author, these are defined for the reader's convenience in the *Glossary of Terminology and Biblical References* at the end of this thesis. However the Greek words of *Koinonia* and *Kyrios* and the phrases *Models of leadership*, *The Situation Leadership and Apprenticeship Models* and *Strategic Transcultural Leadership* are further analysed below because of the significance of these three words and phrases to this thesis.

Koinonia

The term is used in this thesis to describe fellowship within Christian communities and indicates, based on biblical usage, a depth of intimacy within these communities. This term was used by Paul as Ziesler (1990:148) points out to describe the collection he orchestrated to be taken as a love offering from the gentile churches to Jerusalem. It was important for at least two reasons beyond the immediate relief the offering brought to the drought Israel was experiencing. Firstly, it expressed the unity of the church between Gentile and Jew. Secondly, theologically it expressed for Paul the concept of ingathering of Gentiles before the vast majority of the Jews came to faith in Christ (cf. Rom 11); a reversal of the widespread traditionally held expectation of Gentiles being the ones needing to come to faith in Jehovah (Ziesler 1990:148-149). The indigenous *Xhosa* term most closely seen to resemble the definition and original intent of this word is the term *ubuntu*.

Kyrios

The Greek word used to translate the Old Testament Jewish divine name for God, and is later ascribed to Jesus himself as Lord. It is the same word used as an honorary title ascribed to Caesar in the Emperor cult –the official religion of the Empire. Please see Chapter 3 – Section 3.9: *Pauline Belief Structures...* for a more detailed study of this word.

Model of Leadership

This is defined for the purposes of this thesis as being the values, styles, and structures used by a leader and/or organization and the ability to cross socio-political barriers (their trans-cultural ability) based in full or in part on a belief or philosophical system. This is just a constructed definition for the purposes of this thesis, limiting the model of leadership to five major areas, but which could easily have been more. For instance *The 7Ss Model* as explained in Mark Haynes Daniell's book, *World of Risk: Next Generation Strategy for a Volatile Era* uses seven criteria – strategy, structure, systems, staff, skill, style, and shared values (Daniell 2000:107). Of these criteria, structure, style and values are directly addressed in this thesis and the type of leadership or staffing needed to promote models of leadership both sensitive to the building of multicultural community and supportive of the individual cultures is also indirectly addressed within the *structures* utilized.

This constructed definition for a *model of leadership* as used in this thesis – starting with the values, styles and structures, but further including the trans-cultural ability and the belief/philosophical system of the leader – is a fairly broad one, once the above mentioned leadership or staffing component, is added. This broad basis for a model of leadership will give a fairly thorough insight it is hoped into a strategic transcultural model of leadership by analysing the six models of leadership being researched.

While analysing the leadership models in question, particularly in Chapters 4 and 5, a *model of leadership* will refer for the most part to the individual leader's *model* utilised, but

at times may also apply to the organisation's leadership model with which the leader has been involved. As noted above, organisations often reflect a strong leader's model of leadership, particularly in the case of the founder. The reverse is also true – a leader may often reflect a strong sense of an institution's model (i.e. the values, trans-cultural nature etc.) such that the institutional model of leadership cannot be separated from the individual leader's model. The criteria making up the model of leadership analysed in this thesis, will be given special attention when they promote or alternatively impede multicultural synergy and/or the expression of the individual cultures making up the multicultural group.

The Situation Leadership and Apprenticeship Models

In addition to the concept of style of leadership used in the analysis of the leadership model (where two dominating styles will often be shown to operate), this thesis will attempt to briefly show in a tabulated format the use of other styles of leadership based on Paul Hersey's *situational selling* in its adapted form (Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson 1996:200). Each leader has been analysed for displaying all four styles (S1 to S4) based in the quadrants of the *Situational Leadership Model*.

Next, the author has adapted this chart and combined it with Hersey's concept of *follower readiness* to create a *Situational Apprentice Model* again with four quadrants and four associated styles (AS1 to AS4). The concept of an apprenticeship style, understood as learning aspects of leadership which mirror a mentor's (the situational leadership) style and the use of a model – the *Situational Apprenticeship Model* – to express this is unique to this thesis (as far as the author is aware), being original in its concept but not in its detail.

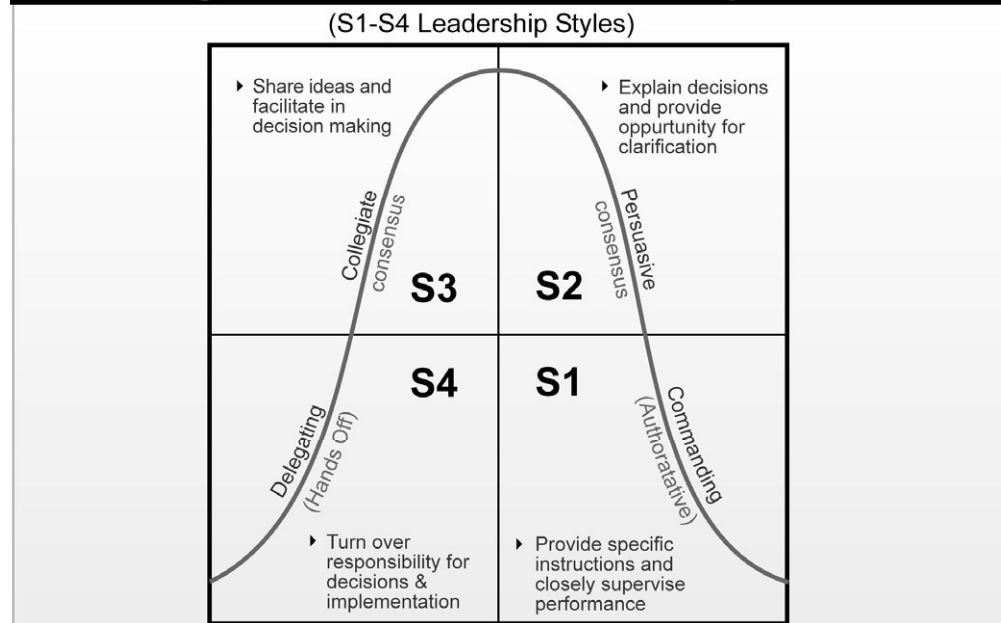
These models are clearly shown below such that clarification of descriptive labels S1 to S4 and AS1 to AS4 can be easily ascertained from the two models represented in chart form (see over page). Within the joint analysis of the three political leaders and three Christian leaders these styles are referred to but an attempt has not been made to refer to them within the text or even within the section specifically labelled *Style of Leadership* in each case. This may have proved to be somewhat cumbersome to relate every concept of style(s) used to one of these labels, which have been gleaned not only from a specific styles mentioned and from incidents within the rest of the text but also from an overall understanding of how the leader operated. However for clarity the style labels (S1 to S4 and AS1 to AS4) have in every case where possible been linked to one specific event, role or area of leadership in the leaders life even if the style was first deduced for example as a general life-time style. These style labels are not seen as definitive in relating a historical or present day leader to eight styles of leadership and apprenticeship in an absolute manner, which could have proved somewhat hazardous, as awareness of even someone else's style who is intimately known can be a very subjective process.

In the case of the six leaders analysed, objectivity was achieved to some degree by looking at multiple sources. The historical/cultural circumstances of the time periods of the leaders was taken into account, which together with the interviews and the literary/electronic sources available on each gave a basis for analysis. The leadership styles were then tabulated under S1 to S4 and AS1 to AS4. These labels in the case of each leader are seen to represent a fairly (but not precisely) accurate picture of the various styles each utilised.

The category of *Style(s)* in the joint analysis tables indicates a single preferred young adult style and two more mature styles used and though they often correlate closely with S1 to S4

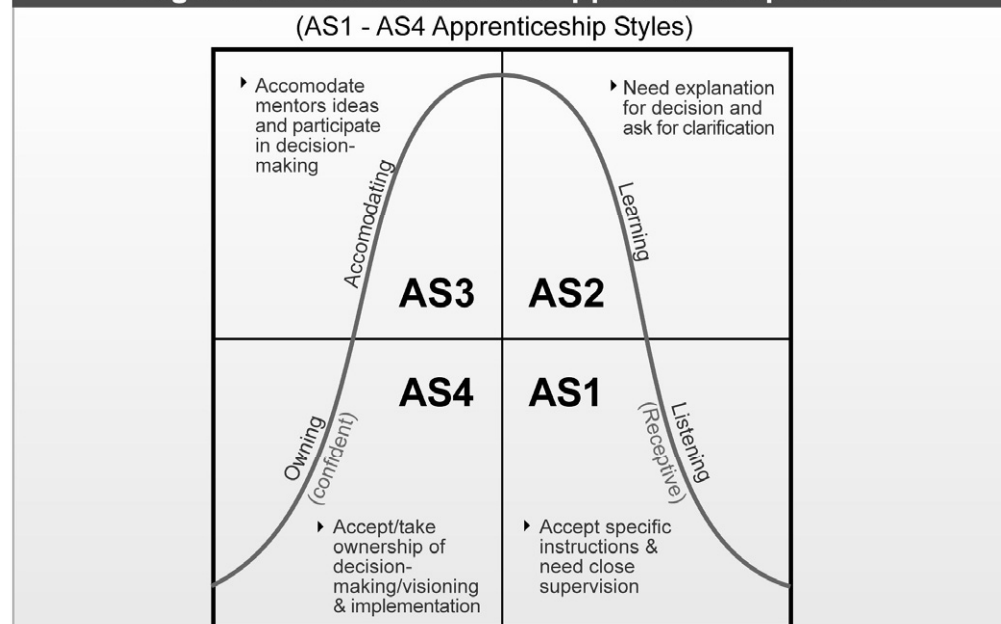
categories, these are seen as general and/or preferred styles of leadership and should not be confused with the styles used in the *Situational Leadership and Apprenticeship Models*.

► **Figure 1.1 The Situational Leadership Model**



The “Situational Leadership Model” adapted from Hersey, Blanchard & Johnson (1996:200)

► **Figure 1.2 The Situational Apprenticeship Model**



The “Situational Apprenticeship Model” created from concepts of “follower readiness” and “situational leadership” in Hersey, Blanchard & Johnson (1996:200)

Strategic Transcultural Leadership

Trans-culturally strategic leadership is defined for the purposes of this thesis as leadership that is able to transcend all socio-political boundaries and to envision a new future based on a new cultural paradigm. The term transformational leadership has often been used in the past to cover this concept, yet the two are not totally interchangeable. For while

transformational leadership can include the concept of an ability to traverse socio-political boundaries, it does not necessarily include this in every context. In a Southern African context *strategic transcultural leadership* does not merely cross societal boundaries and lead the way in this regard, but it also dares to press for a metamorphosis of society into a more equitable one with a "...respect for political, racial, tribal, religious and cultural diversity" (Mbigi & Maree 1995:98); and in a gender inclusive manner.

But, there is no getting around the concept that while racial and gender equity might dominate the political horizon in a Southern African context, an ability to turn a company, institution or nation around in its company pride; institutional cultural identity; or national spirit – which in turn impacts on its sense of community wellbeing; productivity and/or financial output – is a large element, especially in a global market place, of what makes up trans-culturally strategic leadership (cf Sham 1999:204). In this sense as long as a concept of changing or traversing culture is included, *trans-culturally strategic*, closely aligns to *transformational*, leadership. Lastly, for the purposes of this thesis a *strategic transcultural leader* as with a transformational leader is assumed to be a determined, and yet somewhat paradoxically, equally humble person. This is not just a nice addendum to bring missiological correctness to this definition of strategic transcultural leadership, but is based on sound research:

A recent five-year study on leadership reported some astonishing conclusions, according to the January 2001 issue of the *Harvard Business Review*. For instance according to their data, one of the most important factors in transforming a good company into a great company is *a humble, determined leader*. The study, conducted by a Boulder, Colorado-based research group, headed up by Jim Collins, set a very high standard in defining a "great company". Collins chose cumulative stocks returns as his benchmark. Then he looked for companies that had (1) experienced returns at or below market par for fifteen years, and then (2) surged to three times greater than market par for the next fifteen years. Collins weeded out companies that simply rode industry trends to higher profitability. He wanted to find *internal* factors that produced corporate transformation ...looking for common denominators. He found just one: Leadership. He was astonished at the *kind* of leadership he found in those transformed companies. As executive coach Dr. Michael O'Brian stated ... in response to the findings, the leadership style Collins documented was "not leadership based on ego. Or power.... Each CEO of each of the eleven companies exhibited leadership characteristics that were paradoxical. ...They were cut from a different cloth, one that was made up of equal parts personal humility and professional will" (Williams 2002:105-106).

In short a *strategic transcultural leader*:

1. Transcends societal boundaries and encourages others to do so.
2. Presses for racial, political, tribal, cultural, religious and gender equity.
3. Has the ability to turn an institution/nation around in its cultural pride, which in turn affects its institutional/national identity and/or productivity and/or financial output.
4. Is humble yet exhibits a strong determination.
5. Initiates and leads change from an old paradigm of the individual cultures to a new paradigm in a sequential manner for the synergistic advancement of the whole; yet which includes and values all the cultures represented within.

CHAPTER 2: THE NEED FOR “STRATEGIC TRANSCULTURAL LEADERSHIP” IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a lead-off chapter, and follows the themes and parameters established in Chapter 1 which introduced the problem of ethnic unrest in the cities of Southern Africa and set out the proposal that a model of leadership which both enhances synergy between cultures and values the individual cultures is required. Chapter 2 will make a strong case for strategic transcultural leadership, which in its essence could be included more loosely under the concept of transformational leadership. Briefly stated, *strategic transcultural leadership* is for the purposes of this thesis, leadership which is able to cross socio-political barriers – between peoples who align themselves into different cultures – and in doing so envisage a new future. In this brief definition above, *cultures* is used in the broad sense of the word to include all tribal, ethnic, political, or socio-economic groupings.

In the same way that trans-nationals (or multinational companies) can cross political boundaries, so *trans-culturalists* (or culturally transcending individuals) can traverse socio-political boundaries with ease. This chapter will examine and link the need for *strategic transcultural leadership* to the problems in Africa in general and specifically to the challenges faced with regard to ethnic diversity (associated issues of conflict and ethnic unrest) in the cities of Southern Africa as alluded to in Chapter 1.

Prior to addressing the issues in the cities of Southern Africa, it is useful to provide a specific understanding of the concept of *strategic* for the purposes of this thesis. Bill Hybels, the founding pastor of Willow Creek Community Church, one of the largest churches in the United States provides the following insight on *strategic leaders* from his book, *Courageous Leadership*: “Strategic leaders have the God-given ability to take an exciting vision and break it down into a series of sequential, achievable steps. This gift of leadership allows an organisation to march intentionally towards the actualisation of its mission” (Hybels 2002:143). Or put differently a *strategic leader* interprets the present scenario and change environment in the light of a future vision and boldly steps forward, but does so in such a way that the concepts that help achieve the vision are grasped and followers are inspired to follow in a momentum building progression. The leader thus activates a deliberate movement beginning on a path toward a new reality, where the accent and orientation is futuristic and progressive rather than managerial, tactical and present day oriented (cf Conger 1992:51; Kouzes & Posner 1995:100).

The general direction of the text follows this line of argument:

1. There has been a historic lack of great leadership in Africa, which is equated to strategic transcultural leadership.
2. The lack of transformational leadership in the past and more specifically transculturally strategic leadership is reflected in the unresolved issues Africa is facing.
3. There has been significant recent improvements in democracy and governance in Africa at large which is reflected in an economic upswing in certain countries.
4. In Southern Africa perhaps two issues that stand out in relation to this thesis are the need to uproot cultural prejudice and the need for a national cultural identity.
5. There is a need to model the crossing of barriers looking specifically at the role of dialogue between various groups and the building of new concepts of tribe or nation from the top down as exemplified by two specific leaders.

6. These leadership examples will be used to show that strategic transcultural leaders have an innate ability to transcend barriers based on the belief system of the leader.

2.2 Strategic Transcultural Leadership and Africa's unresolved problems

There is room beyond this thesis for a case to be made that there is a dearth of transformational leadership – or more specifically strategic transcultural leadership – throughout the world today, and if this is true, Africa in this regard is no exception. The challenges of Africa may in scale if not in scope however heighten the need for transculturally strategic leadership with problems ranging from corruption, amoral dictatorships, ongoing civil wars, genocide, inherent problems of poverty, high crime rates and high unemployment and HIV/AIDS percentages. Africa upon a fleeting inspection seems to have had a real dearth of strategic transcultural leadership in her post-colonial leadership that could rise above the political clambering of the day, and with a non-partisan even-handed resolved intent address the critical issues of the day. If Africa could use the kind of leader who has the ability to cross social boundaries and dare to redefine a company or organization's *composite being* or *integrated culture*, a problem heightened by her brain drain, then how much more so the kind of leader who could address a whole nation's?

Missiologist, Professor P.G.J. Meiring of the University of Pretoria, relates a story concerning Desmond Tutu and himself, that highlights the issue:

I was being driven through Nairobi in the company of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It was November 1994, and the PACLA II (Pan African Leadership Assembly II) meeting that was due to commence. Tutu, who was asked to be the keynote speaker, invited me, on our arrival at the airport, to accompany him for the rest of the day, meeting with church leaders and other luminaries in the Kenyan capital. It was when our driver, an official of one of the ecumenical bodies in Nairobi, was reporting on the difficulties they were facing, that the Archbishop leaned back in his seat, and with closed eyes murmured: "Africa, Oh, Africa, where are your leaders?" Tutu was not the first to raise the question. For decades, ever since the late 1950's when one African state after the other gained independence from their colonial masters, the question of leadership came under scrutiny (Meiring 2002:719; cf Adewoye 2000:39ff).

Southern Africa in particular with its unresolved problems in the ethical, political, civic, racial/tribal, economic and medical spheres of society reflects to some extent the absence of courageous trans-culturally strategic leadership. Zimbabwe is a prime example of the lack of such leadership with its indiscriminate land grabbing and the wholesale destruction of the street vendor and urban dwellers' property. Strategic transcultural leadership has been, at least in the case of Zimbabwe, somewhat distinctly absent in each of these problem areas, which compounds even more the increased risk of the overall economic failure of a nation, which has it appears in Zimbabwe's case, already happened. In Southern Africa, the risk of a failed economy is great enough with the combination of the issues just raised, without the added complication of an absence of a model of strategic transcultural leadership at the top, more so if in fact a negative leadership model is being thrown in the mix. The United Nations special envoy Anna Tibaijuka issued a damning report, dated the 18th July 2005, of the Zimbabwe Government's campaign to clean up slums, illegally built houses, offices and street vendors, callously called "Operation Throw out the Trash",

otherwise known as “Operation *Murambatsvina*” (Tibaijuka 2005:2). In this whole fiasco Zimbabwe’s future continues to be closely if not inextricably linked to South Africa’s willingness to provide economic and political support, as expressed by the 31st July, 2005 article in the Sunday Times written by Brendon Boyle:

South Africa has negotiated a five-week International Monetary Fund reprieve for Zimbabwe – which faces imminent expulsion over arrears totaling \$290-million – and may settle part of the debt. But Reserve Bank Governor Tito Mboweni will not authorize any payment to Zimbabwe or to the IMF unless the Harare government has signaled its commitment to conditions including political, human-rights and economic reforms, government insiders said.... One South African government official said Thursday’s statement by Zimbabwe’s Deputy President Joyce Mujuru that the government had ended the demolition of informal homes and shops across the country fell short of the requirement. The UN said in a scathing report last week that the brutal operation had cost at least 700,000 people their homes or livelihoods and had affected at least 2.4 million people.

Finance Minister Trevor Manuel defended South Africa’s plan to support Zimbabwe on Thursday, telling Wits University students: “The worst thing we can have is a failed state or a rogue state on our borders.” He said Zimbabwe had already devalued its currency and raised the petrol price by 300% following discussions with South Africa. The Democratic Alliance ratcheted up its campaign against the proposed loan this week, launching a drive to gather SMS messages of opposition to it. “It is of no use to the people of Zimbabwe for the ANC to stand quietly by while the destruction continues unabated and then to offer empty gestures of support after the fact,” said the DA’s spokesman on Africa, Joe Seremane (www.sundaytimes.co.za).

The twin concepts of economic and leadership failure in Zimbabwe’s case at least, seem not to be a chicken and egg scenario – as to which came first – such is the extent of Mugabe’s failure. Yet not only Mugabe’s, for Trevor Manuel would do well to remember under which party’s policy of *quite diplomacy* and back-patting has a “rogue state” with a “failed” economy already been created? Though Manuel and Mbeki do seem to have been let off the hock or vindicated in their recent gesture (which ever way you look at it) being turned down by Robert Mugabe as one not willing to accept assistance with the kind of preconditions that South Africa placed on it. It may be worth mentioning at this point that this “failure” to lead is in essence, at least in part, a failure to synthesis culture on a national level. In addition to the Southern Africa challenges that were outlined earlier, Mark Haynes Daniell (2000:4) would add within the broader domain of “Rising Levels of Risk” the general global problem of “Risks to the retention of our unique cultures and to the spiritual foundations to our lives.” Yet one of the complex problems and areas of risk, that faces Southern Africa and indeed most of the world, is the complexity of nations comprised of multiple cultures and the failure of leadership to stimulate an internal synthesis, quite besides the threats to a single culture, from outside sources to which Daniell alludes.

Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, needs leadership that can not only address the issues of uniqueness in individual cultures and their associated spiritual foundations, but she needs leaders who can envision and champion a new multicultural national identity, for African nations in general have not been so honoured as to be concerned with preserving a

single culture. History (South Africa is a case in point with eleven official languages not counting any other unofficial ones) has combined with the issues of the day – including vast demographic shifts and globalisation – to forbid this outdated response. What Daniell and others fail to specifically address is that beyond the advocates of a *universal culture* largely driven by Western countries through globalisation, and the advocates of *individual cultural identity* – what is otherwise referred to as the “culture free” versus “culture specific” debate (Daniell 2000:250; Braun & Warner 2002:13) – there could be a third consideration for a both/and scenario which both respects individual cultures while building a new national cultural identity.

This thesis contends that strategic transcultural leadership is needed particularly in Southern Africa to address the balancing of multiculturalism in a new macro-cultural and truly nationally based identity, with the concern to honour the individual cultures represented. The failure to synthesize culture in terms of a new or renewed macro-cultural national identity may have a bearing on the economic problems Zimbabwe is now facing, although this cannot be proved within the constraints of this thesis and is not its priority either, it is an objective statement worthy of consideration for further research. Indeed there may be a basis of support to this argument; for as Robert Hayles and Armida Mendez Russell mention in their book *The Diversity Directive*; there are multiple examples that link economic excellence with diversity:

For example, looking only at race and gender, research consultants Heidrick and Struggles, Inc., found that companies with two or more women and two or more “minority” directors on their boards were much more likely than others to be named to *Fortune* magazine’s “Most Admired Companies” list. Similarly, a front-page *Wall Street Journal* article in 1993 reported a study showing that companies with good records of recruitment and retention of women and people of color also had stock prices that were about 10 percent higher than those with poor recruitment records. In 1994 Robert Hayles, then at Pillsbury Co., examined the relationship between financial performance and excellence in diversity within the food industry, using a broad and inclusive definition of diversity. First Hayles rank ordered 10 food companies for financial performance. ...[Then he proceeded] to rank the 10 food companies according to diversity excellence. The findings clearly indicated that the food companies with the best diversity practices were also the best financial performers (Hayles & Russell 1997:4-6).

Here it should be made clear that Hayles and Russell are assessing the link between economic excellence with diversity on a company level within the context of the United States and therefore not directly relevant to a national level in Southern Africa, but it nevertheless may indicate a trend that could prove true at a national level in other countries. A possible link between diversity and the economy could prove crucial in the future, for the West has judged post-colonial Africa not on the issues of diversity alone, nor even an unrealised macro-cultural identity and the potential that individual cultural identities might play in a new multiculturalism, but on the basis of economic progress and issues surrounding good governance and democracy. In this respect the prominent Kenyan churchman, editor and intellectual, Bishop Henry Okullu as far back as 1976 in a speech given to the Pan African Leadership Assembly I (PACLA I – a Christian Leadership conference which comprised an exceptionally broad range of Christian denominations from all over Africa, printed in 1978) commented on Africa’s apparent leadership ineptitude:

Africa is a continent of problems. You could call us heathen, backward, barbaric and such other names which portray us as problem people. ...In many ways we have deserved this sort of evaluation. Politically most African states are ruled by military dictators with every individual's life expendable at any time the ruler may decide so. The few remaining states are ruled by powerful bureaucracies. Leadership is personalised and this personalisation leads to idolisation of the leader to such an extent that people are made to believe that their rights come from the generosity of that leader. In Africa every ruler becomes an ungazetted king, sitting in an unimpeachable position; ruling supreme for life. This misunderstanding of power as something given by the Creator for the service of one's fellow men is what led to its abuse. Power is sought and maintained, often by unjust means, for its own sake. As a result of all this Africa is involuntarily, without calculation, experimenting with something new: a system of government which should be best described as a one-party dictatorship (Okullu 1978:31).

In a somewhat similar but broader vein, some 26 years later (Okullu's speak was in 1976, but printed in 1978), Professor Meiring – focusing more specifically on South Africa, but drawing on comments made by Kretzschmar in a Nigerian context after Meiring's involvement with the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC 1996-1998) – notes the many disappointments in leadership across the board. He records his thoughts in this respect in the 2002 publication of *Verbum et Ecclesia*:

Of course there were disappointments. Also among the South African leaders, black as well as white, were those who were found wanting, with feet of clay. ...many of these disappointments in the spheres of politics and finance, in the business and legal fraternities, among academics, also in the faith communities, surfaced. It was clear that South Africa, too, was in need of leaders with integrity and wisdom, with energy and resilience. Louise Kretzschmar's comments to a Nigerian audience (Ibadan November 2000), surely apply to South Africa as well: "Among the growing calls for the 21st century to be the African century, all Africans, including African Christians, need to pay serious attention to one of the vital components that will affect genuine transformation, namely, that of authentic leadership" (Meiring 2002:720-721; cf Kretzschmar 2002:41).

The benchmark of achievement in the arena of *transformation* for most Western companies is centred on the concept of revising the corporate structure and culture to build pride, a sense of association and purpose, resulting in an increased production or product excellence and thus overall net worth. In reality, countries are viewed little differently than companies by *First World* powers, as in effect their net worth in terms of production, often amounts to less than that of a multinational. In which case, it may not be too far of the mark to suggest that countries wanting to be economically successful should not only look at issues of diversity but also look at possible revisions to their governance structures and the building of a new national cultural paradigm. History over 27 years had by 2003 apparently taught Africa few lessons for even as money poured into Africa there was seemingly little to show for it. This apparent lack of progress developed a backlash from the West and is one of the reasons why Africa has been given so little attention in the past by the movers and shakers of globalized free trade, a view espoused by Allister Sparks (2003:xi) in his book, *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa* as put forward in his prologue:

Africa, with its pathetic two percent of global production and no purchasing power – more than half its 800 million have to survive on less than \$1 a day – simply didn't belong in that league and was being ignored. Its economic insignificance aside, the developed world was turning away in exasperation from Africa's endless conflicts and self-destructive misrule. The international news media, too, had grown weary and were giving less coverage to its endless woes and impenetrable complexities. *The Economist* had dismissed it as “the hopeless continent.”

In a similar vein only a few pages later, Allister Sparks again mentions that this “exasperation” or “even disgust” of the “developed world” with Africa was seen almost singularly as being caused by her bankrupt leadership: “There are good reasons, of course, for the developed world to look with scepticism and even disgust at Africa's failures which too often have been caused by its own kleptocratic rulers who have raped and plundered its resources with a greed that surely matches its maligned colonizers” (Sparks 2003:7).

Yet this really does not do justice to the whole of sub-Saharan Africa even by the 1990's especially if the focus is more on issues of democracy and governance. For in these years Chiluba replaced Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia in a relatively smooth transition of power even if Chiluba thereafter did not really fulfil the national expectations, Namibia received her independence, Mozambique signed a peace accord between its two opposing factions and Zimbabwe by 1997 had gone through a thorough economic transformation even if the fruits of this were later lost. More recently Kenya has also had a peaceful democratic election in which the long standing Moi handed over power peacefully thus closing the chapter on what looked very much like a one-party state.

Mirroring Kenya's political metamorphosis, a significant portion of sub-Saharan Africa has been going through something of a change of heart and a re-invention of itself. This is especially true of the past five years in which time no fewer than two-thirds of African countries have had multi-party election, and 24 countries had an economic growth rate over 5% by 2003 according to the *Report of the Commission for Africa* headed by Tony Blair which expressly states: “Twenty years ago it was commonplace for African countries to be run as dictatorships; today such governments are a minority” (Commission for Africa 2005:24). This is a point of view that Sparks seems not to have picked up on. It might be that the positive economic effects of the African Union's vision – in which Africa takes charge of her own destiny – were not widely known by 2003, and were also somewhat blurred by the African Union's programme, NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development), having taken considerable heat over its apparent failure to uniformly apply its declared intention of peer review among other things.

Also true is the effect that a few rogue states can have on the lenses with which the West views Africa, which after all is a whole continent made up of a large number of independently sovereign nations. Despite this there has been significant positive, if somewhat recent progress, even when Africa is considered as a whole in the areas of governance and the economy, a point also made by the G8 (Group of Eight) leaders and expressed in their 2005 summit meeting. In their agreement on Africa they mention that Africa is the only continent that is not on track to meet the Millennium Declaration goals set by the United Nations to be reached by 2015 and yet they mention directly after this that:

Important progress has been made. In the past five years, more than two thirds of sub-Saharan African countries have had democratic elections. Inflation is a fifth of levels a decade ago. Growth in sixteen African countries averaged over 4% in the past decade, higher than in any major developed country. 24 African countries have now signed up to have their progress reviewed by their peers. And the promotion of good governance, peace and security and economic development is at the heart of the African Union (AU) and its programme, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (www.number-10.gov.uk).

South Africa in particular as one of the leaders of NEPAD has received high ratings from The Center for Public Integrity with a ranking just below Germany in her *Public Integrity Index* (www.publicintegrity.org), even if her integrity has seemingly wavered at times. For example, South Africa seemed to falter on the issue of delivering antiretrovirals to some 5 million with its ruling party's alarming disregard for the main stream medical opinion on HIV/Aids. But recently the government has agreed to make them available to all affected citizens, which only serves to highlight the balanced society that has been achieved little more than a decade since the 1994 elections, a point of view put forward by Justin Arenstein in the *Corruption Notebook* for *The Center* (www.publicintegrity.org).

Yet the problems of misgovernance and dictatorial leadership styles are still an issue in certain African states despite the above mentioned gains – which possibly is no where more starkly displayed than in the case of Zimbabwe which received the lowest *Public Integrity Index* rating of any nation by The Center for Public Integrity (www.publicintegrity.org) – but even these are far from the only problems Southern Africa faces. South Africa in particular has to deal with an influx of economic refugees, heightening the tension already created by the dichotomy of a vibrant economy but high unemployment rate. Allister Sparks addresses the problems relating to black immigrants coming in search of the African dream of acquiring wealth without having to leave Africa. He has this to say:

But it is not only whites who harbour deep-rooted prejudice. Black South Africans are profoundly xenophobic. They are fiercely hostile, often violently so, toward economic refugees from other African countries who flock to what they perceive to be a cornucopia of opportunity. While such economic self-protectiveness may be understandable and is pretty well universal in similar circumstances of large scale unemployment, in South Africa's case there is more than just a whiff of ethnic superiority in the attitudes displayed towards the black immigrants. The foreigners themselves describe the black South Africans as arrogant, and they resent it particularly because South Africa's liberation movements were hosted and supported and even funded by their own countries for decades, often at great cost to those countries. To no small degree the economic distress that now drives these refugees southwards was a price paid for helping to liberate the very people who now resent them (Sparks 2003:7-8).

This hostility to other races can with good reason be argued as intrinsic to the way South Africa was founded by the white races, particularly the Afrikaner and the English. The early Missionary Church was no exception to this prejudice as it expanded in the region, a point of view put forward by Bishop Cameron T Mfekane who represented the Council of African Independent Churches at the Rustenburg Conference of church leaders. Infact Mfekane argues that the missionaries brought the idea of segregation with them through

their missionary structures which were denominationally bound for the most part. A point of view he makes quite clear in his response to Professor Jonker's address:

Prof Jonker mentioned the isolation between Christians of different races as one of the obstacles towards a united witness by the Church. I agree with him. I want to go further and say that the missionaries who brought Christian religion to Africa *invaded* Africa as separate entities from different organisations or countries. These missionaries operated separately. *The only time they came together in conference was when their existence was threatened by the 'menace' called Ethiopianism.* The General Missionary Conference in 1904-1909 decided that: Christianity must lose its European form and colour.... Then the separation of European and African started. The golden rule of the South African Calvinism was *geen gelykstelling* (no equality) between black and white in Church and State. As a rule, an African could not, with impunity, enter a white Church even for an ordinary service. The damage to Christianity *was initiated* by the very missionaries who brought it (Mfekane 1991:105-106).

Whether the Missionary organisations instilled a value of segregation by their denominational divisions or whether they instilled black-white divisions in their desire to rid Christianity of its European cultural baggage, the fact remains that within the Southern African context this decision was soon seen in the light of the racial undercurrents with which it was implemented. In South Africa's case Church and State had conspired on almost an equal footing to produce a system of Apartheid which was theologically sanctioned by the Reformed Church. Yet today's issues as Sparks so accurately alluded to, as recorded just prior to Mfekane's statement, go way beyond issues of a defunct system of Apartheid instilled as it may have been by missionaries. Though it does seem a bit unfair to blame the missionaries solely for this, and surely other English, Dutch, French and German settlers among others, must have played a role as unwitting agents of segregation.

Beyond the multiple white agents of racial segregation, albeit with an understanding enshrined in Calvinism, in an attempt to be even-handed this thesis must state that the black tribes cannot claim to be totally guiltless if the devastating effects of the *Mfekane* and a general culture of raiding, endemic to many of the tribal groups of the early 1900's is taken into account. Yet today's issues in the cities of South Africa go even beyond these ingrained racial prejudices of white on black, and black on black as seen by the enmity between the various tribes, even beyond Afrikaner-English petty biases, and beyond the more recent Inkatha/ANC infighting of the 1990's in Kwa Zulu Natal, to the present day feuding between peoples of multiple tribes, nations and languages coming from within Southern Africa and from almost every other nation on the continent.

The challenge remains for South Africa's leadership to face this challenge of the city's multicultural dynamic as a positive nation-building happening and it is to this issue of the role of leadership in the creative re-engineering of society that this thesis now turns.

2.3 The Strategic Transcultural Leader's Role in Creating a New Tribe or Nation

The challenges of Africa are such that while good leadership at the individual organizational level is necessary for the success of that unit; nations need great leadership. Great leadership or *Transculturally Strategic Leadership* is necessary, with the ability to re-

engineer the way society is philosophically structured with bold initiatives; to re-strategize with risk-taking intervention in the cultural identity of a nation to include all its peoples; to provide the initial impetus to re-energize a failing economy by drawing on all sectors of society; and by lifting the depressed spirits of a nation in spiritual and emotional bankruptcy. This kind of leadership is able to step above the chaos of daily problems, and transcend economic, racial, political and societal barriers and see the possibility of a fresh new day dawning. This is the *great leadership* or *visionary leadership* – what this thesis calls *strategic transcultural leadership* – that sees beyond what mono-culturally bound leaders can see and embraces new culturally possible paradigms with plausibility while others would only laugh and shout dreamer.

Looking more specifically at Southern Africa and the needs of the cities, trans-culturally strategic leadership is needed to overcome obstacles of ethnic clashes, a strain on the labour market, economic dissonance and associated issues of diversity and find commonality (Mbigi & Maree 1995:98). Southern Africa, this thesis argues, needs trans-culturally strategic leaders who attempt to deal boldly with problems that further distance peoples from one another in their social wellbeing – such as improving their access to leadership opportunities, education, health recreational/social facilities – and creates the opportunity for a new society that transcends individual tribal or ethnic culture, providing the insight for the basis of a new community. These leaders seek to uplift people from their situation – whether one of health or economic/political or racial marginalisation – by increasing opportunity and access, and on a more practical level by communication between the haves and have nots. There is a great need for communication as the foundation for change which can be achieved through reconciliatory initiatives or through building awareness of similarities and differences among and between people groups.

With a legacy of hostility to other races in Southern African society, which was directly reflected in the missionary model of church-planting, there is an urgent need for the raising up of a *new family*; a *new tribe*; a *new nation* based on a new culture and morality of forgiveness, acceptance, reconciliation and restitution. However this will not be possible unless modelled from the top down in such a fashion that the vision and authenticity of the leader; and the correlation between his philosophy and actions is clearly seen. Bernard Bass (1998:65-66) writes of the need for creating concepts of *family* and the importance of top down *role modelling* for the industrial, military and educational spheres:

In the organizational transformational culture, there is a sense of purpose and a feeling of family. Commitments are long-term. Mutual interests are shared along with a sense of shared fates and interdependence of leaders and followers. Leaders serve as role models, mentors, and coaches. They work to socialize new members into the epitome of a transformational organization culture. Shared norms cover a wide range of behaviours. The norms are adaptive and change with change in the organization's environment. Emphasized are organizational purposes, visions, and mission. In this pure organizational culture, challenges are opportunities, not threats.

Nelson Mandela's name has become synonymous with *transformational leadership* in Southern Africa, but what perhaps is less well known beyond his emphasis on reconciliation is indeed his openness to dialogue and discussion. This same openness to dialogue and negotiation allowed for alliances to be formed even with former arch foes

such as the Nationalist Party which laid the foundations for transition to a new basis of nationhood. Indeed his willingness to open up and seek out discussions with the Nationalists early on, begun a process of dialogue that led to the foundations of a new democratic order in South Africa (Smith 1999:71). What was equally important was his willingness to accommodate Buthelezi's and Inkatha's desire to have the Zulu monarchy recognized with a constitutional role within the new order, even if unbending on the pre-set election date (Mandela 1996:195). Mandela's willingness to meet with Buthelezi and his desire to stop the flow of unnecessary blood in Natal, despite continued resistance from Inkatha to register for the elections, epitomizes this leadership principle.

I arranged to meet Chief Buthelezi in Durban on March 1. "I will go down on my knees to beg those who want to drag our country into bloodshed," I told a rally before this meeting. Chief Buthelezi agreed to provisionally register for the elections in exchange for a promise to subject our differences over constitutional issues to international mediation. To this I gladly assented (Mandela 1994:615).

In this manner Mandela role modelled his willingness to enter dialogue, which is one of the foundations in building a *new tribe* and helping to create a *new national identity*. His emphasis on a *new morality* based on tolerance, forgiveness and reconciliation while at one and the same time accepting and respecting each tribe or race's distinctive character was a hallmark of Mandela's nation-building philosophy, a point which will be considered in more detail when Mandela's leadership model is discussed at length in Chapter 4. It will suffice here to quote from his address to the Multi-Party Negotiations Process on 17 November, 1993 where in looking forward to the forthcoming elections, he speaks with passion into the areas of the need for dialogue and for both nation-building and respect of all cultures and their specific cultural needs:

For the first time in the history of our country, on the 27 April 1994, all South Africans, whatever their language, religion and culture, whatever their colour or class, will vote as equal citizens. Millions who were not allowed to vote will do so. I, too, for the first time in my short life, will vote. There are some people who will express fears and concerns. To them we say: You have a place in our country. You have a right to raise your fears and your concerns. We, for our part, are committed to giving you the opportunity to bring forth those views so that they may be addressed within the framework of democracy. The democratic order gives to each and all of us the instruments to address problems constructively and through dialogue. ...Together, we can build a society free from violence. We can build a society grounded on friendship and our common humanity – a society founded on tolerance. That is the only road open to us. It is a road to a glorious future in this beautiful country of ours. Let us join hands and march into the future (Mandela 1993B:128-129).

Another important factor in successful dialogue in South Africa was F.W. de Klerk's willingness to negotiate and his ability to entertain dialogue, though at a mixed pace over time. This ability to enter discussions was a point not thus far strongly represented on the Nationalist Party leadership horizon, a point Mandela makes when he first met De Klerk on 13 December, 1989 at Tuynhuys, the presidential offices in the Cape: "From the first I noticed that Mr de Klerk listened to what I had to say. This was a novel experience. National Party leaders generally heard what they wanted to hear in discussions with black

leaders, but Mr de Klerk seemed to be making a real attempt to listen and understand” (Mandela 1996:176). Without de Klerk’s character and aptitude in this regard, the hope for a peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa likely would have died with the generation of activists to which Mandela belonged.

Michael Cassidy (2005:10), founder of the evangelical organization African Enterprise and discussed in some detail in chapter 5, comments on De Klerk’s defining role in history:

Botha never did cross – he could only put his foot in it; dip his toes in – the Rubicon; he never could cross it! But I think people like De Klerk did cross it. I never knew him well but we went to government buildings in ’93 to pray with him.... And I thought that was an act of phenomenal courage because he must have known on one level that was committing political suicide. To release Mandela, to un-ban the liberation movements including the Communist Party, I mean he knew he was history. And so I think I would definitely say that he – I found him very inspiring – obviously, it goes without saying! Mandela’s reconciling spirit, spirit of forgiveness was the flip side of that coin and de Klerk had a moment, I like to believe a kind of repentance and a readiness to seek forgiveness. Then mercifully for South Africa there was a Mandela figure ready to accord forgiveness. And the fact that Mandela could come out of prison after 27 years and talk reconciliation was really something.

For on the 2nd February, 1990 De Klerk indeed had his “moment in History” as Thompson (2001:247) mentions, after unbanning multiple parties, releasing a host of political prisoners and calling a halt to much of the repressive legislation that upheld the bankrupt system of apartheid and nine days later, releasing Mandela. De Klerk’s commitment early on to genuine dialogue with a party whose hands were literally untied must indeed go down in history as one of the great acts of transformational leadership. This remains true even if he apparently failed subsequently on other levels as is suspected of his party’s complicity with the so called *third-force* that tried to destabilize the political climate to the ANC’s disadvantage and in the Government’s secret funding of Inkatha (Mandela 1996:190-193).

In both cases, of Mandela and De Klerk, there seems to be a connection between their systems of belief and/or philosophical outlook and their ability to act as strategic transcultural leaders. With De Klerk it is widely documented that he had an epiphany; a turning from the past, as mentioned by Cassidy (2005:1), and as Van Zyl Slabbert also records, though this is not specifically distinguished from the paradigm shift in the political realities of the day. Van Zyl Slabbert (2003:99) asked him how he had done it: “He replied that he had undergone a ‘spiritual leap’ and after a pause he said: ‘I would have been a fool not to take the gap that the fall of the Berlin wall gave me.’”

In Mandela’s case, his ability to cross socio-political boundaries may not be so much tied to a singular moment as to a long held political and Christian conviction, yet never the less equally intrinsic to his personality if not more so. His concepts of reconciliation were based on his childhood Christian beliefs mixed with nationalist and traditional inspiration, concepts not so readily available but which this thesis will endeavour to show in some detail in the analysis of Mandela’s model of leadership in Chapter 4.

Beyond the rhetoric of his early tribal heritage and the nationalist writings he studied later, there were a few powerful role models that would have provided a precedent for crossing socio-political boundaries. There was the role model of his father, in his friendship of, and the role played by, the two amaMfengu brothers who were not insignificantly Christians. The role model of the Regent of Thembuland and his adherence to the Christian faith was critical in Mandela's spiritual odyssey and subsequent to this Mandela's own apparent faith which became more tangible once he was studying at Fort Hare. Each of these models and his own faith gave him the necessary tangible examples and personal experiences to back up the Christian teachings he received in his youth. These Christian beliefs and powerful role models combined with deeply held tribal notions of *ubuntu* which were cemented by a nationalist culture, supplied him with the necessary philosophy by which he could so easily cross the racial barriers of the day (Mandela 1996:9, 11, 18).

Mandela more than anyone has role modelled the crossing of barriers for a whole generation of Southern Africans. Mandela may indeed be the role-model par excellence for this generation in South Africa, yet he was by no means the first. History has shown us a number of leaders including the likes of Mahatma Gandhi going back to Jesus Christ and even before that to the father of the Jewish faith, Abraham himself, who have been able to cross racial barriers with apparent ease. Within Early Church history there was a whole culture which evolved based on the belief that all cultural barriers were null and void, and which was championed more than any other possibly, by a man called Paul, who seemed born to cross multiple socio-political barriers with ease! It is to this culture which started as a sect called *the Way* in Palestine, but whose culture was further refined in the Gentile Church of the time and whose followers became known as *Christian* and to that man who largely defined its theology, and to some extent even its cultural practices, that this thesis now turns.

CHAPTER 3: EARLY CHURCH MULTICULTURAL LEADERSHIP MODELS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will start by discussing the *strategic transcultural leadership* of the two dominating, *multicultural leadership models*, through an examination of the Early Church (1st Century Church), in briefly looking at the church in Jerusalem before moving on to address the church in Antioch. However in looking at the strategic transcultural leadership (in essence transformational leadership that can cross socio-political boundaries) and at multicultural leadership models, the focus of this chapter falls primarily but not exclusively to Paul's role in the formation of the Early Gentile Church. This thesis will endeavour to show that Paul's ability to transcend barriers of gender, race, and society, whether status or class, were due to his bi-cultural heritage and to his missiological understanding of the Abrahamic covenant. His theology, in this respect, was in no small way based on the prototype of Antioch as an alternate church model to that of Jerusalem.

As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, strategic transcultural leadership – needed to address the multiple issues (some of which pertain directly to the enormous ethnic diversity) of the cities of Southern Africa – was associated with the ability to cross boundaries. This capacity to transcend boundaries was in turn connected to an inherent philosophy or belief system using the examples of the lives of two key leaders – Mandela and De Klerk. In Chapter 3 the thesis then examines the Early Church models of leadership starting with Jerusalem, but looking more closely at Antioch, in order to establish a connection between belief systems, leadership models and strategic transcultural leadership with special attention being paid to Paul. The substance of the argument, for which steps 1 to 4 are briefly mentioned immediately above, will progress along the following lines:

1. Strategic Transcultural Leadership and the Early Church models.
2. The Jerusalem Church model and her leaders.
3. The Pax-Romana and the Antioch Church model.
4. The Pauline multicultural model of leadership.
5. Paul, his missionary team(s) and the Gentile Church's ability to cross barriers.
6. Paul's role in calling for Christ as the only true *Kyrios*.
7. The roots of Paul's understanding of reconciliation and his theology of election.
8. Pauline structures for belief and community.

This thesis will explore Paul's (and his missionary team's agency) in developing a strategic *model of leadership* – his styles, structures, values, transcultural agency and belief system – and detail the basis of Paul's structures of belief and community. It will argue that a certain disposition was necessary in the transcultural crossing of societal barriers. The Pauline structures of belief and of community that set the stage for transforming a person's primary allegiance and thus ultimately his or her cultural identity will be investigated, but application within the 21st Century Southern Africa setting (both urban and rural) will only be hinted at and left in a partial state for future investigation. This Pauline incarnational (multicultural) model together with his theologies of reconciliation and election gives a basis for comparison to multicultural models relevant to Southern Africa today.

The early stages of the First Century Jewish and Gentile ministries of the Church consisted largely of two known working models. One model was the church in Jerusalem, dominated by a predominantly Jewish ministry, though it may be true that this was in part

supplemented by a growing Greek speaking Jewish congregation and operated with two tiers of leadership – the upper dominated by Hebraic Jews and the lower by Hellenistic Jews. This multicultural – more accurately and in its essence a bi-cultural parallel – model managed to transcend the barriers of culture by providing for its lower or secondary house in a benevolent manner in which the socio-religious aspirations of the Hebraic Jews was balanced by the leadership that sat on practical matters being dominated by a Hellenistic leadership. The second model was the church in Antioch which was multicultural in its expression almost from its inception. Here in Antioch the church from its membership, through to its meals conducted in homes, through to its leadership reflected the transcultural nature of the gospel in the setting of the Graeco-Roman World.

A third model could be argued for in the case of Rome – which even by the time of Paul's house arrest, may have constituted a special dual yet divided focus on Jews and Gentile – but this is intentionally set aside for the most part. The reason for sidelining Rome as a possible third model stems from the argument that the Jerusalem church quite possibly used a house church structure divided along ethnic lines also. So if indeed Rome did constitute such a duality it merely reflected the bi-cultural *prototype model* of Jerusalem. It is true that other prototypes could have arisen in the beginning formation of the Early Church, such as could be argued for Alexandria. Home to the likes of Philo, interpreter of both Jewish and Greek wisdom; Apollos, whose ability to teach was already noted by Luke before Paul's associates Aquila and Priscilla added further refinement; and the Septuagint. It represents an interesting possible third model but for lack of material on Alexandria's church this will be left hanging in the balance after a short discourse on Apollos.

Apollos himself represents an interesting test case of a person reflecting a possible third model: "He was a learned man, with a thorough knowledge of the scriptures. He had been instructed in the way of the Lord, and he spoke with great fervour and taught about Jesus accurately, though he knew only the baptism of John" (Ac 18:24-25). This sounds like a contradiction in terms in today's church, and almost certainly denotes an emphasis on a gospel of repentance and within the context of Luke's story may well indicate that though he had a grasp of Jesus' call to repentance and even Jesus as Messiah, he fell short in his understanding of Jesus' Lordship and the empowering of the Spirit both of which often had the same physical focal point – baptism. But a *baptism* beyond John's, which was into the name of the Lord Jesus and of his Spirit (Ac 18:26-28 cf 19:1-6). This somewhat unrefined understanding may or may not have been a defining mark of the people of *the Way* in Alexandria, at least early on, and may indicate another model even if it was later indirectly influenced by Paul. Yet more likely this was a more widespread phenomenon in the early stages of the life of the Gentile Church that Paul and others from time to time came across as is indicated by Luke's account of Paul's work in Ephesus as related in Acts 19.

Beyond this little is known of the Church in Alexandria such that even if this indeed represented a third prototype model, not much can be said beyond this. Some may argue for Corinth and other churches influenced by Paul, as being set up as churches with their own model. However, though every church would have been somewhat distinct, this thesis argues that all the gentile churches established by Paul reflected Antioch as their prototype and argues that only a few churches in the mind of Paul were seen as *model prototype churches*. The label *model* is used here to denote, not so much as individual distinction from other churches, but a distinction that was seen as *prototype* and thus worthy of replication, at least in its authenticating marks, even if not in its circumstantial detail.

3.2 The Jerusalem Church Model

The church in Jerusalem has been criticized by some, among them Ross Paterson (2000: 24-25), as a church which had missed its calling to be a “light to the nations”. Though true in some respects, the Jerusalem church represents a successful model, albeit confined to Judea, Galilee and Samaria in its scope (Ac 9:31). The limits of Jerusalem’s reach as a model appear to be self-imposed by her leaders, for certainly there was a reluctance on the Apostles part to leave the known environs of Jerusalem (Ac 8:1) to fulfil their mandate to go out from Jerusalem to the nations even while all other believers had been scattered throughout Judea and Samaria due to the persecution that broke out after the death of Stephen (Ac 1:8). Yet before going ahead with this chapter’s major line of argument, the positive contribution of the Judean Church focused around Jerusalem, needs to be considered before moving onto the Antioch model and Paul, where the focus of this thesis’ missiological analysis lies.

The Jerusalem church was in its early stages a growing vibrant church, impacting both the Hellenistic and Hebraic Jew alike. Some time after the Churches inception, Stephen was seen arguing with and preaching to the “Synagogue of the Freedmen” – which indicates a subsection of the Jewish community at least some of whom were in orientation, both Freed slaves and Hellenistic Jews (Ac 6:9). Even before these debating episodes of Stephen’s, the church in Jerusalem, as a reflection of the synagogue life, experienced this same phenomenon of the Hellenistic (Grecian) Jews who came from the diaspora who thought and behaved like Greeks (Stott 1994:120). It is clear that the debate over widow’s food mentioned in Acts 6 was between Hebraic and Hellenistic Jews, and which was solved by appointing second tier leaders who were largely if not entirely Hellenist in orientation. These second tier leaders – one of whom is noted as a gentile proselyte who was now by allegiance a Messianic convert – were appointed to deal with the pragmatic problem of fair play in food distribution (Ac 6:5). So the church though not without its conflicts had managed to negotiate the cultural tides; this is an important point in light of its early foundations which were comprised of the Palestinian Jews and the many converts to Judaism who heard the gospel in their own native tongues (Ac 2:7-11).

Despite this initial success, the Jerusalem church was not able to break free from the initial limits provided by the locality of this first encounter and ministered to the Jew and Jewish convert alike on the basis of Judaism’s ritualistic customs and the teachings of Moses (cf. Paul when he returns in Ac 21:17-26). These traditions (circumcision, rite of purification, sacrifices, etc.) and the teachings of Moses (the Pentateuch including the law and moral code) were the accepted religious and cultural foundation for the church (Ac 15:1; 21:21). Despite these socio-religious foundations, language and thus teaching, may well have been in two mediums – Greek and Aramaic – and brought with it some kind of distinction. A reasonable deduction from a number of facts known about the Jerusalem church is that their *house groups* or *home fellowships* quite possibly were divided into Greek and Aramaic speaking groups. Firstly they met for fellowship and “broke bread in their homes” – which indicates the eating of meals and the sharing in communion (Ac 2:46). Secondly there was a model of synagogue worship for Hebraic and Hellenistic Jews, divided along cultural lines already in existence, which would have impacted the believers as observing Jews and would have established a *modus operandi* (Ac 6:9). And lastly Luke’s record of the dispute arising over food between the Hellenistic and Hebraic believers (Ac 6:1-6) reveals that food provisions for widows were sorted out, not in the smaller house groups, but in the larger forum, intimating that the one-on-one contact between the two factions was not significant.

It was some time after Pentecost that the followers of Christ chose a second tier of leaders to deal with the dispute just mentioned, whose choice was sanctioned by the apostles through the laying on of hands (Ac 6:5-6). These were high calibre leaders as Luke's account bears out and could quite possibly have gone on to supplement the top level of leadership in the Jerusalem church, if the ministry of Stephen and Philip in times of persecution was anything to go by (Ac 6:5-8:40). Yet seemingly Jerusalem could not break free of its initial highest ranking church leadership being all Hebraic Jews, and its foundational ethos being wrapped in Jewish tradition, influenced as it was by "the party of the Pharisees" (Ac 15:5). This conservative Hebraic ethos dominated the Jerusalem church even as it was prepared to make concessions to the Antioch church as is seen when Paul comes to defend the Gentile cause at the Jerusalem council, headed by the three "pillars of the Church", Peter, James the brother of Jesus and John (Gl 2:9) who – especially James – were it seems to a significant degree, influenced by the Judaisers (Ac 15:1-21).

This Hebraic ethos of the Jerusalem council combined with the other disparities previously raised indicate that there was a somewhat divided church in Jerusalem with a strong probability of meeting for worship separately at least on the Sabbath for Synagogue worship, and in their homes in the two distinct factions. These two factions exhibited somewhat different cultural practises held in dynamic tension, but with the Hebraic faction naturally dominating both practical considerations (i.e. food distribution – until this was redressed) and religio-cultural norms if ever these were called into play. Yet within these constraints is seen an expanding ministry, both within the large daily meetings and also in the home setting where Luke reports that: "Day by day, as they spent much time together in the temple, they broke bread at home And day by day the Lord added to their number those who were being saved" (Ac 2:46-47 NRSV). The growth in disciples "increased greatly" and later included many Jewish priests (Ac 6:7) and was so successful Paul even recognized the impact of Peter's ministry on the Jewish community (Gl 2:7-8).

With the "Great persecution" that arose came a new era in the Jerusalem church in which the "followers of the Way" – as the believers were called at first and considered to be a sect of Judaism (Ac 24:14; 9:1-2) – were scattered initially "throughout Judea and Samaria" (Ac 8:1) but which continued to spread far and wide (Ac 11:19). And though they must have prayed for a day of peace when all could return, which indeed did happen sometime after Paul's conversion and his being subsequently sent to Tarsus (Ac 9:30-31), things were never quite the same. For, the sect of Judaism nestled within the peaceful sanctuary of a Jewish framework of synagogue worship and safe confines of Jerusalem before the dispersion, was to experience a fundamental change due to the believers who ended up in Antioch and crossed the cultural divide – an action which in due course was to send tremors through the whole Church (Ac 11:20). Dunn (1998:213) however, sees the divide over a perceived attack on the temple. But even if this was true of Jerusalem (cf Ac 6-7) it was still seen culturally and would most likely not have been the central issue beyond the immediate influence of Jerusalem. Despite these tremors, the Judean church centred in Jerusalem remained largely mono-cultural in its ethos and yet not without a large measure of success. A point made clearly by Luke who states that after the persecution ended: "The church grew in strength and numbers throughout Judea, Galilee and Samaria" (Ac 9:31a – author's paraphrase); even if this success was contained by these three regions.

The model of the Jerusalem church has limited application to the Southern African context. Firstly it is recognised that there is time and place to consider a parallel bi-cultural model

that is largely, if not exclusively mono-cultural in its programmes, cell structure and its worship services, even if not in its overall composition, and beyond this, even a directly mono-cultural model. It may be that in order to reach a Xhosa village in the Eastern Cape or a small Afrikaans town with a Cape coloured associated township in the Western Cape, or a Tonga clan in the Zambezi valley, or a low income Shona community with an influx of unemployed farm-workers with Malawian roots in Bindura; in places where one or two languages and cultures dominates the horizon; that such a bi-culturally divided, or directly mono-cultural model is the only appropriate model to choose. And yet within the expanding urban horizon with its shifting culture, and even in a rural setting for which Newbiggin (1995:144-145) makes a strong case, this is fast becoming the exception rather than the rule, at least when one focuses on culture rather than composition.

This breakdown of a mono-cultural paradigm happens wherever the city and its cosmopolitan influences start to overtake and dominate the village and/or town with its largely homogenous or bi-cultural rural expression. This process is accelerated in the urban environment where monocultural approaches are fast fading as an option in a context that requires an authentic transcultural witness. With these brief thoughts on the application of the Jerusalem church model for today's Southern African context this thesis now turns to the Antioch church model within the cultural climate of the *Pax-Romana* and then arguably to it's most famous leader –Paul.

3.3 The Pax-Romana and the Antioch Church Model

The Pax-Romana, its cultural synergy and impact on the Pauline Church

Before dealing with Antioch as the second dominating church model after Jerusalem, this thesis will first look at the foundations to cultural synergy within the *Pax-Romana* in order to examine Antioch within the greater context of the Graeco-Roman World. The Roman Empire was essentially a commonwealth of semi-autonomous cities, which in essence governed themselves under the Roman Emperor. The most striking feature of the Empire unique for its time was the unprecedented peace and stability, affording its member cities and provinces protection from marauding invaders, so long as the provinces themselves harboured no ambitions to secede from Rome in revolt!

It was within this *pax of Augustus* that roads were built and maintained – some of which existed before the Roman conquest, but which were extended and improved now by Roman engineering expertise – and the Mediterranean was virtually cleared of piracy. Local government became more efficient as Rome added its weight, and the courts became places where justice could be expected, partially due to the right of appeal to the local governor or even the Emperor. Fluctuations in taxes declined, and free cities were allowed to collect their own, and all the while experiencing the investment of private benefactors wishing to make their mark in society. According to Wayne Meeks, not only was there a certain security and stability offered by the *pax of Augustus* but also the macro-culture of the Graeco-Roman world employed similar town planning, furniture styles, interior decoration, arts, fashion and even the same linguistic styles of rhetoric were taught to students throughout the Empire. In any one town, recognisable landmarks were clearly visible such as the town baths, the theatre, shops and municipal buildings which provided a sense of familiarity and association even for a first time visitor or merchant (Meeks 1983:11-17).

Just as the *Pax-Romana* supplied the fertile ground for the new Jewish sect (as the Jews viewed the early disciples of the Lord or “followers of the Way” –Ac 24:14; Ac 9:1-2), to take root, equally important was the fact that Greek was the universally recognised language of choice. For a religion which, at least in the form that Paul promoted, harboured no discrimination – whether on racial, social, economic, or sexual grounds – and actively encouraged multi-cultural leadership, the fact that the Empire had a *lingua franca* was vital to its success as a model. Largely through the efforts of Paul, this new model of church soon developed the theological underpinning for *the Way*, based on the Septuagint, and for which the use of Greek which covered the bounds of the Empire, was key. Indeed one could say that even where local traditions and cultural practices still thrived, the macro-culture of the Graeco-Roman world provided a dominant worldview – an ethos, language and socio-political framework that governed all.

The structure of a Graeco-Roman city, as described by Robert Banks (1994:6-7) in his book *Paul’s Idea of Community*, was such that traditionally there were two main components or types of community, the *politeia* or public life of the city-state and the *oikonomia* or the community of a household. A Greek male citizen could play an active part in both the *polis* of the city state and in the *oikos* as head of a household with its extended network of dependents and business dealings. Yet by the first century, freedom of expression and localised power was being eroded by a centralised bureaucracy controlled by a few privileged elite resulting in the general public becoming dissatisfied with the *polis* and their role in civic affairs. The groundswell of dissatisfaction was such that the stage was set for establishing new structures of society and a new basis of public interaction:

In increasing numbers people began to find their desires fulfilled in a variety of voluntary associations that multiplied in the cities all over the ancient world, especially in Greek centers. ...The novel feature of these groups was their basis in something other than the principles of *politeia* or *oikonomia*. They bound together people from dissimilar backgrounds on a different basis than that of geography and race, or natural and legal ties. Their principle was *Koinonia*, i.e., voluntary partnership (Banks 1994:7-8).

It was the overarching political and cultural framework, which allowed for both an accepted and observed macro-cultural norm that expressed itself in the *polis* of the city-state and also allowed for voluntary associations, and local religious rituals and festivals at the same time. It was both this acceptance for local fluctuations and the Empire’s overarching norms which set the context for Paul to say that: “This is the rule I lay down in all the churches” (1 Cor 7:17b). Paul made this statement in relation to circumcision and slavery, which were the most basic of elements of Jewish law and Graeco-Roman civilization. It was this macro-context, this Empire building, which provided for a sense of belonging no matter whether it was a Hellenistic Jew who lived in Alexandria or a North African who lived in Antioch. One possible exception to this macro-cultural norm was the region of Palestine where the respected traditions and history of the Jews and their Torah were held by them to be superior to Graeco-Roman history and culture. Yet even for the Jews in Paul’s day, possessing of their own proud antiquity, Rome’s influence was never far away as expressed in the Graeco-Roman towns of Caesarea, Tiberias and Paneas (Caesarea Philippi).

The whole empire swayed, as one huge interconnected cultural milieu, to the ebb and flow of one overriding socio-political current emanating from the legacy of the Greek language

and ethos and the more recent dominating power of Rome. This interplay between the cultures which could be described as cultural synergy was made possible by the subtle allowance for the influence of a secondary culture by the dominant macro-culture of the day, and language doubtlessly played a large part in the synthesis. Indeed it was due to the Roman acceptance of associations and openness to the mystery cults from the far reaches of the Empire, which allowed for such a dichotomy and in the Jewish case, even a respect for another culture with rightful claim to antiquity. Not only was there a respect for the Jewish culture, but their religion was officially sanctioned by Rome. This acceptance became an important factor in Christianity or *the Way* as it was known early on, being portrayed as a sect of Judaism – for the Jews were exempt from military service and the worship due the Emperor, at least for a period of time early in the first century (Allen 1962:14-15).

This cultural nuance of the extraordinary rights of the Jewish diaspora was not made possible purely by Roman sanctioning on the one hand, or distinctive separation by the Jews on the other, but were also in part due to a synthesis resulting from the overlapping of cultures. Wayne Meeks expounds on this *cultural integration*, which was at least for the diaspora, more far reaching than has sometimes been thought of. It is exemplified by the Jewish diaspora's preference for Greek, and is also seen in the philosophy of Philo:

Greek was the language of all the Jewish diaspora communities within the Roman Empire from which evidence has survived. Furthermore, while he (Philo) wrote a series of elaborate commentaries and paraphrases on the books of the Pentateuch, a large part of what he finds in the biblical narratives and laws is identical with much that one might hear from the pagan moralists and philosophers who were teaching in the schools of Alexandria. "He read Plato in terms of Moses, and Moses in terms of Plato, to the point that he was convinced that each had said essentially the same things."¹ At the same time, Philo saw the importance of the Jews' preserving their distinctive identity. ... [A]ppalled that some Jews who, like himself, took the rituals and festivals to be "symbols of things of the mind," on that account neglected the physical performance of the required actions. Such people, said he, acted as if they were "living by themselves, alone in a desert, or had become disembodied souls, knowing neither city nor village nor household nor any human association [*thiasos anthropon*]" (Meeks 1983:37)².

By Philo's estimation some of the Hellenistic Jews had gone too far with this cultural diffusion, forsaken their Jewish roots for a Greek soul and in so doing were culturally adrift, cut off from their customary moorings and religious teachings. As so often is the case with cultural assimilation, the old culture is forsaken for the new, and in the process that of value from the original culture is often lost and what is possibly even more debilitating is that in the process, bonds of community are often broken. If these bonds were not replaced by an effective alternate in the host culture then a profound sense of personal isolation could be all too real for the newly arrived immigrant. Yet, this was not so often the case with a strong sense of Jewish tradition among the diaspora.

Paul no doubt drew on this strong sense of Jewish religious tradition in the cities he called on, but even so the overriding factor for Paul was the interplay between cultures seen

¹Goodenough, ER 1962. *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell. Pg 10.

²*Migr.* 89-93; quotation from 89, 90 (translator –Meeks).

chiefly in his use of the Pentateuch, which governed the establishing of a church which knew no bounds when it came to culture and kin. Paul seems to have tapped into the neighbourhood conditions of each city he visited, for if they represented Rome to any greater or lesser extent, they may well have had *insulae* (apartments) built alongside the *domas* (atrium houses), and an immigrant sector that was economically and racially diverse. And it is quite possibly that house churches, as in Rome, were established in the immigrant sector of each city an argument borne out by Blach (2003:258).

If any of the other cities had similar immigrant sectors where race and class mixed freely this would have indeed played into Paul's model of church composed of people from all walks of life and numerous cultural backgrounds. This *new model of church* was in substance a new Jewish sect which practiced no segregation between religious or racial grouping, no distinction of status or citizenship, or discrimination against any variance in Roman civilizing influence. As Paul emphatically states; "Here there is no Greek or Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave or free, but Christ is all, and is in all" (Col 3:11). Yet this was not exclusively a Pauline concept as Banks (1994:7) states:

Some of the more thoughtful and devout members of society began to look beyond the public life of their *polis* towards a cosmopolitan order that would encompass all people. They wrote or dreamt of a universal commonwealth, an international brotherhood, in which the basic divisions that recently separated people had been, or were to be, resolved. Whether this was as a Stoic commonwealth governed by reason or as an international theocracy ruled from Jerusalem by the Messiah, this idea maintained a powerful grip on the minds of many Greeks, Romans and Jews.

But beyond this it was Paul almost singularly who opened up for the Greeks the concept of the Abrahamic covenant being universally available – to include even the Gentiles who became the spiritual heirs of the blessing – as provided for in "the nations" who are blessed through the "seed of Abraham" (Gn 22:18; Gl 3:8,14). This aspect of inclusion for Paul was wrapped up in "Mystery of the Gospel" which incorporated both Jew and Greek into the same household of faith, where the enmity that separated man from God and in like manner Jew from Greek, was dealt with in one complete and final act on the cross (Eph 3:6 & 2:16). Armed with this message in the Graeco-Roman world, Paul had both the theology and multi-cultural context to flesh out the ramifications of the Antioch experiment.

Antioch –the Pauline prototype model

Paul appears to have begun his cross-cultural ministry in Antioch – not his ministry to the Jews which started in Damascus immediately after his *Messianic conversion* (Ac 9:20). The Antioch church was where Paul saw the overflow of Pentecost in all its rich ethnic diversity and the persecution that followed some time later, result in a gospel that knew no bounds. It was at Pentecost that the church begun in Jerusalem, in the mode that had been prophetically announced by Joel: "... I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh" (Joel 2:28 NRSV), as one intended to encompass all peoples. "Pentecost is the announcement that God's ultimate intention with respect to the world has begun to go into effect. God will gather his congregation from every tongue and generation and people" (Boer 1955:53). However the full extent of this universality was only realized later and elsewhere. The development of a *community of reconciliation* that encompassed all peoples, was seen

nowhere better than in the Antioch church. This model set a new benchmark for the people of God, not one based on segregation or cultural distinctiveness, but on *Agape*.

Pentecost was in this respect, the place of conception, in a manner of speaking, of a prolonged pregnancy of the true intention of the gospel which knew no bounds, and Antioch was for Paul the birthplace of the Gentile church, the Jewish church's delayed twin. Though ultimately Paul perceived the two as one, pragmatically they were treated as two distinct entities, so monocultural were the Hellenistic and Hebraic sectors of the church in Judea. Antioch represented a real visual model on which Paul the "Apostle to the Gentiles" could draw and modify. In Antioch Paul gained valuable first hand experience, from a church with a pre-Pauline concrete expression of a multicultural model as he implemented the implications of his synthesised theology.

Paul, after some years in the Nabataean Kingdom where he preached in the vicinity of Damascus, in the region called Arabia – often mistakenly taken to be a totally isolated *wilderness experience*, but where in any case he must have started to synthesis his new faith with his old beliefs – is called by Barnabas from his home city of Tarsus to Antioch-on-the-Orontes, to help with the teaching in a totally new situation (Meeks 1983:10). It is here that there has been a spontaneous eruption of the witness of believers for the first time seemingly to non-proselyte Greeks. The believers who had fled the persecution in Jerusalem, presumably melding in with the more tolerant Jewish diaspora in the provinces, found their way to Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Cyrene and finally to Antioch (Ac 11:19-20).

As the story unfolds, as told by Luke, it was presumably the Hellenistic Jewish believers (Jews who were Greek speaking followers of the way) and not persecuted Hebraic believers, coming as they did from Cyprus and Cyrene (notably a capital of the district in Cyrenaica, Libya – North Africa), who arrived in Antioch bearing the gospel and with great effect, for many believed (Ac 11:19, 21). It was in Antioch that the work was surreptitiously begun by ordinary believers who were noted for their fervour in reaching out beyond a first wave of evangelism to the Jews, to the Greeks also in a second wave, who had no connection with the local synagogue (Ac 11:19-20). These new believers also, encouraged by the newly arrived Barnabas, brought in a third wave of converts and who proceeded to launch the Gentile mission, with no official sanctioning by Jerusalem (Ac 11:22-26; 13:2-3). It is not surprising for a number of reasons that a new brand of Judaism should arise in Antioch, for as John Stott observes its diversity was unparalleled:

This new outreach took place in *Antioch*, Luke tells us (20), and no more appropriate place could be imagined, either as the venue for the first international church or as the springboard for world-wide Christian mission. The city was founded in 300 BC by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander the Great's generals. He named it "Antioch" after his father Antiochus, and its port, fifteen miles west along the navigable river Orontes, "Seleucia" after himself. Over the years it became known as "Antioch the Beautiful" because of its fine buildings, and by Luke's day was famous for its long, paved boulevard ... flanked by a double colonnade with trees and fountains. Although it was a Greek city by foundation, its population, estimated as at least 500 000, was extremely cosmopolitan. It had a large colony of Jews, attracted by Seleucus' offer of equal citizenship, and orientals too from Persia, India and even China, earning it another of its names, "the Queen of the East". Since it was absorbed

into the Roman Empire by Pompey in 64 BC, and became the capital of the imperial province of Syria (to which Cilicia was later added), its inhabitants included Latins as well (Stott 1994:203).

Formally persecuted followers of Jesus found in Antioch a greater freedom and acceptance for new ideas, which they had not, experienced elsewhere. Here Hellenistic Jewish tolerance for Greek customs allowed for deviation in their ranks. It was just the kind of fertile soil that the gospel needed to take root and find a new expression of itself within the environment of an increasingly multicultural world. Michael Green mentions that beyond its cosmopolitan nature Antioch's Jewish population was far more tolerant to the new arrivals of the Way. In addition Green points to the acceptance as equals of the Jews in Antioch by their fellow Greek citizens which further blurred the traditional lines of separation and paved the way for a greater freedom of expression in their new found faith:

Antioch on the Orontes was the capital of the province of Syria, governed by a proconsul in charge of two legions. It was the third city in the Empire, with its own Games, a tremendous building programme financed jointly by Augustus and Herod, a large and influential but very lax Jewish population, and a reputation for immorality of which even Juvenal disapproved. It was the centre for diplomatic relations with the vassal states of the East, and was, in fact, a meeting point for many nationalities, a place where barriers between Jew and Gentile were very slight, so numerous were the converts to Judaism in the city, and so high the status of the Jews there –they enjoyed full citizen rights. ... Other factors favoured the rooting of Christianity here, and its rapid spread from such a centre. As one of the largest cities of the Empire, and one of the great commercial centres of antiquity, with business connections all over the world, Antioch saw the coming and going of all sorts of people from every quarter of the globe. Hellenistic city, Roman city, Jewish city, it was the meeting place of the Orient and Greek civilization (Green 2003:162-163).

Antioch was home not only to Jews and those Jews of the Christian sect, Greeks proselytes and pantheistic Greeks alike, but also a great number of immigrant nationalities including a growing number of Jews and native followers of Christ from the provinces who spoke Greek. What is of special interest to the African context is that some of these came from North Africa, notably Libya. This African heritage of some of those in Antioch is understood to have been, in no small way, a consequence of the *Great Persecution* after the death of Stephen (Ac 8:1). Some of those scattered would have been Jewish proselytes, people who had witnessed the outbreak of Pentecost in their “own native language” and included among many other nations those from Libya and Egypt – Acts 2:8-10. These African proselytes who were persuaded by the followers of the way would have as a matter of course returned to their homelands. From here these African God fearers, now disciples of the Lord, moved by trading or other concerns to Antioch.

This is not just mere speculation, for the book of Acts specifically relates that men came from Cyprus and Cyrene (the capital of the district of Libya, North Africa which was called Cyrenaica – Ac 11:20) and also designates at least one individual Simeon, a man of Jewish background on the leadership team in Antioch who was a *dark man* of Africa, if his title “Niger” is given serious credence. The leadership of the church also reflected the extent of the spectrum of racial and social status found in the Antioch church. For in Acts 13, Luke

takes pains to explain that alongside Simeon, the dark man of Africa there was Barnabas – a Levitical Jew and wealthy land owner from Cyprus (Ac 4:36-37), Lucius – most probably a Roman and notably from Cyrene in North Africa, Manean – a childhood companion of Herod Antipas and so in all probability himself an aristocrat and Saul – trained as a Pharisee and mentored by Gamaliel, fluent in Greek and Aramaic and a Roman citizen (Ac 13:1). Such was the nature of its leadership that “[t]his multicultural fellowship became God’s headquarters for expanding the frontiers of the gospel” (Perkins & Rice 1993:169).

The Antioch church demonstrates the basis for community that knows no bounds, and even beyond the extensive cultural mix of Grecian believers of all nationalities, it is important to note its impact on ritually exclusivist Jews who were converted to the Pauline church. The impact of this cultural tornado on the Jewish sect settled comfortably in the city of Antioch before these dissident followers of the way arrived must have been something to behold. For it was in Antioch that these dissident Jewish believers not only broke with protocol (which forbid them to even enter a Gentile home) which was presumed a necessary foundation of Judaism before the Messiah could be believed upon, but ritualistic custom was also set aside. In an unprecedented manner, that certainly would have distinguished them from most any other religious group, the Jews and Gentiles sat down to a meal together within the Christian community.

The Antioch church provided a working model for Paul to draw on in establishing his new churches all over the Roman Empire which provided him with a dynamic example of multicultural leadership to fashion his apostolic team after. Although Arthur Glasser (1989:285), indirectly sees Paul’s teams using the diversity of Jesus’ twelve as a distant “mirage”, it seems more likely that Paul’s model was Antioch, bearing in mind that the Antioch leadership likely used Jesus’ twelve as their *modus operandi* and of course Jesus himself as their ultimate role model. And yet Dean Gilliland (1998:43) states, drawing on Rolland Allen, that “Paul did not plant copies of the Jerusalem church, or even the Antioch church, as he travelled. As Allen insists, unity among the churches had nothing to do with whether the church he established conformed to the sending church or mission.”

Some missiologists may dispute the model of Antioch in Paul’s mind as the above mentioned quote might suggest, and while there is reasonable justification of Gilliland’s statement about Jerusalem, there are no reasonable grounds for the inclusion of Antioch in this statement, save that Paul never tried to produce perfect replicas of Antioch, or for that matter of any other church. But the Antioch church did provide Paul with a working model, and while there seems to be little grounds to suggest that Paul implemented a universal code of conduct based on any prescribed Jewish ritual, in fact to the contrary for he does not seem to be too concerned with upholding James’ code of not eating meat sacrificed to idols (compare Ac 15:20 to 1Cor 10:25), yet Gilliland’s statement can be misleading. For the unity seen in the churches Paul planted had everything to do with that which was seen in Antioch, first and foremost, for this church in every respect was worthy of its place as a model church in the mind of Paul.

For it was this mark of unity, of *Koinonia*, that was truly remarkable for a sect, which until recently, had preached predominantly to Jews, and had carried this exclusivist approach even to Antioch (Ac 11:19). The Antioch church (as mentioned earlier in this section) broke out in a second wave of preaching to Greeks as well as Jews (Ac 11:20), which was so successful that it transpired in a third wave of evangelism (Ac 11:22-26). It was after

these multiple waves of outreach that Jew and Gentile, Greek and North African, Roman and Cypriot, people of nobility and commoners alike, worshipped in one accord. This unity which truly mirrored Christ's love, was so significant that the label followers of the way no longer sufficed, so distinct was their multicultural fellowship and worship practice, that they gained a new name, "Christian" (Ac 11:26). The early church held much in common with the voluntary associations, notably in the home churches' use of the word *Koinonia*, meaning voluntary partnership – the founding principle of the association or society in the Roman Empire – to describe and define their communal relationship (Banks 1994:8). Even beyond *Koinonia* the ancient Grecian and Jewish cultures fitted well with early church concepts of a new family as the self in *dyadic* culture is always defined in relation to the group; the family; the city-state (Gorman 2004:3).

Yet not everything was identical between the Christian association that first started in Antioch and the other voluntary associations. Banks (1994:8) mentions that the associations were often selective in their membership on the basis of nationality, class, family and gender, and beyond this some were established on the basis of a particular commitment, trade or past-time. In contrast the Christian association that met for the most part in homes was all-encompassing in its scope, whether in terms of trade, gender, economic class, ethnicity or status and even included in its ranks both Jew and Gentile eating at the same table. It was this unique model of Antioch that must have been as much the inspiration for Paul's theology of reconciliation as it was the testing ground for his early teaching. Even so Michael Green (2003:255) concurs with Banks that this concept of "equal partnership" or unlimited *Koinonia* was not wholly without precedent in society at large, but the church did carry it as a distinctive feature as he explains:

Formally, then, there was little to distinguish Christian associations for fellowship from any other: the initiation, the equal partnership, the cult meal, the mutual benefits were all standard procedure. But there was a difference –in the quality of fellowship. Here were societies in which aristocrats and slaves, rich and poor, mixed on equal terms and without distinction: societies which possessed a quality of caring and love which was unique. Herein lay its attraction. Here was something that must be guarded at all costs if the Christian mission was to go ahead. ...It was, as Paul told the Corinthians, only a church which was manifestly united, where each member could and did speak as the Holy Spirit possessed him, that would convince the visiting outsider that God was among them. There is no doubt that many were convinced in this way. Pagan fraternities were often extremely immoral.... In contrast the Christian fellowship, and particularly the *Agape*, was notable for its real concern and for its purity.

The relevance of Antioch model for the cosmopolitan, Greek-speaking cities to which Paul and his missionary church planting team went cannot be overstated. Antioch's Hellenistic Jewish members would have brought in their rich Hebrew heritage in worship and their teaching based on the Greek Septuagint, while the Greeks brought with them their own worship style and notably their philosophy, to which the Spirit himself added His own charismata and ministries of grace. It was this extensively diverse cosmopolitan church in Antioch that was to grow rapidly and to develop a passion for local evangelism. When the time came for more far-reaching mission into other cities and provinces, at the bidding of the Spirit, the Antioch church willingly sent out her best leadership for the task.

3.4 Paul – The Man of Two Worlds but One Empire

Before starting, it is important to reiterate the position of the author on Pauline literature again as set out in Chapter 1, and quoting from the subsection headed – *Theological reflection* which sets out in more detail the argument for this and position of this author:

The entire Biblical account of the Pauline epistles is taken as being authored directly by Paul. The author notes the dissent among academics regarding the extent of Paul's authorship of these epistles, and indeed notes that some academics would exclude the letters of 2 Thessalonians, Colossians and Ephesians as "debateable", and also the pastoral letters (1 Timothy, 2 Timothy and Titus) as highly dubious and should be "contested" (Kummel 1975:251), but sides with the position of not a few theologians who would favour direct authorship of Paul in all the epistles bearing his name.... From this perspective, one derives Paul's understandings of reconciliation and multicultural leadership critical to this thesis. As a result, the very nature and direction of this study requires the inclusion of the whole biblical account of the Pauline corpus.

As discussed in Section 3.2 the Jerusalem church of the first century falls short of a role model due to the sectarian nature of its multicultural base and the conservative Hebraic ethos of its leadership. Therefore the attention of this thesis turned to the Antioch church as a valid multicultural model for the Gentile world and now turns more specifically to Paul, who personified the model first established in Antioch. The make-up of the Antioch church both in membership and leadership was to totally reinvent how church was to be led and was run as a new *model of church*. Paul was not the first, but in searching for a *model of multicultural leadership* as seen in the life of a leader who personified this new model, this thesis without reservation chooses Paul. He Paul (*Paulus* in Greek, *Saul* in Hebrew), epitomised the best in both divisions of the Jewish and Gentile church, crossing the boundaries with an ease that only a man born to two cultures can. "The rabbi of Jerusalem, the Greek of tarsus, the citizen of Rome; trilingual, participant in three civilizations, interpreter of East to West; Paul the apostle of Christ, emerges from the record more real than any other personality known to us from his generation" (Blaiklock 1970:54).

Blaiklock speaks of Paul as being influenced by three worlds, but it may be more accurate to speak of Paul as a man influenced by two, for in reality the Greek and Roman worlds had been almost fully integrated into one by the time of Paul. Illustrating this, Tarsus' "important" status as mentioned by Paul (Ac 21:39) is no doubt seen through the eyes of Rome, whose agent the Tribune to whom Paul was speaking, would have fully comprehended. Paul, it is true as one born to the Jewish diaspora was both "... an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, a member of the tribe of Benjamin" (Rm 11:1 NRSV), and a Greek speaking citizen of Tarsus and of Rome – a privileged position he inherited through his father (Ac 21:39; 22:27-28).

Tarsus' prestige was founded in commerce and was located on a major trading route. Her fame being in part due to a road which had been chiselled out of a narrow gorge known as the Cilician Gates, a world famous monument to the achievement of Tarsus, which also possessed a safe harbour. Paul, as one born to Tarsus, must have been influenced by its rich cultural heritage, and indeed he was proud of it. For Tarsus was also a city rich in scholarly achievement whose young minds were "... sent out to fill the chairs in other

universities. In particular, Tarsus was famous for philosophers and especially for philosophers of the Stoic school” (Barclay 1975:24-25).

Though Paul was brought up as a Jew speaking Aramaic, he must have soon learnt to speak Greek. Even as a young boy he likely knew many Greeks, for though part of a strict Jewish family, children tend to have less social prejudice than their parents and interactions may well have happened outside the home where cultural controls were less severe. Pollock (1985:16) agrees that he would have spoken Greek from “infancy”, but contends that “friendships with Gentile children” would have been “discouraged” on the grounds of cultural “contamination” inside the home. Because he was born to a strict Jewish household it is debateable if there was a direct influence from Tarsus’ university in his early life. In all likelihood his early training did not include that of a Gentile persuasion, much less a Stoic philosophy. Nevertheless it is likely that Paul was influenced in other ways, in a city such as Tarsus so rich in heritage and proud of its learning that it overflowed out of the places of learning onto the streets and quite possibly on into the synagogues too.

This may explain Paul’s use of concepts that appear to have been derived from Stoic philosophy and the use of the Hellenistic mechanism of the diatribe – a rhetorical type of debate where the arguments and counter arguments are given by the communicator (Green 2003:182; Ziesler 1990:14, 17). However, it should be noted that Paul returned to Tarsus some time after his conversion and the likelihood is that much of the interaction with Stoic thinking, and his later integration of this into his theology and praxis may well have occurred after his return. Paul wrote and conversed with Greeks, spoke as though he was a native Greek speaker, indeed as one almost born to a Greek tongue, almost without doubt because he was bilingual from a very young age being born to such a city as Tarsus (Bornkamm 1971:9-10). Ziesler (1990:13) debates the extent of Paul’s Greek cultural roots coming from an early age, seeing him as exclusively Jewish in all probability, cut off from Gentile Tarsus and quite possibly in Jerusalem from the time he was still young. However in almost complete contradiction of this assertion, Ziesler (1990:13, 18) concedes Paul’s preferred use of the Septuagint in circumstances that imply that he quoted from memory, and coupled with his fluent use of the Greek language, tends to refute his former argument.

And yet Paul was clearly a “Hebrew of Hebrews” (Phlp 3:5) and by this phrase he referred to the fact that he was not a Jew who had undergone Hellenization by his immersion in Greek culture, but he had strictly retained his Jewish heritage – the ethnic customs that distinguished the Jews as a people (Peerbolte 2003:140) – demonstrated by likely attending a synagogue even in Tarsus that used Aramaic, rather than Greek. As McRay points out in *Paul: His Life and Teaching*; there would have been both an Aramaic and a Greek speaking synagogue in a town of this size and import. McRay bases this assertion on a synagogue dating back to the 2nd century, found in Corinth bearing the inscription “Synagogue of the Hebrews” (McRay 2003:29). But notably this inscription was not in fact in Tarsus, yet even if this extrapolated attendance of a Hebrew synagogue in Tarsus cannot be conclusively proved, his parents being Pharisees before him would have raised him from infancy in the strictest of Hebrew tradition, and indeed Paul refers to himself as a Pharisee (Ac 23:6; Phlp 3:5); which implies a strict observance of the Mosaic law (Peerbolte 2003:141).

Paul received his training initially quite probably by his own father, but after which more significantly by a Rabbi in Jerusalem at whose feet he sat. He grew up in Jerusalem and was tutored by none other than Gamaliel (Ac 22:3), who was the most famous Rabbinic

teacher of Paul's day and was a highly respected yet moderate member of the Sanhedrin (Ac 5:34) and quite possibly the grandson of Hillel (Barker 1995:1653, 1689). It was this training, more than anything else that would have marked Paul's Hebraic style of teaching and apologetics and his understanding of scripture as "inspired by God" (2 Tm 3:16 NRSV). Paul spoke Aramaic since he was a child, and must have learnt this as his "mother-tongue" even in Tarsus, to the point that the most appropriate term Paul could find to use for God, is "Abba", Aramaic for father, a point made by Goodspeed (1965:4, 6). So confident was he in his use of Aramaic that he spoke to a murderous mob of Jews in front of a startled Roman Tribune who had only just before that heard him speak in Greek requesting permission to speak to the crowd (Ac 21:30-40). It is Goodspeed (1965:3) again who points out just how thoroughly Jewish he was in every way.

It was the synagogue rather than the university that was to influence Paul and his bringing up was strictly Jewish. Both his parents were Hebrews, and he traced his ancestry back through the tribe of Benjamin to the younger son of Jacob and Rachel. He was circumcised by the eighth day, as the law prescribed, and named Saul (Sha`ul) after the old Benjamite hero Saul, the first king of Israel.

Paul was indeed a man of two worlds, in relation to which some scholars tend to focus on the extreme differences of the two worlds (cf Walls 1996:18), without recognizing their long-term co-existence before Paul. Each had a rich history of comparable antiquity and a high regard for the law with aspects of moral excellence in both, even if the basis of this in their philosophical worldview was somewhat different. But, to be sure the co-existence was not an equal one, for the might of Rome overruled any possible dissent as was learnt by the Zealots of Palestine in 67 AD whose constant testing of the system ultimately precipitated a revolt that met with an exacting Roman response (Glasser 1989:141).

However before this event occurred, it is apparent that the Jews enjoyed a privileged status, whereby they were exempt from Emperor worship, and were given a reasonable measure of autonomy, especially in matters pertaining to their own law, but also in the management of property and self-governance in so far as it did not conflict with Roman law, security and the overarching authority of Rome. What is striking is that the Jews were largely integrated into the Graeco-Roman world, particularly in the arena of trade and commerce, even if not religiously to any significant extent, with an estimated 4.5 million Jews scattered throughout the Empire, amounting to 7% of the total population (Bornkamm 1971:4-5). This meant that the young Paul would have without doubt been exposed to Greek in the business dealings of family and the market-place as the *lingua franca* of the day, even if in the unlikely scenario, as was discussed earlier, his play was restricted to his own kin. But perhaps more important than his bi-lingual ability was his concept of Empire which he certainly gained as a Jew born to the diaspora of the Graeco-Roman World. Certainly the concept of the Emperor being *pater patriae* – father of the country – would have helped cement for Paul concepts of the "household of God" (Gorman 2004:12; Eph 2:19 NRSV). Goodspeed observes just how much Paul had appropriated the terminology of the Empire:

Paul, and probably his father before him, was empire-conscious; Paul always calls the parts of the empire by their proper names, not their older ones, which Luke generally uses. These attitudes of Paul's toward the Roman Empire combine with his Roman name Paulus to confirm Luke's statement that he was a Roman citizen, like his father before him (Goodspeed 1965:5).

It was this Empire-consciousness more than anything that was to shape Paul's integrated thinking and conduct. As a man of two worlds, he held these in tension, which is seen by his teachings and obedient conduct in all matters pertaining to the state, but equally in his non-compromising stance in all matters pertaining to his beliefs. Yet it was perhaps this concept of Empire that helped him develop his perspective on the church, and his revolutionary all-inclusive theology. For just as there were two cultural worlds, mirrored by the two parts to the early Church – the Jewish part in Palestine and the Gentile part everywhere else – and yet there was one Roman Empire, so too was there one Church, which for Paul existed within the “Kingdom of the Son” (Col 1:13).

Daniel Boyarin, a Jewish scholar steeped in rabbinic tradition sees this all-inclusive theology of Paul, developed from a concern over the sociologically exclusive nature of Judaism which placed the Gentiles outside of God's plan of salvation (Boyarin 1994:48-49). He claims that Paul's universalistic notions came from both within Judaism and without in the larger framework of Hellenism, and that Paul is a critic of his own culture from within, in line with the rabbinic “notion of the righteous of the nations”:

The culture itself was in tension with itself, characterised both by narrow ethnocentrism and universal monotheism. I thus contend that Paul's motivation and theory were genuinely theological, but that his practice and preaching were directed toward radical change in Jewish society. My fundamental idea [I]s that what motivated Paul ultimately was a profound concern for the one-ness of humanity. This concern was motivated both by certain universalistic tendencies within biblical Israelite religion and even more by the reinterpretation of these tendencies in the light of Hellenistic notions of universalism (Hengel 1974). Paul was therefore, troubled by, critical of, the ‘ethnocentrism’ ... and particularly the way it implicitly and explicitly created hierarchies between nations, genders, social classes (Boyarin 1994:52).

What made Paul such a remarkable man, more than even his considerable Rabbinic training and doubtlessly his own extraordinary ability to synthesise a new theology and teach and disciple others in it, was the fact that he was a man of two worlds, yet one Empire, both physically and philosophically. He was a man steeped in the law, but also whose persuasive powers could call in the Greek poets to undermine a pantheistic position (Ac 17:28). The twin concepts of Roman citizenship and a universal Greek culture no doubt gave him premonitions of a Christian macro-cultural identity. In Paul's words “God was reconciling the world to himself.... We are therefore Christ's ambassadors” (2 Cor 5:19-20); and of a Kingdom that knows no boundaries (Col 1:19-20). Without this perspective of Paul as a bi-cultural genius of integration made possible by the perception of a Universal Empire or “Kingdom of God” mirroring an earthly Graeco-Roman Empire, the gospel may never have made the dramatic advances that it did, such that 500 years later one could speak of it having totally consumed an Empire, and that done from the inside out, leaving a total system of thought, political organization and unity of religion (Walls 1996:18-19).

3.5 Structures of Leadership and Training Employed in the Pauline Model

Pauline structures of leadership in the city church and house church

This thesis will not try to relate the Jerusalem model of governance beyond a passing glance, which underwent a fundamental shift from the leadership of Peter and the other

Apostles; to a two tier structure; to one that included James, the Lord's brother, at its highest level. Retracing these stages in the leadership metamorphosis, the Apostles in Jerusalem soon employed a second tier of leadership under them (the seven), elected to deal with practical matters within the church but – around the time of the “great persecution” – who soon rose to prominence as leaders in their own right (Ac 6:1-15; 8:4-8).

Peter and the other Apostles for the most part stayed in Jerusalem during this unsettling period (Ac 8:1), but after this great turmoil Peter seems to have voluntarily shared his pre-eminent position and become instead just one of the “three pillars” mentioned by Paul, and relinquished *chairmanship* in Jerusalem to James – the Lord's brother – possibly prompted by the extended periods of time Peter was away on his missionary travels (cf Gl 2:8-13). Yet the point that has probably been overlooked is that after the “scattering of the believers” Peter's ministry as the “Apostle to the Jews” (Gl 2:8) would have increased and there would have been by this stage many local churches beyond the one in Jerusalem, such that a new system of governance may well have replaced the old one, with James presiding in Jerusalem, but Peter as Apostle, presiding in matters that pertained to the wider body in Judea, Samaria and Galilee (cf Ac 9:31).

Acts 11:30, refers to the “elders” in Judea, and though it is not certain as to whom this included (possibly James, Peter and John), the significance of this is that there were *elders* and Paul drew his model of leadership from this fact. This concept of a *shared eldership* was indeed the starting point for the Pauline understanding of church governance, and it seems it was this concept of *team leadership* that was the basic building block upon which Paul established congregations in any one place. Using this approach, Paul left a group of elders in every place (Ac 14:23), otherwise known as “overseers” (Phlp 1:1), as indeed he also instructed Titus to do (Tt 1:5). This appears to have been his consistent practice (1Tm 5:17; Phlp 1:1), and Paul placed such value on this model that he set up a code of moral criteria for the eligibility of elders (1 Tm 3:2-7; Tt 1:6-9).

In line with the Jerusalem church's second tier of leadership, a *deaconate* was also chosen (Phlp 1:1; 1 Tm 3:8), though there are fewer references to this second tier of leadership. However, Paul also viewed this level of leadership as essential and set up a moral code for their behaviour as well (1 Tm 3:8-13). Paul, beyond the model in Jerusalem, also drew from the Antioch church as he developed a leadership model for local congregations. The Antioch church resembled Jerusalem in its top tier of leadership comprising a group of prophets and teachers (Ac 13:1), but the Antioch church offered a diversity in race and social status which became a cornerstone of the Pauline model.

Within each place Paul set up at least one *house church*, which was the base unit to his fellowship enterprise or structure of community. These were mixed groups comprising both Jew and Gentile, male and female, rich and poor and both local city dweller and immigrant alike. It was in this setting that Paul would have instituted leaders, and as the numbers of congregants grew it is reasonable to assume that city *elders* or *presbyters* would have come to the fore – with home church leaders under them – whom Barrett says may also have been called *episkopoi* or Bishops, in the case of Ephesus (Barrett 1994:17). Yet this thesis will not concern itself here with details of city-wide church governance, nor with the structure above this of provincial and supra-regional. Roland Allen (1962:131-132) argues that there was no “central administrative authority”, or superstructure relating to an overall “Council in Jerusalem”, but that Paul left each province or more probably each

church even, to resolve their own issues with one noted exception. Dean Gilliland (1998:213) goes one step further than Allen and states categorically that; “The congregations that Paul organized were self-governing.”

It is clear that at the time of Paul’s initial church planting within the Church at large there were apostles (in the early phases) and the other itinerant ministries such as evangelists (cf. Ac 6:5; 8:5, 40) prophets and teachers included within (Ac 11:26; 13:1) the city leadership structures. Beyond the apostles themselves, there were roaming prophets (Acts 11:27; 21:10), and also roaming evangelists and teachers (cf. Ac 8:4-40; Ac 18:24-26) outside the structure of the city’s leadership, but even these could also be included in the city leadership or may have ministered more loosely in their home towns (Ac 21:8). Though all three (prophets, evangelists and teachers) seem to have been ministry offices held and often coincided with church leadership positions, yet these designations as officials in the church related to the authority exercised in their gifting as ministers and heralds of the gospel, and only secondly in relation to expertise in church governance.

Paul adapted the Jerusalem model of house group (Ac 2:46; 5:42) to the existing leadership structure in the synagogues (Ac 18:7-8) and also to that found in the homes he visited, after which he and his colleagues established *house churches* (Rm 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19; Col 4:15; Phlm 2). In the house churches established or influenced by Paul there was a significantly increasing role played by slaves and freedmen, women and others of lower social status which were already making their mark in the voluntary associations and the business world. Within the ranks of teachers, Paul seems to have often used Hellenistic Jews, who were steeped in the teachings of the fathers but familiar with the Septuagint. One example of such teachers would be Priscilla and Aquila, people who were possibly trained in the art of rhetorical debate and also grounded in scripture (Ac 18:24-28).

Paul’s objective was to leave behind a leadership structure that governed efficiently, that spread the gospel with power and vision and disciplined the people in a culturally effective manner. It is these concepts of efficient governance, cultural relevance and the strategic advancement of the gospel that were critical to Paul in his use of the structures of leadership, house church and mission that he employed in every place.

Structures for developing leadership in strategic evangelism

If Paul’s world consisted, practically speaking, only of the cities of the Roman Empire, then it is perhaps easier to understand the extraordinary claim he makes to the Christians in Rome. “From Jerusalem and as far around as Illyricum,” he writes, “I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ.” The result ... “I no longer have any room for work in these regions” (Rm 15:19b, 23a); (Meeks 1983:9).

Directly after this Meeks (1983:9-10) states: “Yet what he has done to ‘fill everything with the Gospel of Christ’ (as Luther paraphrases) was only to plant cells of Christians in scattered households in some of the strategically located cities of the north-east Mediterranean basin.” But Paul’s city upbringing (notably in two distinctly different environs) would not necessarily have constrained him to the city in his evangelism, indeed he visited Cyprus where Luke reports that Paul and Barnabas, “... travelled through the whole island until they came to Paphos” (Ac 13:6a). Not only did he travel the length and breadth of Cyprus but he also visited the people of Lystra who resorted to their Lycaonian

tongue (Ac 14:11) which would not have been a feature of one of the larger cities. Added to which he also witnessed to the islanders of Malta (Ac 28:1-10), albeit due to a shipwreck!

What Meeks has failed to take into account beyond the above is the possibility that Paul's disciples and converts carried the message with them to the villages and surrounding countryside around these centres of commerce and trade as part of a natural extension of Paul's work. Paul preached the gospel in such a way in these provincial cities that he could claim the preaching of the gospel as an extension of himself "from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyrium" (Rm 15:19) because Paul's disciples were taught, "... it in such a way that they [could] propagate it" (Allen 1962:12-13). There are reasonable grounds for speculation, judging by the extended household fraternities of the day that Paul's house churches would have acted as agents of evangelism, especially in connection with the families of the initial members and household dependents and acquaintances of the hosting couple such as slaves, friends and business associates. But beyond the house church's evangelistic agency, Paul developed a mentoring programme that he evidently employed in Corinth, but perfected in Ephesus (Ac 18:7-11; 19:8-10).

Paul's strategy for raising up leadership specifically for the purposes of evangelism was simple. He would lecture and provide the foundational teaching, which was performed at first on the Sabbath in the synagogue (cf Ac 19:8), and most likely included an initial training of the *faithful* (whether god-fearers or already Christians) in their places of work – as with Priscilla and Aquila in Corinth as he came alongside them as a fellow tentmaker (Ac 18:2-3); or their place of prayer – as with Lydia who was a God-fearer (Ac 16:13-14). But then once a certain initial understanding was reached among the disciples and once the Jewish community became hostile to his messianic ideas he would move out and take his disciples away from the synagogue setting, and employ a different venue in his training.

In the case of Corinth, Paul moved to a Roman man's home, who would have been an uncircumcised God-fearing synagogue attendee, where they were joined by the local ruler of the synagogue (Ac 18:7). In Ephesus, the model of *apprenticeship/leadership training* for evangelism becomes more focused it appears, but in any case it is only in this context that more detail is discernable. For Paul, after leaving the synagogue where he had preached for three months, used the lecture hall of Tyrannus for two years, in such a way that he passed on the vision for evangelism and multiplied the impact he could have made on his own. This training occurred "... so that all the Jews and Greeks who lived in the province of Asia heard the word of the Lord" (Ac 19:10). From the text it appears that Paul modelled his market-place evangelism for them, after which they would return daily to the lecture hall in the heat of the day for discussions and debriefing of the daily encounters and possibly another lecture. Tyrannus himself having more than likely finished his lectures in the cool of the day as was the common practice of that time for those places experiencing a Mediterranean climate (Ac 19:11-20; 9b). Then over the course of time he would release his new evangelistic leaders to go and spread the gospel themselves (Ac 19:9-20).

This cannot be proven conclusively from the text, and John Stott for one would contend that in Ephesus specifically – from which this *model of evangelism* of Paul's is derived – another possible interpretation was that the lecture hall of Tyrannus would have been rather more fluid, and as the reputation of Paul grew so he would have attracted a great number of people coming to the city from the province who would have stopped to listen to Paul who

used “dialogue evangelism” (Stott 1994:305), along with a praxis oriented discussion, and rhetorical style teaching of his disciples.

Yet what seems more likely is that this hearing of the message by “... all the Jews and the Greeks who lived in the province of Asia” (Ac 19:10); only would have been possible in the broadest sense if, as is implied, Paul’s disciples carried the message to the villages and remote parts of the province, even if Paul had used a dialogue-evangelism style. Though Paul’s work had a large urban focus, it is likely that his work was extended to new regions by his disciples whom he trained at length and had the courage to release into evangelism and leadership. This line of argument appears to be backed up at the end of this picture painted by Luke where because of the lifestyle-testimony of the individuals who burnt their sorcery scrolls (not just based on the actions of the professional – Paul); “... the word of the Lord spread widely and grew in power” (Ac 19:20).

There is no direct evidence beyond Acts 19 to support this line of argument that it was Paul’s disciples in the hall of Tyrannus in Ephesus, who were the actual conveyors of the gospel to the province of Asia in its full entirety. Yet if the witness of the church in Ephesus was anything like the model Paul established in Thessalonica, then on this basis there seems to be a reasonable secondary supporting argument to this theory. The Thessalonians were in like manner responsible for the gospel reaching out through the provinces of Achaia, Macedonia and even on into Illyrium (a Roman province north of Macedonia –Rm 15:19), for Paul commends the Church in Thessalonica and said that the “Lord’s message rang out” from them:

You became imitators of us and of the Lord; in spite of severe suffering, you welcomed the message with joy given by the Holy Spirit. And you became a model to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaia. The Lord’s message rang out from you not only in Macedonia and Achaia –your faith in the Lord has become known everywhere (1 Th 1:6-8a).

Beyond the case for Ephesus, the example of expanded witness in Thessalonica indicates that Paul trained his disciples, equipping and then releasing them for evangelistic ministry, first in the cities, and soon after this in the provinces associated with each city having by then relinquished control. Indirectly supporting the case for a mentoring strategy Paul uses in Ephesus and Thessalonica, Stepp (2005:174) uncovers fresh evidence in the Pastoral Epistles of Paul’s intentionality in preparing for succession, evidenced in a mentoring chain from Paul to Timothy to faithful men, to others. This corroborating evidence supports Paul’s general strategy for others as with Timothy to “teach and hand on Paul’s gospel...” (Stepp 2005:175). Coupled with this, his city-strategy was simple, win the cities and the associated rural areas would be won too: “Paul thinks regionally, not ethnically; he chooses cities that have a representative character. In each of these he lays the foundations for a Christian community, clearly in the hope that, from these strategic centers, the gospel will be carried into the surrounding countryside and towns” (Bosch 1991:130).

3.6 Styles of Leadership and Teaching Used by Paul

Paul appears to typify a rugged frontiersman with an ultimate pioneering spirit, and yet it should not be forgotten that Paul was very much a man of the city (Acts 21:39; 22:3). Despite this urban affiliation, he was someone who was willing to undergo hardship for the

sake of the gospel (1 Cor 4:9-13). Even on a day to day basis Paul was quite willing to put his preaching beyond the Sabbath on hold while he quite literally set up camp and conducted his business as a tent-maker which he did in association with Priscilla and Aquila once he had arrived in Corinth (Ac 18:2-4). This willingness to adapt and Paul's "...ambition to preach the gospel where Christ was not known, so that I would not be building on someone else's foundation" (Rm 15:20), depicts a commanding personality of a leader who resonates with authority and visionary ambition.

An examination of Paul's background indicates that he evolved from an environment of serious academic study to become a confident, forceful evangelist. Through his training in Jerusalem, Paul was "brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated strictly according to our ancestral law" (Ac 22:3 NRSV), which evokes the very concept of total submission. This fits well with the picture that Pollock (1985:17) paints of a teenager who comes of age in the Jewish tradition, thoroughly conversant in Jewish history by the age of 13, and shortly after which in A.D. 14, as an adolescent, who would have travelled by ship to Palestine. Paul, according to Charles Swindoll (2002:9-10) must have heard Peter's speech, but whether he did or not he certainly must have been familiar with Gamaliel's argument to leave Peter and the other apostles alone instead of trying to lock them up: "For if their purpose or activity is of human origin, it will fail. But if it is from God, you will not be able to stop these men; you will only find yourselves fighting against God" (Ac 5:38b-39) and as Charles Swindoll (2002:11) goes on to say that this example of "calm reasoning" must have greatly influenced his own later "defences" of the gospel.

And as a young respected lawyer already in practice, Paul was present to witness almost certainly the argument of Stephen, who seems to have been proficient in debate. Luke states that before Stephen's trial before the Sanhedrin his opponents; "... could not stand up against his wisdom or the Spirit by whom he spoke" (Ac 6:10). Paul is seen directly after Stephen's trial standing by and safeguarding the cloaks of the men who stoned Stephen and even approved of his killing (Ac 7:58-8:1), and it seems reasonable that the deliberate but controlled styles of both Stephen and Peter must have impacted on the young lawyer, Paul.

Yet the man Paul, possibly somewhat recently graduated from Gamaliel's class and full of "fervour" is seen, "...breathing out murderous threats against the Lord's disciples" (Ac 9:1) and was a chief instigator of the persecution, in stark contrast to his mentor. Paul, the young lawyer or rabbi was a firebrand who appears to jump from being a submissive apprentice to the moderate Gamaliel, to an over-zealous and aggressive instrument of the Sanhedrin. This is quite possibly how it was, for Paul the young man released from his schooling endeavours, may have sensed the liberation of personality that many students do. Of course over time he may have – if left to his own devices – eventually settled down to a less aggressive but still very direct style. But this slow metamorphosis of style did not exist for Paul because of his epiphany; his encounter with the risen Christ which stopped him literally in his tracks. Amazingly, directly after this, even with his beliefs – particularly concerning the messiah – turned upside down yet with its foundations firmly intact, Paul has a bold, confident style, for; "... immediately he began to proclaim Jesus in the synagogue, saying, 'He is the Son of God.' All who heard him were amazed.... Saul became increasingly more powerful and confounded the Jews living in Damascus by proving that Jesus was the Messiah" (Ac 9:20-22 NRSV).

Some time after Paul's conversion, Barnabas introduced him to the apostles (Ac 9:27). Barnabas was known as a man who was generous and noted for his encouragement (Acts 4:36-37) and later for being; "...a good man, full of the Holy Spirit and faith" (Ac 11:24a). Barnabas must have been a great influence on Paul, even at this early stage in their association as is seen in his introduction of Paul to the Apostles, which is again alluded to as Paul appears on the stage serving the church in Antioch and in this regard Dean Gilliland (1998:214) elaborates on Barnabas' critical role in Paul's life as follows:

Barnabas recognized his leadership qualities and brought him from Tarsus to help with the preaching and teaching ministry in Antioch (Acts 11:25-26). It is fair to say that Paul came to apostolic maturity in an apprenticeship under the encouragement of Barnabas. With his tutelage, Paul taught large numbers of new converts in Antioch (Acts 11:26). Paul's training continued during the first missionary journey....

What is intriguing is that Paul again assumes the mentoree role, for Luke makes this point quite clear by listing Barnabas first among the leaders in Antioch and Paul last. Not only was this true in leadership but in all probability in their tandem-teaching in Antioch, Paul would have assumed the secondary though still prominent teaching role. Of course with his abilities both rooted in his pharisaic training and in the gifting of the Spirit this was later to change. But Paul appears to have remained in this secondary role both in leadership and teaching while directly on the leadership team in Antioch until, while on their first missionary journey "Saul, who was also called Paul" confronted the sorcerer Elymas and calls forth blindness on the man (Ac 13:9-11). From the time of this *power-encounter* onwards, Paul assumes the primary role, succeeding his tutor, Barnabas, and Paul's leadership and teaching dominance becomes self evident as the story of Acts unfolds.

In Luke's account in Acts and Paul's own letters his style shows him to be a mature teacher and leader. Paul is portrayed as one not given to false humility, but appears to carry with him the bold, aggressive, but for the most part, controlled style that he displayed even when a young follower of *the Way*. For he readily says, to the Corinthians: "Indeed, in Christ Jesus I became your father through the gospel. I appeal to you then, be imitators of me" (1 Cor 4:15b-16 NRSV); and to the Thessalonians he reminds them of the example of the Apostolic team (Paul, Silas and Timothy): "For you yourselves know how you ought to follow our example. ... [W]e worked night and day, labouring and toiling We did this ... in order to make ourselves a model for you to follow" (2 Th 3:7-9). Although he seems to qualify this concept of imitation in his first letter to the Thessalonians, by stating clearly that he and his leadership team (Paul, Silas and Timothy) were not the Thessalonians only examples by pointing to the ultimate model in Christ: "You became imitators of us and of the Lord", (1 Th 1:6a). This theme of imitation/modelling is also reflected in what appears to be an early Christian hymn that Paul quotes in his Philippians epistle (Phlp 2:6-11) and for Paul emanated directly from his training as a Pharisee. For he had learnt based not only on knowing the Torah but by following the example of his father, and then of Gamaliel.

Early on in his letter to the Corinthians, Paul seems to be saying that he came in a spirit of humility even to the point of being in some ways self-deprecating, when he states; "I came to you in weakness and in fear, and in much trembling. My speech and my proclamation were not with plausible words of wisdom, but with a demonstration of the Spirit and of

power” (1 Cor 2:3-4 NRSV). David Prior (1985:49) sheds some light into this apparent loss of nerve for Paul, of which he says:

Paul recalls his arrival at Corinth *in much fear and trembling* (3), such was the reputation of the city and his own vulnerability at all levels. He made a conscious, deliberate and determined decision to abandon any natural or worldly wisdom, and concentrate on *Jesus Christ and him crucified* (1-2). The plausible persuasiveness of the contemporary philosopher was rejected: instead Paul relied on and was in his own person a demonstration of the power of the Spirit (4).

Paul appears to be overawed by Corinth’s enormity and its reputation of a “rough, tough place” according to Prior (1985:13), and had arrived there in a “shell-shocked” state from the “...savage treatment up north in Macedonia a few weeks earlier”. His tentativeness in the arena of philosophy and preaching (1 Cor 2:3-4) seems not to have been for a lack of ability in this field, for he had already employed his skills in public debate and to great effect, if indeed this is referring to his travels subsequent to his visit to Athens (Acts 17:16) as part of his second missionary journey. This is extremely likely if, as suspected, he visited Corinth as part of his third missionary travels when he passed through Macedonia and, “... finally arrived in Greece, where he stayed for three months” (Ac 20:2b-3a). In this context Greece can be equated to the province of Achaia (Ac 19:21; 18:12) and substantiates Paul’s claim to have visited Corinth twice at least (2 Cor 12:14).

Having established that Paul, at a minimum, visited Corinth twice in the sequence which Luke’s account suggests, this comment of Paul as regarding his own timidity clearly relates to his first visit when he arrived in a new city of a magnitude and diversity which he had not yet encountered (cf Pollock 1985:121). Putting aside his awe, Paul rises to the challenge of this unique city and his powerful – but in this case choosing not to use philosophical – speaking, backed instead by the demonstration of spiritual power. This appears to be an accurate interpretation of events – supported by Paul’s own rhetorical argument against those who should think of him as “timid” when in person and “bold” only when at a distance (2 Cor 10:1-18) – for in many respects Luke portrays Paul as a powerful speaker (Barrett 1994:5), who at least on one occasion calls to mind the personage of Hermes, “because he was the chief speaker”, for the onlookers in Lystra (Ac 14:8-12).

Paul, before even his training in Jerusalem, portrays a commanding pedigree as both a Jew and Roman citizen (Phlp 3:4-6; Ac 22:27-29), which is further supported by an impressive set of Christian credentials (2 Cor 11:22-28). Paul was not scared of commanding or confrontation (1 Tm 6:17; Gl 2:11); he was confident of the substance of his message stating: “I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes: first for the Jew, then for the Gentile” (Rm 1:16a; cf 1 Tm 2:7). He further gave bold advice (1 Cor 4:16; Col 3:5) and acted in a fairly consistently autocratic style of leadership (1 Cor 5:1-5; 2 Th 3:6) which he expected his protégé (1 Tm 1:3; 1 Tm 4:11) and disciples (Phlp 4:9; cf 1 Th 1:6-7) to replicate. Yet this style, was tempered at times with a secondary, more compassionate and self-effacing style, when he was dealing with people who were dear to him (Phlp 4:2-3; Phlm 8-11) and the circumstances of his Apostolic calling (1 Cor 9:11-13).

Looking strictly at Paul’s style of teaching, he used a consistently dogmatic style with the believers as demonstrated in his letters to Thessalonica and Colossae (1 Th 3:6-15; Col 3:1-

17). Luke also portrays this bold, dogmatic and persuasive style even in the setting of the Ephesians and Corinthian synagogues where Paul; “spoke boldly ... for three months arguing persuasively” in Ephesus (Ac 19:8) and in Corinth where; “... when the Jews opposed Paul and became abusive, he shook out his clothes in protest and said to them, ‘Your blood be on your own heads!’” (Ac 18:6a).

Yet in Thessalonica Luke mentions that; “he reasoned with them from the scriptures, explaining and proving that the Christ had to suffer and rise from the dead” (Ac 17:2b-3a) and again in Athens he, “reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews and the God-fearing Greeks, as well as in the marketplace day by day with those who happened to be there” (Ac 17:17). At times he could use this less dogmatic more intimate style with his disciples as demonstrated in the lecture hall of Tyrannus in Ephesus, where he employed “discussion” (Ac 19:9 –though the New Revised Standard Version translates this as “argued”) as the basis of his apologetic. His secondary more personal and gentler style may have been the cause; “For some to say, ‘His letters are weighty and forceful, but in person he is unimpressive and his speaking amounts to nothing’” (2 Cor 10:10). But Paul warns such people in line with the proverbial saying, that; “actions (particularly Paul’s and Timothy’s) speak louder than words” (2 Cor 10:11).

As could possibly be implied by the word *discussion* as embracing rhetoric as a possible component of his lecturing style in Ephesus, Paul uses this rhetorical style in some of his teaching and preaching, and appears to be taking on the guise of a *travelling Greek philosopher* seemingly self-trained in the art of rhetoric. Paul may have derived this rhetorical style from Stoic philosophers even in his home town of Tarsus where he returned after his stay in Arabia. He further develops this style, by his own subsequent use of and perfecting of the art of the diatribe, a Hellenistic mechanism that uses the concept of an imagined opponent in debate (Ziesler 1990:14, 17). Though interestingly and perhaps more believable, Pollock (1985:18) attributes Paul’s use of the diatribe to his training as “part lawyer” and “part preacher” under Gamaliel, for as he says; “... Paul learned to debate in question-and-answer style known in the ancient world as the ‘diatribe,’ and to expound, for a rabbi was not only part preacher but part lawyer, who prosecuted or defended those who broke the sacred Law”. This process of learning the art of diatribe, starting with his Hebraic roots, but later bearing fruit in a Hellenistic world may indeed have been possible if understood in the light of his return to Tarsus and later travels.

For when Paul came to use the diatribe beyond Palestine he would have soon picked up on variances and nuances in thought and the rhetorical style(s) that Greek philosophers of the day used and incorporated Stoic or Mystery terminology relevant to his time (cf Green 2003:173; 182). Thus Paul’s use of the diatribe, first learnt in Jerusalem, as he resettled in Tarsus was quickly adapted to the Graeco-Roman city, which is perhaps a more likely scenario. In line with this thinking Paul could also play the role of the *Semitic rabbinical teacher* to perfection for he was tutored, and must have modelled his Hebraic style of teaching and apologetics after his mentor (Ac 22:3). Gamaliel was a highly honoured Rabbinic teacher of Paul’s day (Ac 5:34), steeped in this Hebraic style of debate. This rich tradition of rabbinic debate Paul drew on, as exemplified in his portrayal of the old and new covenants in the guise of Hagar and Sarah (Gl 4:21-31). Here Paul makes use of the allegorical method of debate to warn the Galatians about the trap of ceremonial observance (Barclay 1975:15-16). Such was his versatility of style that he appears to have transcended the cultural gap and found a mechanism of debate that could be adapted for either occasion.

3.7 Values in Paul's Leadership

It would prove very laborious to thoroughly cover Paul's values, and as this is not the dominant concern of the study on Paul a thorough look at his values will not be conducted here. However the concept of values is an important element in this thesis' definition of a *model of leadership*, particularly pertinent to chapters 4 and 5, and so some of the more important values Paul uses will be listed below, with at least one supporting scripture, purely for comparison's sake with the values ascertained in chapters 4 and 5. Possibly we could reduce Paul's values to three dominating values which tended to overarch all others – the values of faith, hope and love. This thesis will start with love to which the values of unity and peace are closely aligned.

Love and the closely aligned values of unity and peace

Firstly, it has to be said that Paul, though often depicted as a stern autocrat, has an extremely high value for love, as with faith and hope. For he states in the passage speaking of love that Paul is possibly best known for: "And now I will show you the most excellent way. If I speak in tongues of men and angels, but have not love, I am a resounding gong or a clanging symbol. ...Now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love" (1 Cor 12:31b-13:1, 13). Again a high value for love is expressed, this time by linking it to unity (directly) and peace (indirectly) in the mind of Paul: "Therefore, as God's chosen people, holy and dearly loved, clothe yourselves with compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and patience.... And over all these virtues put on love, which binds them all together in perfect unity" (Col 3:12, 14). The link between love, unity and peace is seen in this quotation from Colossians, for where virtues of "compassion, kindness ... and patience" exist there will be peace between the fellowship, and where peace is an undergarment so love and unity complete the dress code.

Paul, as with the value of love, was concerned for unity and peace in an extensive manner: "He has abolished the law with its commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two, thus making peace, and might reconcile both groups to God in the one body through the cross, thus putting to death the hostility through it" (Eph 2:15-16 NRSV). Beyond just the brethren, his concern for *universal* unity and peace is imbedded in his letter to Colossae: "For God was pleased to have all his fullness dwell in him, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether things on earth or things in heaven, by making peace through his blood, shed on the cross" (Col 1:19-20).

Hope and the closely aligned value of reconciliation

Again Paul stresses hope's importance along with faith and love in preserving our sobriety and godly character: "But since we belong to the day, let us be self-controlled, putting on faith and love as a breastplate, and the hope of salvation as a helmet" (1 Th 5:8). And in Colossians Paul mentions "hope" directly in relation to the Gentile response to the gospel: "To them God has chosen to make known among the Gentiles the glorious riches of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (Col 1:27). The concept here is one of a future hope for a perfected community as already the Gentiles had been accepted as co-partners with Israel in the gospel having been reconciled to God through the work of Christ.

From this naturally flows the value of reconciliation to one another in the same body of Christ or family of God. Thus as an extension of hope, reconciliation was an extremely pertinent value in Paul's ministry which is addressed in depth later in this thesis, a glimpse of which can be caught from Paul's second letter to the Corinthians: "All this is from God,

who reconciled us through Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting the message of reconciliation to us” (2 Cor 5:18-19 NRSV).

Faith and the closely aligned values of forgiveness and prayer

As has already been shown by referencing 1 Corinthians 13:13 and 1 Thessalonians 5:8 earlier, faith is linked by Paul in his value system to love and hope and is seen as a significant value for Paul. Paul states elsewhere that it is “...in Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have access to God in boldness and confidence through faith in him” (Eph 3:11b-12 NRSV). For it is through faith that we are justified (Rm 5:1) or put right with God on the basis of our forgiveness in Christ. Thus forgiveness for Paul, based on faith in Jesus Christ is a significant value for Paul, which once received and appreciated should be passed on: Speaking to the Colossians he says, “...forgive each other; just as the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive” (Col 3:13 NRSV). Paul promotes this value by endorsing the Corinthian’s willingness to forgive, with his own spirit of forgiveness: “If you forgive anyone, I also forgive him” (2 Cor 2:10).

Many more values could be included, for Paul was a theologian and teacher, but one key remaining value for Paul was a relationship with God steeped in prayer out of which flowed a passion for spiritual discernment. Because of this prayer based relationship with God, Paul often perceived a greater spiritual reality, as when he says: “For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms. ... And pray in the Spirit on all occasions with all kinds of prayers and requests. With this in mind, be alert and always keep on praying for all the saints” (Eph 6:12, 18).

**3.8 Paul’s, His Churches’ and His Team’s Ability to Cross Socio-Political Boundaries
*Upward mobility and the Pauline house church in the Roman Empire***

The ability to better one’s situation by a career in the army with possible promotion within and subsequent benefits of land thereafter is a well known fact of the honours placed on Rome’s heroes. This concept of the accolades placed on a successful military career helped to cement the idea of status improvement as a possibility, but the early church was far more tangibly impacted by the concept that a slave could have his/her status changed to that of a freedman. Indeed so dramatic was this change in status that a woman who was freed was considered to be superior to her husband who was still a slave. It was this fundamental change in status which gave hope to those born of less fortunate status or for those transplanted by the slave market from some foreign region. Upward mobility was possible even for a slave in the Empire, and yet in a strange way it was this mobility that was seen to upset the balance of power of the elite in the Empire and their desire for stability of status particularly in regard to the *familia caesaris* (Meeks 1983:21-22).

Meeks paints a far reaching picture when he says; “As ordinary persons of wealth turned many business opportunities over to their slaves and freedmen, so Augustus and his successors employed the *familiae* in the business of empire. Claudius greatly extended the practice, and for most of a century ...the *familia caesaris* was virtually the civil service of the empire, in the provinces no less than in Rome” (Meeks 1983:21). It was this dissonance in status which may have been an important factor in the leadership teams which Paul established in the cities. For example, there were members of the “household

of Caesar” (slaves and freedmen) in Paul’s circle of influence (Rm 16:8-11; Barker 1995:1732). It may be that the scope of responsibility and resultant status dissonance gave freedmen a greater ability to see themselves as equals. This vision of equality when coupled with Paul’s teaching that all gentiles who believed were heirs, along with their fellow Jewish believers could have given these previously disadvantaged people the confidence to lead. While this cannot be fully documented, it is clear that the believers in Caesar’s household joined Paul in greeting the Philippians (Phlp 4:22), and that Onesimus is commended, “...no longer as a slave, but better than a slave, as a dear brother. He is very dear to me but even dearer to you, both as a man and as a brother in the Lord. So if you consider me a partner, welcome him as you would welcome me” (Phlm 1:16-17).

Yet this is by no means the complete picture, and in order for Paul’s early *house church strategy* to work he often resorted to the experience and hosting ability as well as the extensive patronage of the upper classes. Gaius is one example of such upper class participation; his house was large enough not only to accommodate Paul but also to host the whole church of Corinth, which comprised several house churches most likely (Rm 16:23). Crispus, like Gaius, was baptized by Paul (1 Cor 1:14), and was the synagogue ruler in Corinth and as such was no doubt a man of significant wealth. Crispus’ influence is duly noted by the writer of Acts, for through his testimony many of the Corinthians believed and were baptized (Ac 18:8). Yet there were others such as Titus Justus, whose Roman name does not indicate any prestige, but who must have had a sufficiently large house to both house Paul as well as host the ongoing Pauline debate (Ac 18:7). Indeed with this abundance of both wealthy patrons, slaves and freedmen who through their positioning in households had learnt to transcend the social barriers of the day, it is important to consider what Allen has to say; “... that the majority of St. Paul’s converts were of the lower commercial and working classes, labourers, freed-men, and slaves; but that he himself did not deliberately aim at any class” (Allen 1962:24).

Women were also mentioned as patrons and leaders of house-churches. Paul gives special mention to Phoebe – quite possibly a deaconess of the port of Cenchrea – as the one who should be well looked after by the Christians of Rome while she stays there, in recognition of her patronage to many people including Paul (Rm 16:1-2). Luke recounts Paul and Silas’ impact in Berea, noting: “Many of the Jews believed, as did also a number of prominent Greek women and many Greek men” (Ac 17:12). This pattern was duplicated – including Greek women of high standing – by the same line of results in Thessalonica, for here too; “Some of the Jews were persuaded and joined Paul, as did a large number of God-fearing Greeks and not a few prominent women” (Ac 17:4).

It would be remiss in mentioning some of the women in high standing in Paul’s circle, and whose generous patronage supported his ministry, to not reference Junias, a woman, who along with Paul’s other relative, Andronicus, is listed as “outstanding among the apostles” (Rom 16:7). This fact, that women were able to exert their influence in the church, where in their regular day to day lives they were very much under the authority – the *potestas*, of their husbands in Roman society must have been appealing (Green 2003:168). A teaching that treated women as equals and slaves as no different to anyone else, and a praxis which tried to live up to its ideal was of far reaching allure. Even in its membership and conduct the Pauline house church was far more inclusive in terms of social and/or sexual status, racial and/or educational background, and religious upbringing, than any voluntary association. Efrain Agosto in Villafane’s book, *Seek the Peace of the City*, portrays the

social diversity in the Pauline Church in the following manner: “The facts are that Paul does bring together different social levels, including slaves, freed artisans, and ‘patrons’ with homes large enough to hold church meetings” (Villafane 1995:116).

What is most striking about the inclusiveness of racial background is that within the same house church that Paul founded one could find both Jew and Greek eating together. This communal dining may have been considered exceptional because of the Jewish exclusivity, but may not have been unique, for a strict Jewish observance was known to have lapsed in some places, notably Antioch (Green 2003:162)³. But this phenomenon of Greeks mixing with Jews as distinguished from peoples of other cultural backgrounds was not common throughout the Graeco-Roman world in an association or mystery cult other than the Christian sect of Judaism. Meeks mentions that there was some mixing of men and women in some of the voluntary association’s membership and leadership, and a similar mixing is seen in the associations (or voluntary societies) that drew together those who were slaves, freepersons and freeborn. But in contrast with the Christian groups: “Rarely, however, is there equality of role among these categories, and for the most part clubs tended to draw together people who were socially homogeneous. ...[I]t was precisely the heterogeneity of status that characterized the Pauline Christian groups” (Meeks 1983:79).

Paul, when he entered a city, first went to the people most like himself in religion and culture, the Hellenistic Jews, as his entrance point in a city, often using the Synagogue as his first port of call (Ac 13:5,14; 14:1; 17:2,10,17; 18:4). Paul very shortly mastered the art of using his own ethnic grouping as a springboard from which he would next go to the Gentiles. For this expansion of his ministry he needed intermediaries who understood both cultures. He would use some Hellenistic Jewish disciples, but also recognized the value of Greeks who were previously “God-fearing” attendees of the synagogues and places of prayer (Ac 13:48; 14:1; 16:13-15; 17:4; 18:4, 8), who could easily bridge the divide which their belief in the “God of the Jews” had already demanded of them. Alan Le Grys (1998:178) suggests that Paul’s early transcultural missional attempts often targeted “pro-Jewish Gentile sympathizers” which though indicating an audience beyond just “God-fearers”, would certainly include these also and provide a “more fertile ground” by virtue of their willingness to defect from the societal norms of their times. Paul would then take these God-fearing or previously sympathetic Greeks along with the Grecian Jewish disciples and, using the language common to the cosmopolitan cities of the Mediterranean (Greek), establish churches comprising both Jew and Greek, modelled after Antioch, which this thesis postulates was reflected in their leadership also (cf Ac 17:4; 17:34; 18:7-8).

It is perhaps not insignificant that in these few examples, starting with Thessalonica, that Luke specifically mentions that: “Some of the Jews were persuaded and joined Paul and Silas, as did a large number of God-fearing Greeks and not a few prominent women” (Ac 17:4). More than likely it was these three specific groupings that provided for the future leadership in Thessalonica at the very least. Secondly in Athens, Luke specifically points out that Paul attracted diverse followers including Dionysius, a member and by inference a councillor of the Aryopogus, and later – as tradition holds, yet unproven – a bishop of Athens, and also Damaris, possibly a foreign educated women and God-fearing Gentile (Barker 1995:1683; Ac 17:17, 34). Thirdly in Corinth it is Crispus, the synagogue ruler

³ Josephus, B.J.,7.3.3, & Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* vol 1, pg 74. Noted in Green (2003:423).

and his entire household who join Paul in the home of Titus Justice, an uncircumcised God-fearing and somewhat prominent Roman (Ac 18:7-8).

Thus it is likely that after Paul's departure from Corinth, Titus Justice and Crispus may have shared in some way in the leadership in Corinth. What seems to have happened in most situations is that the Jewish and God-fearing Greeks who became disciples of Paul continued to meet for some time in the synagogue, as and where possible, until such time as they withdrew with Paul. Once this took place they then attended the Pauline communities which often met in homes, comprising a three-way membership of Jews, God-fearing Greeks or Romans, and strictly Gentile believers who would not have been familiar with the synagogue. It is contended that these house-churches were founded on the Antioch model with its multicultural basis and openness to Gentile believers. It is likely that as these house-churches grew in their size, they would have divided, and would likely have carried with them this multi-ethnic expression of the gospel which was subsequently also reflected in the overall church leadership of the city.

This point is however somewhat more speculative for the church beyond Corinth, in successive generations of house-churches, and others may dispute this. Dean Gilliland, who quotes Paul Minear bases his concepts on the model in Rome (along with Minear), and in Corinth, which was, he believes, extensively divided. In the Pauline church Gilliland sees the house-churches as often representing one ethnic grouping or another. For as he states; "...Paul's churches were meeting the special needs of natural groupings of people and were communicating the gospel in relevant forms and in language that was suitable to each group and place" (Gilliland 1998:210). However, this argument falls flat when it is realised that firstly the "Church of Rome" and its many groupings possibly comprising largely mono-ethnic memberships were not the churches that Paul and his apostolic team planted, but were in fact planted by others (cf Rm 1:10-15). This remains true, even if Paul was later to bear some measure of influence on them from the confines of his house arrest. And secondly, the establishment of the Corinth church with a clear multicultural focus (Ac 18:7-8) refutes the Gilliland argument. Here the house-churches upon multiplying retained this accent – even if the proportion of specifically Jewish believers would have decreased naturally over time in line with the cities percentages – and where any distinction was on the basis of Apostolic following, and not on ethnicity (1 Cor 1:11-17)!

As soon as the gospel was conveyed to the more rural towns or villages, here it is likely to have taken on more monocultural expressions (cf Paul in Lystra where the locals used the Lycaonian dialect –Ac 14:11). Thus these more rural settings would have taken on more localised culturally relevant expressions of the faith. However in the cities, the worship was seen to represent the cultural diversity of the house-church. For Paul encourages each to bring a Psalm (the strictly Jewish song-form of praise associated with the Old Testament), a hymn (a Christian song-form perhaps poetically uplifting the Lord, possibly widely known), and the spiritual songs (those inspirational songs given by the Spirit and possibly locally recognised and sung in Greek, carrying with them something of a local ethnic flavour). This multi-cultural diversity in the worship forms using psalms, hymns and spiritual songs is portrayed by Gilliland (1998:226-227), and were part of the act of worship in Corinth (1 Cor 14:26), in which he states: "The variety of the *charismata* made the worship experiences something radically different from anything the Jews knew before. ...It would seem that both elements of Judaism and these new features were present in early Christian worship" This great variety in ethnicity and in worship forms was found not

just in the city wide church of Corinth as Gilliland (1998:209-210) contends, but would have also occurred in the house-churches, reflecting their multi-ethnic composition.

The basis for Paul's ability to cross socio-political boundaries

The foundations for understanding Paul, who was of two worlds but one Empire, have already been laid near the beginning of this chapter. Briefly put, Paul was a unique hybrid, not only was he the son of a Jewish Pharisee, schooled in Jerusalem in Aramaic, yet also was the son of a Roman citizen and lesser noble by virtue of that citizenship and was raised speaking Greek as well as Aramaic. The overlap of the Graeco-Roman world and the Jewish world was noted earlier showing how the existence of a physical Roman Empire may have influenced Paul's understanding that the Kingdom of God, a Universal Gospel and a macro-cultural identity as being available to all.

This unique mix was to mark Paul as one intuitively and academically uniquely gifted for his future *God-given* task. The importance of this upbringing might still be missed unless one has experiencing first-hand the rigors of being a missionary in a foreign land with a foreign tongue, let alone one in which the missionary propagates a belief system totally contrary to the majority. Paul was a man who could with one mind comprehend the Greek travelling philosopher and the Jewish ascetic recluse and also understand that in a world in which dreams, visions and revelations were common place, no further proof of his Apostolic calling were necessary beyond the testimony of his Damascus road experience. Here was someone who could traverse the chasm between Greek polytheism and Jewish monotheism; between Greek philosophy and the Jewish wisdom literature and asceticism; between Roman law and the Pentateuch, such that truth was equally valid as born out of the physical world or alternatively the spirit world as Barclay succinctly alludes to:

In order that Christianity might go out to all the world a unique person was necessary – and Paul was that person. Here uniquely was the man of two worlds, the man who was Jewish to the last fiber of his being, but also the man who knew the Romans and the Greeks as few Jews knew them. Here indeed was a man prepared by God to be the bridge between two worlds, and to be the bridge by which Gentiles might come to God (Barclay 1975:31).

Paul saw no real discontinuity between the two worlds, for just as the Roman world, had assimilated the Greek, and had become extensively cosmopolitan and polytheistic in nature (Harnack 1908:105; Sanneh 1997:21), so it was that Paul's life and conduct was to display a unique mix. It was this all-embracing cosmopolitan spirit and the example of the Antioch church that was to impact Paul's life to the extent that he appeared to cross seemingly insurmountable socio-political barriers with ease. For he was a man born in Tarsus, which was a city harbouring a great cosmopolitan spirit in which Jews and Gentiles lived in more harmonious accord than most Greek cities (Goodspeed 1965:8).

Yet Paul was not always so *compromising* in his Judaism. It would take an encounter so powerful that it would stop Paul literally in his tracks. More than anything what changed the stubborn, and excessively zealous young man's heart was an encounter with the risen Lord on the Damascus road (Ac 9:3-6). Once that happened the uncompromising Paul experienced a complete reversal of his previous belief in a Messiah retained strictly for Jews, and in the outworking of his associated zeal. He was not about to dilute his new

creed by becoming a Judaiser, one who would merely accommodate his new found allegiance, transposed onto his former belief system, but rather he reordered his theology based on this encounter. As Ziesler (1990:27) say; "... he did not become the sort of Christian who added belief in the messiahship of Jesus to observance of the law and to Temple-devotion. He so changed his angle of vision that what had once been central for him now became peripheral. 'Neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation' (Gal 6:15)." It was a *power encounter* of enormous proportions for Paul, for not only did he hear an audible voice which he understood as the Lord Jesus' (even his travelling companions heard something), but the light emanating from the "in-breaking Christ" into the natural world was so strong that it left Paul blind for three days, and unwilling to eat or drink (Ac 9:4-9).

Paul's experience was the beginning of the turning back of the clocks of time on his childhood experiences, and brought the neutralizing agent necessary for him to begin synthesizing the Greek culture with his still predominantly Hebrew exclusivist religious perspective. This synthesis must have continued for Paul as he preached in the vicinity of Damascus, in the region called Arabia – and even though not strictly an isolated wilderness experience – where he must have taken time both here as well as once back in Tarsus, to synthesize his new faith-allegiance with his old beliefs. Once he came to Antioch he was faced with a working model of fusion between the Jewish bedrock, Messianic prophecy and the Greek world of philosophical reasoning, for Antioch was a mixture between people of all cultures and previous beliefs. Jesus, the Messiah of the Jews, was indeed the Christ of the Greeks, who for Paul; "... has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us" (Eph 2:14b NRSV).

The transcultural nature of the Pauline missionary team

Though Paul's apostolic team varied in its makeup of individuals, it often represented the Antioch leadership model and the diversity of the people of faith in microcosm. Paul understood that this model personified the boundless nature of the Gospel, demonstrating that: "Here there is no Greek and Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave or free; but Christ is all, and is in all" (Col 3:11). It was his travelling apostolic community that substantiated his claim; for Paul's teams were a transcultural mixture of peoples, who were an authentic *iconic* picture of the church and a witness to the reconciling nature of the Gospel of the Kingdom. Paul's motto was "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" (1 Cor 11:1 NRSV), such was his bold claim to incarnate the gospel. But elsewhere as mentioned earlier, this is tempered in his letters to include the concept of a team approach to modelling the gospel and a believer's direct access to the model of Christ: "You became imitators of us and of the Lord" (1 Th 1:6a). Such that even if at times Paul fell short of the standard, then the people had his team to look to, whom corporately made a clear unequivocal witness to the truth, that in Christ no one is actually superior or inferior.

The *diversity* and *trans-cultural* nature of his team(s) can be seen by just looking at a few of the key players: These included: Barnabas, a Greek speaking Jew, who was a Levite and came from Cyprus (Ac 5:36); Silas, who was also a Greek speaking Jew, and who like Paul was also a Roman citizen (Ac 16:37-38); and Titus, an uncircumcised Greek whom Paul took to Jerusalem to vindicate the message he preached to the Gentiles (Gl 2:1-3) as a living testimonial to "Christ in him" (cf Col 1:27). There was also Timothy, who was half Greek and half Jewish, as his father was Greek and his mother was a Jew and a follower of

Christ (Ac 16:1); Aquila, a Jew who lived in Rome but who came from Pontus (Ac 18:2), in the northeast of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Black Sea (Barker 1995:1684), and his wife Priscilla who may have been a person of some noble standing who came from Rome, for she is listed in front of her husband's name in Romans (Rm 16:3). In addition there was also the diversity brought by the local leaders in training, travelled with the team, such as Epaphroditus, Aristarchus and Jason. Who according to Bosch (1991:132) represented a partnership in Paul's missionary enterprise of the churches in which he had ministered.

This brief analysis demonstrates that Paul's apostolic teams were extremely diverse, and were hand picked for the task of transcultural mission (Grassi 1978:56). This no doubt authenticated the message and provided the necessary skills base for a pioneering team such as Paul required. But this mixed group also represented a broad cross-section of nationalities with proficiency in Greek which was necessary to reach the whole known world with the gospel. For as Bornkamm (1971:52) says: "Paul's journeys and plans reveal the driving force of his design to take the whole of the inhabited world as far as Spain (Rom 15:24, 28), the 'pillars of Hercules' as it was then called, the uttermost limits of the world in the west. His whole strategy is based on this." The diverse nature of the Pauline team was at one and the same time a travelling band of transcultural teachers and a visible representation of the message of reconciliation:

[They] showed how the gospel was destined to break down the social and racial barriers that separate mankind. ...The group of apostles formed a church in miniature that they could thus invite others to join and thus share the spirit of the risen Christ. ...It was enough for the people to see Paul and the other Jews eating, living, and travelling with Gentiles. It was a visible and striking sign to the world of the oneness that the power of the Spirit could accomplish (Grassi 1978:56-57).

In addition to its incarnation of the reconciling power of the gospel, the multicultural team helped to balance Paul's confrontational nature. While Paul's character helped gather an audience –he did not lack for boldness and clarity of reason – his authoritative style often meant that he encountered opposition from others who stood by their own beliefs. This meant that the other members of his apostolic team, such as Silas and Timothy, often stayed behind (cf Ac 17:10-15) after Paul left a certain place and consolidated the work after his departure, for which their bi-cultural heritage must have proved extremely useful. Likewise, when Paul was busy travelling or later imprisoned, he was known to send either Timothy or Titus to settle disputes and discord among the believers (cf Tt 1:5-14; 1 Tm 1:3-7). This compensation for Paul's weaknesses probably extended as complimentary gifting into the areas of pastoral work, discipleship and teaching. For example, Barnabas for one had a more generous heart than Paul in being patient and encouraging a young believer's growth. He had first extended this grace to Paul himself (Ac 9:27), but its application to John Mark – Barnabas' nephew – caused a parting of their ways and a significant teaching gap which others would have had to fill (Ac 15:37-39). It seems reasonable to assume that the teaching style of working in tandem with at least one other, as he had previously shared with Barnabas, would have been perpetuated by Paul even though he would have retained his position as the "chief speaker" (Ac 14:12).

Paul learnt this tandem style first-hand from Barnabas, with whom he spoke in a secondary apprenticeship role in Antioch. As time progressed, Paul took the primary place, and yet Barnabas appears quite comfortable in slotting in behind him. By the time they left Paphos

it was “Paul and his companions” who were mentioned as leaving by Luke (Ac 13:13), and yet this was a flexible relationship for it seems on occasion Barnabas would again take the lead (Ac 14:14; 15:12). It was this versatile humility and the teaching gap left by Barnabas’ departure that would need to be filled by Paul’s team, continuing the model of a team-teaching approach, which would have underlined the authenticity of their message of brotherly love and salvation (cf 2 Cor 1:19; Paul and Silas preaching – see Ac 16:31-32).

For, it is important to recognise that this was not just the efforts of one person, even though Paul’s personality and gifting, both natural and spiritual, were larger than life. Paul’s dominance threatened to overpower others at times, but even he recognized Barnabas’ ministry alongside his own (Gl 2:9) as did Luke – who directly calls him an apostle alongside Paul (Ac 14:14). Paul on occasion appears to call even his co-workers such as Silas, an Apostle (1 Th 2:1-6; cf Ac 17:4) whose ministry among the believers, as with Timothy’s, is recognised by attributing to them co-authorship of his letters (1 Th 1:1; 2 Th 1:1). Paul’s admiration and love for his co-workers was evident, as was the way he shared the task with them, and with the indigenous believers in any one place. Paul’s remarks addressing women are often hard to understand in today’s Western context, but his actions spoke most loudly. On more than one occasion he appointed women to the position of a local home pastor (1 Cor 1:11; Col 4:15; Phlm 2) and he singles others out for special mention such as Euodia and Syntyche who “Have contended at my side in the cause of the gospel” (Phlp 4:3). Grassi (1978:63) sums up Paul’s awe inspiring teamwork succinctly:

The association of so many women as collaborators with Paul may strike us as not unusual. However, for his time, it was quite an innovation. ...Paul the apostle was essentially a team worker. His roving little community of apostles was at once a training school, a miniature church, a mutual source of growth and support in a very difficult vocation.

3.9 Pauline Belief Structures and His Theologies of Reconciliation and Election

The previous sections have addressed Paul and his leadership structures and the multicultural context and ability to cross socio-political barriers within the Pauline model of leadership. This thesis will now examine Paul’s ability to adopt, adapt and replace certain beliefs in the Graeco-Roman framework in order to make the gospel accessible to the ordinary Greek speaking provincial. It is in some ways hard to ascertain how Paul dealt with such a melting pot of religious activity. Looking specifically at Antioch, it was home to, “... not only the Hellenistic cults of Zeus and Apollo and the rest of the pantheon, but the Syrian worship of Baal and the Mother Goddess, only partly assimilated to Zeus and Artemis, as well as the Mystery religions with their message of death and resurrection, initiation and salvation” (Green 2003:163). In addition, in Antioch there was a Roman influence complete with household gods; the Jewish tradition of the One God; and a growing power of the Emperor that had developed into the Emperor Cult.

It is not hard to see how Paul used the Mystery cult’s language to his advantage with words such as *mysterion* (mystery) which he used not infrequently to explain the gospel, especially the inclusion of the Gentiles. It was in the mystery cults that baptism and rebirth, death and resurrection were not uncommon, as with the concept of eating the god in a sacramental meal. In the same vein Paul’s use of Stoic philosophy with the philosophical

concepts of Power, Life, Renewal and Salvation which closely shadowed Christian concepts is evident in his choice of words (Green 2003:164, 173-174).

Paul was by no means the only front runner in this regard, for others like Philo had in the early part of the first century helped in the Hellenising process of Judaism by employing the use of such terms like *logos* that mixed Stoic concepts of Divine reason with Platonic ideas of form with Aristotelian perceptions of a Divine intellect and Jewish Wisdom literature (Sanneh 1997:17; Ferguson 1970:224). In a similar way to Philo, Paul used synthesizing or bridging concepts to address the philosophical needs, yet what is hard to see is how he addressed the whole Pantheon of needs of Graeco-Roman society. Professor Dreyer of the University of Pretoria paints a clear picture of the integrated nature of Graeco-Roman society and its dependence on the gods and rulers of the day for stability:

In the Hellenistic context the emperor was the manifestation of God. Disobedience to the ruler was seen as disrespect to the gods.... The stability of the state depended on the masses respecting the gods (Alvis 1995:143). Marianne Bronz (2000:182) puts it as follows: "If Jupiter does not exist, then Rome's eternal rule is by no means assured". The lordship of the rulers and the gods were perceived to be interrelated. In Egypt, before Hellenism, the pharaoh was physically deemed a divine figure. This influenced the Hellenistic culture. In the Emperor Cult the ruler now physically became a god, and titles were used to express this. For example, the emperor was called *Kyrios*, son of god, and *soter*. The birth of these god-human figures was seen as "good tidings" for the people (Dreyer 2002:635; cf Koester 1992:12).

Yet in addressing this total system of needs and beliefs, Paul was not about to compromise the essentials of his faith – particularly as a Jew and an extremely zealous Pharisee, with a strict adherence to the ultimate belief that; "the Lord is God in heaven above and on earth below. There is no other" (Dt 4:39b). This understanding of the One God, coupled with his radical Messianic stance on Jesus as "The Christ" evoked this saying of Paul; "For there is one God and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (1 Tm 2:5). And yet he wanted to make the concepts of "Jesus as *Messiah*" (Jesus as Christ) and the "One True God of Israel" accessible to even the most pagan Greek or most civilized Roman. To achieve this outcome, he had to not only use terminology that appealed to the general Greek public and was recognizable from the mystery cults and the philosophies of the day, but he had to do so in such a way that he did not compromise on his core beliefs while addressing the belief structures and hierarchical concepts of the day.

It is thus in some ways surprising, yet totally congruent with Paul's character, that with the growing power of the Emperor he invokes the use of the Greek *Kyrios* when talking of Jesus as more than just Christ, and equally afforded Jesus as *Messiah*, the honours normally reserved for God himself. It is interesting that Paul should choose to use the *Kyrios* title for Jesus who was indeed in Paul's mind Christ (*Messiah*), for on the one hand it would evoke the wrath of the Jews for affording him a title reserved for the one true God, and then on the other a title which would indeed evoke the wrath of the Romans. Paul by doing so, not only asserts the Lordship of Christ as the only Lord against the growing number of gods *immortalized* as idols, who were not really "lords" or "gods" at all in Paul's thinking (1 Cor 8:4-5), but then to crown it all, pun intended, he stole the title, from the Roman perspective, which increasingly was being reserved for Caesar alone.

Already as early as 29 B.C.E. Augustus was called “our god” in the Roman province of Asia, and was reckoned to be lord of time and history, by the fact that the governor Paulus Fabius Maximus found a new and novel way to honour Augustus; “namely, to reckon time from the date of his nativity” (Crossan & Reed 2004:240-241). To illustrate the severity of Paul’s stance Crossan and Reed quote from the classic *Light from the Ancient East*, which clearly ascribes the Emperor Augustus the title “Son of God”, and in stark contrast, the general Christian practise beyond Paul’s of ascribing the Latin title *dei filius* “Son of God” to Jesus; noting that: “Christians must have understood, then, that to proclaim Jesus as Son of God was deliberately denying Caesar his highest title and that to announce Jesus as Lord and Saviour was calculated treason” (Crossan & Reed 2004:10).

The title of *Lord* in Christian tradition does have a pre-Pauline history as reported by Von Allmen. For as Von Allmen mentions the Hellenists used the title *Kyrios* to translate the Aramaic title *mari* (master), and Hebrew title *rabbi* (teacher) – and this was not an ill-conceived notion either – for as Von Allmen (1975:40) notes, the relationship of master and disciple was perceived to continue beyond the grave. He continues by mentioning that from early Christian tradition the word *Maranatha* was used, in stating:

Equally, the Lord invoked in the formula *Maranatha* (1 Cor. 16:22; “Come, Lord” Rev. 22:20) is already invested with the rights traditionally attributed to God alone. But it is a giant step forward in the ...Christological tradition, when, in translating these two different (though almost synonymous) Semitic titles [*mari* and *rabbi*], a single term is used: *Kyrios*, which was the very word used (among the Jews) as a Greek transcription of the divine Name, and the very word used (in the official religion of the Empire) to express the honour due to the Roman Emperor. Was this a fatal slip? Criminal truckling to the Greeks and Romans? Paul does not look at it this way, since he makes this very title of Lord the centre of his Christology. In any case, there can be no talk of truckling when to confess “Jesus is Lord” exposed one to persecution for refusing Caesar the honour he claimed for himself (Von Allmen 1975:40-41).

What is intriguing is that Paul opposes the concept of an all-pervading “Imperial Divine self-righteous Lord” who uses a militaristic style of domination and who furthers “peace by victory” in the quest for the civilizing effect of the *Pax-Romana*; with a “Divine yet humble Lord” (Crossan & Reed 2004:242). In stark contrast to the pax of Augustus, the Lord’s style is one of self-sacrifice and a delegated power, in an indefinite structure, proposing to further peace by a righteous justice –the *shalom* that heals and sets the nations free.

For both Jesus and Paul were not so much tied up in negating global imperialism as in establishing a positive alternative Kingdom of God. It was this positive affirmation of a *Cosmic King and His Kingdom* which was destined by its very nature to clash with Rome and its philosophy, as portrayed by the Roman imperial inscriptions displaying; “... both Augustus’s divination and Rome’s globalization [on] two sides of the same coin (often literally so)” (Crossan & Reed 2004:409; 407). Paul was probably not the first to use the title of *Kyrios*, which is ascribed to the early Christian tradition, although there is some dispute over whether the original setting was Hellenistic or in Palestine (De Visser 2000:3; Weber 1983:75; Hahn 1995:67). Yet Paul was no doubt responsible in large part for popularizing the phrase, and invoking it in a dramatic manner for – so central was this

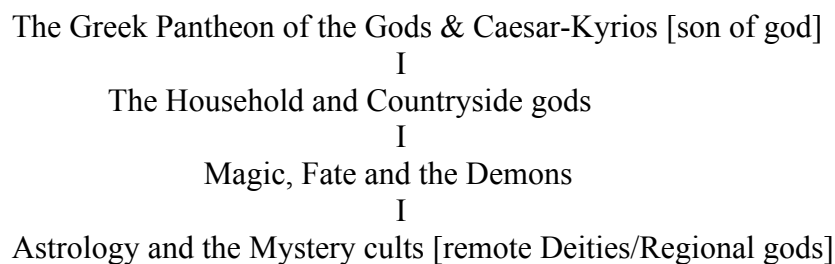
Christological title to Paul's preaching – he dares invoke the *Kyrios* title in the same breath he talks of *God the Father* as alluded to by De Visser (2000:4) in quoting Weber (1983:76):

The apostle Paul calls on the Lord Jesus Christ together with the Father in prayer (“May our God and Father and our Lord Jesus clear the way for us to come to you”, 1 Thess 3:11). Weber comments: Paul, “as a born Jew and formerly a rabbinic disciple, apparently did not see any blasphemy of the Father in this invocation of the *Kyrios*.”

Beyond the growing Emperor worship and this early Christian message of Christ as *Kyrios*, were the numerous cultic beliefs which began to spread through the Empire conveyed along the Roman roads in a period in which migration along trading routes was common. Such migrants included tradesmen, political emissaries, and the Romans military dispatches, took with them a cult from one place to the next and thus into the cities of the Graeco-Roman world. According to Lietaert Peerbolte these travellers brought the regional “gods”, or “spiritual princes” – and all other “mystery cults” particularly those of eastern extraction – from areas now under Roman rule (Peerbolte 2003:57;63-64). This picture is further complicated with the movement of native peoples to other regions as encouraged by the peaceful conditions under the *Pax-Romana*. For these migrating peoples it is likely that a foreign god or mystery cult could be equally important if not more so, than the particularly Grecian pantheon of the gods.

Given this complex mix of peoples and beliefs, a clear order of priority of the gods is not possible, even in a strictly Graeco-Roman context in any one city, as loyalties were known to be divided between the many gods. However, Figure 3.8.1 serves as a useful conceptual picture of what might be a composite framework of belief for any one person. Thus if a rather crude belief structure for a Roman citizen is depicted with the whole interplay between the gods, especially when the Emperor cult was at its peak, then it might look something like the *Hierarchical Belief Structure* shown immediately below in Figure 3:9.1 (cf Green 2003:174-177).

Figure 3.9.1: A Possible Hierarchical Belief Structure of a Graeco-Roman Citizen



Paul replaced the Greek “Pantheon of the gods” with the “One God and Father of us all” (1 Cor 8:6; Mt 2:10 – my paraphrase) and the growing god-like qualities of Caesar with the one true *Kyrios* – the “one Lord, Jesus Christ” (1 Cor 8:6). As a devout Jew he would have been taught to recite the *Shema* from his youth: “Hear O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord” on the basis of Deuteronomy 6:4, and though a radical concept against the backdrop of the whole pantheon of the gods, Dunn (1998B:31, 38) insists that the idea “of a creator, or at least of a divine architect, could easily hold its place within the range of Graeco-

Roman religion and philosophy.” Paul then eliminated the need for any other deity by stating that humankind has, “... one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus” (1 Tm 2:5).

In each of these areas, cities or Roman provinces there could be one or more dominating gods, which is not to say that many of the provinces, barring Palestine, did not have a pervading religious understanding that was polytheistic in nature. Paul labels the dominating territorial strongholds in relation to any one particular god as a “dominion” or the spiritual power or “god” itself as a “ruler” (Eph 1:21; 6:12). Such gods included Ra and Isis in Egypt, Marduk in Babylon and Ahura-Mazda in Persia. Paul sees these *gods* as local princes controlling principalities or dominions or physical regions and equates them to demonic powers over which Christ has triumphed (Col 1:16; Col 2:15 NRSV). However countering this line of argument, James Dunn (1998B:107) sees the *thrones* and *authorities* as listed in Colossians as not referring to a “parallel” of the “earthly powers” but “[w]hat is probably envisioned is a hierarchy of heavenly powers, with ‘thrones’ as the topmost rank.” However he has failed to mention the obvious, as is the position of this author, that it could be that both positions are correct. For if indeed they have a heavenly ranking, how beyond supernatural pecking order would that warrant Paul’s attention if they could not exert influence on earth which in some way equated to their heavenly hierarchy? The importance of this for Paul is that all divisions between and the various migrant and local ethnicities and fears held within each of these groups caused by the regional powers, are obliterated in the face of the undisputed Lordship of the Cosmic Christ (McRay 2003:329-330; 348).

In Colossians 2, Paul used two metaphors. The first is of an *indebtedness bond* which is cancelled and which Christ took away and “nailed it to the cross” – as if to say paid in full – thereby cancelled the legal requirements of the law (Col 2:14). The second metaphor is of a *conqueror’s triumphant procession* where; “... having disarmed the powers and authorities, he made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them by the cross” (Col 2:15). Many commentators tend to put distance between the two metaphors, and yet the context suggests that certain teachers/individuals had tried to lead the Colossians astray by a strict observance of the law and the heresy of the worship of Angels (Col 2:4-18). Paul shows firstly that the demonic angels have been stripped of their powers or “disarmed” of their weapons (Col 2:15); which could be read as their spiritual authority derived from the law, having been broken. Secondly Paul contends that their outer dignity and freedom is once and for all time removed as seen by the phrase, “making a public spectacle of them” (Col 2:15); which could be interpreted as the outer façade of the law being removed, under whose guise the angelic powers of *guilt*, *fear*, *impurity* and the *legalistic demands* would clothe themselves and freely operate (cf Barker 1995:1817; Gorman 2004:486).

Thus one interpretation of Paul’s message is that because the legal requirements of the law have been nullified in Christ, the “powers and authorities” are made subject to Him. It is further understood in Paul’s theology that the *angels of light* remained obedient to Christ and would never accept worship – for; “...whether thrones, or dominions or rulers or powers – all things have been created through him and for him” (Col 1:16 NRSV). It is thus the “powers and authorities” among the angels of darkness that are now made subject to Christ. Paul stipulates Christ’s dominion in order, “... that in everything he might have supremacy” (Col 1:18), “triumphing over them” and thus nullifying any reason for the “worship of angels” (Col 2:14, 18). In addition to Paul’s theology, it is also intriguing how Peter on two separate occasions is released from jail by an angel (Ac 5:19-20; 12:7-10),

whereas Paul was released by an earthquake (Ac 16:26). If Paul saw this as Luke did, then it may well have played into Paul's theological position on *angels of light* which appears to ascribe them only tangential significance under the new covenant of Christ's direct reign.

In order to ascertain Paul's position on angels of light as being only tangentially significant, this section now looks at Galatians 3 from verse 6 through to verse 29, before a construct of Paul's hierarchical belief structure can be attempted. Paul clearly sees angels as messengers of the law (Gl 3:19 cf Dt 33:2; Ps 68:17). This position was also held by Stephen and the writer to the Hebrews (Ac 7:53; Heb 2:2). Paul's writing implies that he sees angels holding an intermediary role until the Abrahamic covenant could come into effect via Christ – “the Seed” (Gl 3:19). In dealing emphatically with the “curse of the law” (Gl 3:13), Paul sees Christ both as a mediator and victor who has replaced the need for the old intermediaries as well. Thus the purpose of the law – which is reduced in stature by Paul as needing the two mediators of firstly angles and then Moses (Neill 1958:44; Stott 1986:90) – was to reveal sin, act as a temporary restraint and lead us to Christ (Gl 3:16-22; Gorman 2004:209). As a result the law in Paul's eyes was intermediary in nature; whereas the Covenant came directly from God to Abraham 430 years earlier, and its purpose is fulfilled in Christ. Neither the law nor its angelic messengers have fallen away, but their importance for the believer is eclipsed by the *New Covenant* (actually the old Abrahamic covenant fulfilled in Christ), and the demand of the law for a guilty verdict – cancelled (Col 2:14), for; “Now that faith has come, we are no longer under the supervision of the law” (Gl 3:25). Paul's theological position on the law and angelic powers gives the philosophical basis for the Jews and Gentiles being, “heirs together with Israel” (Eph 3:6) which underpins Paul's whole understanding of the “mystery of the gospel” (Eph 6:19).

This perspective of the conquered powers allows for both Jew and Gentile to see themselves as standing under the authority of the *One God*, and of his Son the only true *Kyrios*. Paul is equally emphatic about a clear break on the mortal human side from the “powers of this age”, for as Lietaert Peerbolte states: “Paul is very explicit in his letter to the Thessalonians in stating that they had ‘turned away from the idols’ (1 Thess 1:10 [*sic* – verse 9]). For Paul the worship of Jesus Christ did imply a radical break with all other cults, and in this respect his stance is fully in line with the Jewish view that only the one God may be worshipped” (Peerbolte 2003:64). Ralph Martin presents an interesting interpretation on Philippians 2:5-11, quoted by Michael Green (2003:178), which sheds an intriguing light on the belief system which Paul presented to the Greek speaking world:

“It is the open confession that Christ is *Pantocrator* and sovereign over all rivals; the astral deities prostrate themselves in admission that their regime has ended.” The moral implications of this claim that Christ is Lord of destiny could be explained in a way which had no parallel in any of the Mystery cults. Martin continues: “It assures us that the character of the God whose will controls the universe is spelled out in terms of Jesus Christ. He is no arbitrary power, no capricious force, no pitiless indifferent Fate. His nature is love ... His title to lordship can be interpreted in terms of self-denying service for others.” He points out that the Song of the Stars in Ignatius is an expression of just this victory over the astral powers. It meant incalculable relief to the ordinary Hellenistic man⁴.

⁴ Ignatius, *Eph 19*: Green (2003:430 –note 103); Martin, R. *Carmen Christi*, Pg 310: Green (2003:424 –note 25).

Paul’s perspective on the powers (of darkness) being made subject to and even reconciled with Christ can be seen in his letter to the Colossians in which he argues;

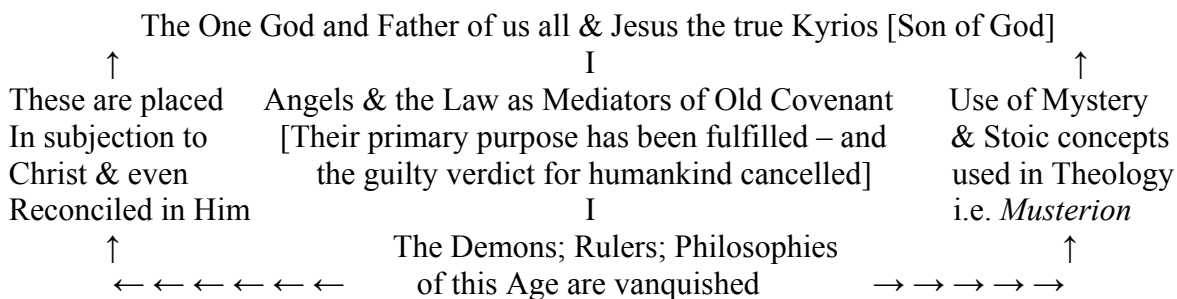
For by him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities; all things were created by him and for him. ...For God was pleased to have all his fullness dwell in him, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether things on earth or things in heaven, by making peace through his blood shed on the cross” (Col 1:16, 19-20).

Paul further implies that such powers or rulers are subject to Christ saying; “He disarmed the rulers and authorities and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in it” (Col 2:15 NRSV). This picture employing two ideas of disarming or *dethroning rulers* and a *triumphant procession* and may even be fully integrated if the concept of *Empire* is employed from the earthly domain to explain the heavenly Kingdom domain in which the victor would not only parade the vanquished but also replace the *ruler* of a defeated nation with his own choice. In the first chapter of Colossians Paul employs this concept to explain how invisible rulers, even powers can be reconciled to Jesus the *Kyrios*.

Paul does not stop with the powers being subjected to Christ but clearly sees all philosophies as being made subject to Him, stating in his second letter to the Corinthians that; “The weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world. On the contrary, they have divine power to demolish strongholds. We demolish arguments and every pretension that sets itself up against the knowledge of God, and we take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ” (2 Cor 10:4-5). The Corinthian world into which Paul speaks appears to be a Gentile and fallen one, or it could be referring to the world of religious arguments pertaining to the law. Yet whichever argument or philosophy, Paul does say, that they (presumably Paul and Timothy – cf 2 Cor 1:1), “demolish arguments and every pretension ...and take captive every thought” subjecting them to the Lordship of Christ (2 Cor 10:5).

The following figure presents a mental construct depicting Paul’s *Hierarchical Belief Structure*. This image has been developed to assist in understanding Paul’s position on the law and angels and his perspective on the “powers”.

Figure 3.9.2: The Pauline Hierarchical Belief Structure



The roots to Paul’s theology of reconciliation and its application to Southern Africa
 The outworking of Pauline Theology and praxis, emanated from the Hellenistic Jewish believers who arose out of the dramatic events surrounding Pentecost. It was the followers

of *the Way* who – having been caught up in this radically new interpretation of the Jewish faith, birthed out of Pentecost – disbursed throughout the Empire, taking with them the new message of inclusive hope for the nation. In Antioch this message took firm root and became the model for the kind of community Paul was to establish everywhere he went – one where Jew and Gentile would sit, eat and fellowship together!

The challenge of the underlying message the event captured in Acts 2 was clear. Firstly, with the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost and the witness to all peoples in their “native tongue” (Acts 2:11), the implication was that the good news was for all peoples to be heard and understood in their own language. The concept of developing a multicultural community was frightening for a culturally pure Jerusalem population. The prospect of this inclusiveness would have been daunting, and indeed did not come without its challenges as is exemplified by the Jerusalem church’s story in the feeding and dispersing of food to the Greek-speaking widows (Ac 6:1). It was Peter too, who first made these implications clear when he preached as related in Acts 3 by drawing on the Abrahamic covenant in referring to the Jews purpose of being a blessing to the nations. Yet speaking almost certainly in Aramaic (cf Ac 3:12; 25-26) the message stayed almost exclusively with the Jews with one or two notable exceptions of the “uncircumcised” (Ac 11:3) and remained with the Jewish community even as it later spread among the diaspora (Ac 11:19).

For even as Peter stumbled into the extent of the implications of his own words with the household of Cornelius as prime example, he took quite some time to get beyond the implications for the Palestinian context of his words that followed on immediately after his mention of the Abrahamic covenant; “When God raised up his servant, he sent him first to you to bless you by turning each of you from your wicked ways” (Ac 3:26). So it was Paul who first understood the far reaching implications of this message, even if it was Peter who stumbled across the concept of the Abrahamic blessing to the nations, a position Paul, it would appear, liked to think of as exclusive to his own original thoughts (Gl 1:11-2:6). To be fair to Peter, it is likely that a Pauline revelation of the extensive implications of this *gospel* was only possible outside of the cultural confines of Judea. So inspirational was the gospel that Paul first came to articulate most completely, theologically speaking, and learnt from the Antioch Christians, practically speaking, that it gave rise to a virulent rapid growth among the Gentiles of this strange new sect of the Jewish faith.

Within the Pax-Romana, there was an inbuilt receptivity for a message of inclusion. Paul’s concept followed on from the tradition of the Grecian Jews, and in line with the multicultural community that started at Pentecost, and used as its *prototype model* the church in Antioch. Paul, with his unique grasp of the Pentateuch via Gamaliel’s tutelage, understood instinctively the full implications of the Abrahamic blessing. Paul’s was a “... revelation of the mystery hidden for long ages past, but now revealed and made known through the prophetic writings by the command of the eternal God, so that all nations might believe and obey him – to the only wise God ... through Jesus Christ! Amen” (Rm 16:25b-27). For he understood that not only did covenant supersede law – as Abraham’s covenant with God came before the law was given to Moses (cf Le Grys 1998:182) and yet it did not destroy it – but that it was now for Paul attributed a temporary mediatory or custodial/supervisory role (Gl 3:17-25). The law leads believers to Christ in whom the blessings of Abraham comes to the nations who are reunited to the Father for, “You are all sons and daughter of the one true God through faith in Christ Jesus” (Gl 3:26 – my paraphrase) and with each other, in a harmonious community where, “There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave

nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed [offspring], and heirs according to the promise" (Gl 3:28-29).

The previous hostility or enmity which human sin had created and caused a parting of ways between God and humankind is now reconciled in Christ. The extraordinary thing is that God is His own marriage therapist and beyond this, as the offended party, is the one who actually pays for the restitution, and goes out of His way to restore relationship –amazingly (cf Gorman 2004:111). Once reconciled to God through Christ's death there is opportunity to be reconciled to each other, rather like the children of a disjointed household, who now that they are again back under their parent's protection can themselves be reunited in the safety of the home. This picture of peace and security in the house of God is what Paul appears to be painting when he says: "For he himself is our peace, who has made the two one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility. ...For through him we both have access to the Father by one Spirit. Consequently, you are no longer foreigners and aliens, but fellow citizens with God's people and members of God's household" (Eph 2:14; 18-19). In relation to this new "household", McRay (2003:338) states quite emphatically; "It is of fundamental importance that *both* Gentiles and Jews are made alive *together* with Christ, have been raised up *together*, and made to sit *together* with Christ in the heavenly places (Eph 2:5-6). Thus, the Gentile disciples are *fellow* citizens with the Jewish disciples and members *together* with them of the household of God (Eph 2:19)."

Beyond the roots of Paul's theology of reconciliation which originated with Peter, his own revelation and rethinking regarding the Pentateuch and specifically the Abrahamic covenant and the influence of the Antiochan experiment were some deep underlying causal factors according to David Bosch (1991:135-139, 145-147). Firstly there was a *sense of obligation and responsibility* for he had been spared by Christ who had taken his place in death and was thus indebted to him and commissioned to go to the gentiles. Secondly there was a *sense of gratitude* for he had been loved of God who had sent his only Son and thirdly there was a *sense of concern* both for the Gentiles in their considered low state of morality, that the coming wrath of God would not consume them and for the Jews who were faithless and had forsaken their Messiah (cf Gorman 2004:133). Infact ultimately Paul saw the influx of the "full number of the Gentiles" as making the Jews jealous and so precipitating the final act in the salvific work of God with man – the salvation of "all Israel" (Rom 11:11, 25-26).

The application for present day Southern Africa lies in the timeless principal that Christ stood for every culture in every place (West 1999:65). What has been the preoccupation of the church since the Roman Empire is the *translation* of the message into the many cultures of the world, and yet today, as not since the Pax-Romana, humankind is faced with a global village again, where a western oriented macro-culture is dominating the horizon. In places like South Africa and Zimbabwe where the messages of a national ethos and global economy are vying for loyalty with tribal roots and ethnic belonging, the church is faced with the almost impossible task of being a witness to both. The church is called to be a witness as a multicultural community, a witness which in the cities of Southern Africa it ignores at its own peril. At the same time, the church is called to affirm the many cultures and the individual's rootedness to a specific culture and place in its midst.

It is the position of this thesis that this immense challenge can be met by showing that the multicultural community is enriched and enhanced by elements belonging to the many cultures it represents. In this way, the church in Southern Africa within the cities points

toward a macro-culture where multiculturalism is valued, but it also points to the individual cultures whose distinctiveness is validated and honoured, which becomes even more evident in the smaller towns, and rural environs. And yet all this is not to say that just in honouring each others culture a way to interrelate will be easily found. Wrongs have been perpetrated and reconciliation, as Christ exemplified, is not cheap. David Bosch as quoted by Cassidy and Osei-Mensah in their account of the first Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly (PACLA) has this to say about Reconciliation:

“All the more relevant is the reminder that ‘reconciliation’ is no cheap matter. It does not come about by simply papering over deep-seated differences. Reconciliation presupposes confrontation. Without that we do not get reconciliation, but merely a temporary glossing over of differences. The running sores of society cannot be healed with the use of sticking-plaster. Reconciliation presupposes an operation, a cutting to the very bone, without anaesthetic. The infection is not just on the surface. The abscess of hate and mistrust and fear, between black and white, between nation and nation, between rich and poor, has to be slashed open” (Cassidy & Osei-Mensah 1978:129).

In Southern Africa the church has been exceptionally good at creating community in the second scenario of individual cultures, but where it has been distinctly lax, if not downright disobedient, is in her calling as a multicultural community, which witnesses to the possibility and plausibility of a new macro-cultural identity, and in a region sorely in need of that kind of witness. Indeed, this seems not to have been the case in the Graeco-Roman world of Paul’s day with the *Christian association* crossing all former barriers to such a degree that it was later given the status of a *third race*. Michael Green, speaking at the South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism held in Durban, March 1973, pointed this out succinctly when he said:

“The barrier of race was not played in the Graeco-Roman world in quite the same way as it is played now” said Green. “That world was homogenous. It belonged together under the sway of Rome, but the Jews did not fit into that world. They were considered a sort of second race and very odd. But the Christians were neither Romans nor Jews. And so the ancient world in its amazement had to shrug its shoulders and call them a *tertium genus* – a third race. The Christians did not fit into any of the neat categories of their world. They simply transcended them.” Green also pointed out that Christians in the early Church likewise transcended the barriers of class and religion. What they were in their lives backed up what they professed with their lips. They simply outlived outloved and outdied the world around them (Cassidy 1974:48).

In the next section this thesis will attempt to look at Paul’s Theology of Election which plays a key role in understanding his concept of reconciliation and ministry as an *Apostle to the Gentiles*. McRay claims that both Augustine and Calvin miss the concept put forward by Paul in Ephesians 1, in which he refers to the “elect” or “chosen” ones as the Jews who were the bearers of “blessing to the nations”. If McRay (2003:339) is correct, and he appears to be, as this perspective lines up with Paul’s use of first and second-person plural pronouns which he uses to distinguish Jewish and Gentile believers, then this adds an exciting dynamic when considering the full extent of his concept of reconciliation. It was for this purpose that Jews were foreordained; specifically tasked from the foundation of the

world (Eph 1:4-5), in order to make known the “mystery of the Gospel”, which is that now the Gentiles could also have fellowship with the Father for: “To them [the Jewish believers] God chose to make known how great among the Gentiles are the riches of the glory of this mystery, which is Christ in you [the Greek believers], the hope of glory” (Col 1:27 NRSV).

Paul’s use of the expression “mystery” (*mysterion*), particularly in Romans 11:25, points in the same direction. The mystery refers to the “interdependence” of God’s dealings with Gentiles and with Jews (Beker 1980:334), a process that runs from Gentile disobedience via Gentiles receiving mercy, to Jewish disobedience, to mercy shown to Jews, and, finally, to God having mercy “upon all” (Rom 11:30-32) (Bosch 1991:164).

General foundational and Pauline concepts in election and predestination

In attempting this short discourse on election and predestination, it should be noted that a thorough research into expert literature on various views on election was not sought out beyond Jewett (1985), Stott (1986E; 1994R), Barker (1995), and McRay (2003). This was done in order to look afresh at Paul’s understanding of these concepts rather than a full examination of the tandem topics. The corroborating evidence of Stott and McRay was found after the initial research of this thesis was conducted and as such in this immediate sense did not influence the initial findings. Predestination is one of those topics that will continue to challenge and daunt Christianity’s finest theologians as no doubt it has since the time of Paul. Were these concepts involving election and predestination the teachings of Paul that Peter found so hard to understand? Even if Peter was a more pragmatic and unschooled Apostle, he however ate, slept and drank Christ’s ministry, and so, if at times he found Paul hard to comprehend, then how much more so Christians living today.

Thus, starting from the vantage point that no one since Paul’s days has yet fully understood the concepts of predestination and election, it should be said that this is further complicated by Paul’s many metaphors, scriptural references and analogous pictures which he draws on in alluding to the fundamental truths of predestination and election, particularly in Romans (cf Rm 9-11). Because of the accessibility of these, often Old Testament concepts, it may be worth enumerating some of what are considered by this thesis to be the foundational insights that help in understanding predestination and election. These Pauline and more general New Testament writings are understood to some extent through a historical lens of Calvinistic and Armenian concepts, briefly alluded to here, in order to establish at a minimum, an initial working platform. However an extended deliberation of the concepts surrounding predestination and election such as *foreknowledge* and *calling* will not be attempted, as this is not the purpose of this thesis. The book *Election and Predestination* by Paul Jewett (1985 – see references) is recommended for understanding concepts surrounding God’s foreknowledge – regarding who would choose Him – and in an eternal sense God’s predetermining each person’s choice by grace, in that His decision came before humankind’s but which does not overrule individual free choice placed in time.

A traditional Calvinistic line of thinking is argued from the perspective of election – God *elects* only those He chooses, which it is hoped will in this brief discourse be shown as being somewhat misguided; as a partial misinterpretation of election. The contention this line of argument has with the Calvinistic leanings of some towards election is that if one places too much weight in a systematic understanding of predestination, which has at its

heart election of a few, then this speaks of a God who has long ago predetermined a fixed number of people – i.e. election governs everything. Worse, then by deduction those who are not part of the *elect* are in fact elected to Hades, is the only possible conclusion, though some bring in *free-will* rapidly at this point. If one goes too far down this path of reasoning the track becomes littered with justice issues. However, if one falls so strongly on the free-will or Armenian side that salvation by faith alone is the only understanding, then the generally accepted theological principal that even faith is a gift from God is forgotten. Added to which, all of the Pauline and Lukean literature on predestination cannot so easily be dispensed with under this understanding of Paul's teaching on predestination, such that a balanced approach accepts both at some level as balance also allows for paradox.

The *both* of salvation is clearly stated as scripture says; “by grace ... through faith” (Eph 2:8a). So it is not faith on its own, nor grace but both. And yet the paradox goes beyond a *both and* scenario, to the truth that even the faith offered is a gift as Paul goes on to say in the Ephesians passage now stated in detail: “For it is by grace you have been saved, through faith – and this not from yourselves, it is a gift of God” (Eph 2:8); and yet it should be noted, a gift that is freely available to all. Luke talks about those who came to faith in Pisidian Antioch and specifically singles out the Gentiles after having made clear that almost the entire city was gathered (Ac 13:44, 48). Present in this large crowd were some Jews and devout converts to Judaism, as were it appears some God-fearing (uncircumcised) Gentiles (Ac 13:43, 26). Luke underlines the presence of God-fearing Gentiles putting an end to all uncertainty by mentioning that; “When the Gentiles heard this, they were glad and honoured the word of the Lord” (Ac 13:48a), such that there can be no doubt, that they were included among those “appointed for eternal life” (Ac 13:48b). It is important to note that Luke's commentary on Paul's travels do not necessarily reflect Paul's theological position, and yet as fellow companions in the ministry who knew each other well, there was more than likely a significant overlap, especially in the reporting style Luke employs.

A direct examination of Pauline literature in Romans 8 indicates that foreknowledge and predestination seemingly applying to all (Rm 8:29-30). However, when reviewed in the context of a complete letter to the Romans; Chapters 9, 10, and 11 imply that Paul may apply foreknowledge and predestination only to Israel. Predestination, if it indeed applies to all, can be understood as an adoption process of an older child – to some extent there is action on both sides. The older child can choose for or against accepting their adoption into their new family and the associated family name. From God's perspective he has predetermined the adoption of his sons and daughters, having set up that the legal requirements be fulfilled in Christ's payment. In one sense provision was made for everyone to receive a new name but in another sense only some choose to carry their new name and with it the inherent character traits of that family. And yet still at another level, God already knew who those people were who would choose to be a part of His family and foreordained them to be “conformed to the image of his Son ... within a large family” (Rom 8:29), Himself (Rom 8:23-29; cf Eph 1:3-14). Yet this understanding, firstly avoids the point that predestination is part of a continuum starting with foreknowledge (Rom 8:29-30). For the missing link of sanctification is in essence our character refinement, implicit within glorification (Stott 1994R:253), and secondly it does not explain Paul's foundational thinking in the concept of the *Cosmic predestination of the nations* which is addressed next.

However, this brief mention of Paul's thinking from Romans 8 and Ephesians 1, does not take into account God's destiny for the nations in Christ, but thinks on an individualistic

level, which is somewhat Western (with its roots admittedly in the Roman world) when considered on its own. But Paul was not only a Greek-speaking Roman, he was Jewish, and Middle Eastern thinking is far more in terms of groupings of people; of tribes and nations. So to understand Paul's teaching more fully one needs to understand that nations were at stake in Paul's perspective (and within a Pauline paradigm, by inference – God's). To understand Paul's concept from Ephesians chapter 1, it is important to understand that the "we" – referred to in Ephesians 1:11; "In him we were also chosen..." – is referring to the Jewish believers chosen out of the "nation of Israel", and the "you" in verse 13 refers to the Ephesian Gentiles (cf McRay 2003:339). Stott explains this clearly and traces Paul's train of thought as he looks forward in his thinking, linking the twin concepts of the election of some of the Jews who were predestined, with Christ the "reconciler":

The structure of the paragraph makes it plain; *in him ... we (Jews) who first hoped in Christ have been destined ... to live for the praise of his glory. In him you (Gentiles) also, who ... believed in him, were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit which is the guarantee of our inheritance ...* The apostle moves from the pronoun 'we' (himself and his fellow Jewish believers) to 'you' also (his believing Gentile readers) to 'our' inheritance (in which both groups equally share). He is anticipating his theme of the reconciliation of the Jews and Gentiles which he will elaborate in the second part of chapter 2. Already, however, by the repetition of the words 'in him' (verse 11, 13) he emphasizes that Christ is the reconciler and that it is through union with Christ that the people of God are one (Stott 1986E:45).

Going back to the teaching of Christ, it is evident that there was a seed "elect" group of people – starting with Jesus' disciples; chosen to carry the message of the gospel. John records Jesus saying to the twelve; "You did not choose me, but I chose you and appointed you to go and bear fruit – fruit that will last" (Jn 15:16a). If Luke is understood, for the purposes of this line of argument, to have held a similar position on predestination to Paul, then reading Luke chapter 10 in this light, but applied on a broader basis of recipient than just "the twelve", Luke appears to extend the above Johanan position on election to at least the 72 (Lk 10:17-20). For Luke reports Jesus saying to the 72, as part of their short term mission trips debriefing: "No one knows who the Son is except the Father, and no one knows who the Father is except the Son and those to whom the Son chooses to reveal him", after saying to them "...rejoice that your names are written in heaven" (Lk 10:22b, 20).

Paul's letter to the Romans supports this position on election in saying; "What then? What Israel sought so earnestly it did not obtain, but the elect did. The others were hardened" (Rm 11:7). Paul's understanding was that many of the Jews had their hearts hardened, just as Pharaoh's was and yet some – a remnant – were saved (Rm 9:17-18). Yet there is also the understanding inherent in this concept of "hardening" here, that those who were not saved had of themselves "transgressed" (Rm 11:11). This is the age old problem of perspective as from man's perspective on God's role in determining the "elect" – i.e. "those Jews who chose Christ" – it was predetermined; *rigged* (cf Rm 9:14). But from God's perspective the Jews, who as a people had rejected His Son, they had transgressed; they had broken faith with God's renewed covenant with them as seen in Romans 11:11.

Thus God predetermined to save the Gentile nations by a process of election. He elected that a remnant of Jews would accept his Son in order that the Gentiles might have the good

news preached to them. Hence the concept of “the mystery” that Paul talks about elsewhere – that God had included the Gentiles in his plan of redemption (Col 1:26-27). In the mind of Paul, God had foreordained this from the start, for Abraham’s covenant mentions that “all nations on earth will be blessed through him” (Gn 18:18; cf Gl 3:8), and this blessing on the nations for Paul is realized in the Gentile’s faith now placed in Jesus. This was God’s plan of restoring the nations to Himself, realised as the gospel is preached to the Greek world of Paul’s day, which Paul alludes to when he quotes Hosea (Rm 9:25; Hs 2:23) and which as a motif is scattered throughout the Old Testament.

The grafting in of the “wild olive shoot” (Rm 11:17) was fulfilled in the “Gentile church”. By comparison, John’s “Theology of Redemption” in his understanding of God’s plan of redeeming – or ransoming “... saints from every tribe and language and people and nation” (Rv 5:9 NRSV) – and Paul’s theology in this respect are similar, for Paul included the whole world in his perspective on God’s redemption of mankind (2 Cor 5:19-21). But Paul goes beyond John’s perspective on the “ransom” paid by Jesus (Rev 5:9) in redeeming some from all the nations, to one of a “reconciliation” of the tribes and nations, where sin is forgiven, former alienation is set aside, and relationship is restored. This is Paul’s intent through his message which holds; “... there is no longer Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave and free” (Col 3:11). Paul affirms that there are none of the major divisions of culture, between the *circumcised Greeks* – the devout Greek converts to Judaism, and the *uncircumcised Greeks* – the God-fearing Greeks; the *circumcised Jews* – the Judaisers, and the *uncircumcised Jews* – culturally Hellenised Jews; the *barbarians* – those peoples and tribes who did not speak Greek nor fell under the civilizing influence of the Roman Empire; *Scythians* – those even a further step removed from civilization and were originally a marauding tribe from the south of Russia, thought of as little better than wild beasts (Col 3:11; Barker 1995:1818). Lastly there existed no status or social class in Christ for neither *slaves* nor *freed alien* were discriminated against.

Paul even goes one step further than the reconciling work of the human domain and seen universe (referring to the *cosmos* i.e. “world” in 2 Cor 5:19) – for in Colossians 1:20 Paul alludes to this concept by including the earthly and also the heavenly in God’s reconciling work. His letter to the Colossians, it could be argued, states that even the fallen powers are reconciled to Christ or at least made subject to him (Col 1:15-20; 2:9-15). On an earthly, specifically human level, Paul argues that God predetermined that all who are reconciled to Himself will in so doing be reconciled to one another (Col 1:21-22; 3:11). He thus disposes of the barrier between the nations and specifically between Jews and Greeks (Eph 2:11-18), also a part of the mystery of which Paul speaks. God’s cosmic plan of salvation does not stop with reconciliation between Gentile and Jewish remnant, for God has predetermined that the Jews should one day return to Him in order that He might once more show mercy, in this case via the Gentile church. Paul argues that envy, arising out of God’s mercy on the Gentiles, will bring about a mass movement of Jewish believers (Rm 11:13; 25-32).

According to Paul, God determined before time that men and women should be saved from their sins, but also set free to live a new life having been predestined to be changed into the character of His Son (Rm 8:29). God could have stopped with the elect (the remnant of Jews who turned to Him) or stopped with those Jews and Gentiles who having turned to Him, were forgiven. But as Paul states, God chooses to mould people’s characters as well through His indwelling Holy Spirit! (Rm 8:1-14). The promise of salvation included the

promise of the Spirit (Eph 1:13), who is the very “promise” of God personified, and becomes himself the fulfilment of the “blessing” of the nations (Gl 3:14; Gn 12:3).

In conclusion, when Paul speaks of *the elect* he is really speaking of the preselected (by God) Jewish believers, who were chosen to inhabit the gospel and pass it as a peace offering of blessing to the nations. This distinction of the elect, helps to explain why others in the Gentile world who do not receive by faith the message of the good news in Jesus are not in Pauline theology, elected to Hades, but choose instead for themselves a life apart from a relationship with their Heavenly Father. An understanding of an authentically Pauline concept of election has far more to do with *nations* than it has to do with *individuals*, and yet something of the foreknowledge of God is always there, whether as Paul was – part of the Jewish elect or remnant; or the Gentiles – part of the wild olive being grafted into the church; or even the Jewish mass return – largely still to be gathered in; or those who choose to reject the very message that holds life for all peoples.

3.10 Pauline Church Structure(s) of Community

The basic unit of fellowship and one most often seen is the phrase *he kat' oikon* which refers to churches that meet in homes. This was a significant feature of the Pauline church as is seen by the churches that met in the home of Priscilla and Aquila (1 Cor 16:19; Rm 16:5). These home based churches which centred around the *familia* in the Roman world, were made up of not only the immediate family, relatives and slaves of the household but, “...a coterie of other dependants, freedmen, or clients” (White 2003:457). In mentioning the above, White refers to the whole network of relationships comprised of interested parties who were linked to the family by trade association, or who were neighbours and friends. It was these very households that were targeted by Paul as he endeavoured to convert the whole extended network of relationships they embodied as he moved between the cities of the Empire (Balch 2003:265). This networking went beyond that of a single household incorporating an extended business network, for Paul often drew on multiple networks at a time, linking Jews with “... Greeks and not a few of the leading women” (Ac 17:4b), as he did in Thessalonica, into a radically new association. Alternatively he drew two or more prominent households and intermeshed their extended set of contacts, or *familia* together, as Paul classically did in Corinth by the linking of Titus Justice – the Roman with a large house, with Crispus – the synagogue ruler (Ac 18:8).

Even so, from archaeological evidence it is likely that in Corinth that the church in any one home was never larger than about 40 to 50 people because of the restricting dimensions of the rooms in even the more affluent homes (Dunn 1995:17-18). As has already been discussed, these home based churches were likely thoroughly integrated in membership but also in gifting. It was after all the diaspora Jewish follower of the way, who at the very minimum helped to teach Paul’s Greek converts the Septuagint and its application to the context of the Roman world. The household was the basic building block of the Pauline structure and indeed of Graeco-Roman society itself. Paul seems to have used the cultural structures and philosophies of the day from which he could tap into the structures of fellowship and bridges of belief, either naturally or strategically (perhaps both).

As one house church was stretched beyond its logistical capacity and was joined by new ones both by division of the original and as new *familia* and spheres of influence were opened up; as house churches grew in number in any one place there appears to have been

added over the course of time the gathering of the whole church in a city which met as needed (1 Cor 14:23; cf Rm 16:23). According to Meeks (1983:75), Paul, possibly uses *hole he ekklesia* to signify the assembly of the city-wide church, as opposed to the more home-based churches/cells (*he kat` oikon*). Newbigin is more convinced and understands Paul to have made another cultural “coup” by borrowing the term for a town or city assembly – *ekklesia* – referring to not the assembly called by the town clerk, but as one; “... called by a more august authority than the town clerk: it was the *ekklesia theou*, the assembly called by God, and therefore required the attendance of all” (Newbigin 1995:16).

This interpretation seems likely from what is known of the situation in Corinth for Paul expressly mentions in relation to the church there: “So if the whole church comes together”, when he asks for orderly worship as a witness to God’s presence (1 Cor 14:23-25). It is likely that over the course of time these churches that began in one home would have outgrown the facility, and then a second home church would have subsequently formed. Luke’s account of Paul’s return trip through the port of Miletas on his Third Missionary Journey gives further evidence. Here Paul calls for the Ephesian elders to come and mentions how he has not hesitated in, “... proclaiming the message to you and teaching you publicly and from house to house” (Ac 20:20 NRSV). This could be viewed as substantiating evidence for the argument that there were multiple house-churches and city-wide meetings at the very least in Ephesus, as has already been shown for Corinth also. These public meetings in Ephesus, as mentioned by Luke, were in all probability Paul’s daily discussions in the hall of Tyrannus (Ac 19:9), and even if these were used as training times in strategic evangelism as well as for the proclamation of the gospel, yet doubtlessly these meetings could have also constituted the meeting of the whole church in Ephesus.

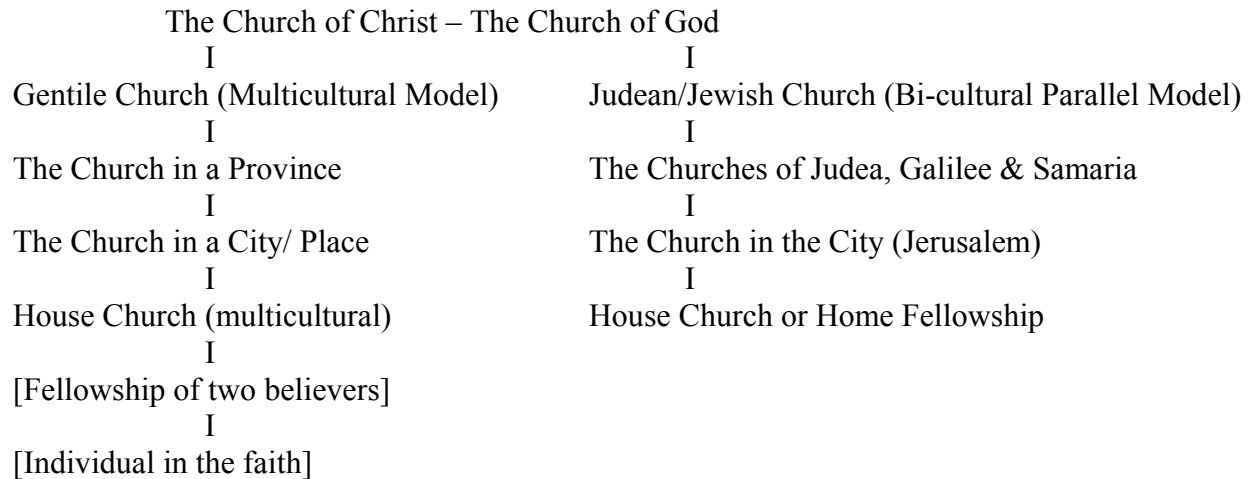
Paul also speaks of the church in a specific province, such as the church in Galatia or the church in the province of Asia (1 Cor 16:1, 19), and speaks of “all the churches of the Gentiles” (Rm 16:4), for which he definitely sees himself as a spokesperson along with Barnabas, engaging with “the churches of Judea”, and in particular Jerusalem (Gl 1:22-2:9). With these few examples, a conceptual framework of how Paul possibly saw the Church can be sketched to the level of the house church, where the only variance outwardly of the Gentile Church to the Judean or Jewish Church (1 Thess 2:14), was that the two branches were treated pragmatically as two distinct entities, but which together made up, for Paul, the “church of God” or, “all the churches of Christ” (1 Cor 11:16, 22; Rm 16:16).

Though it would probably be a gross miscalculation to derive from this structural framework (see Figure 3.10 – overleaf) that Paul saw these conceptual links between the church levels not only as an expanding framework of relationship, but as a line authority structure leading to a system of governance. For as Allen notes Paul “...refused to set up any central administrative authority from which the whole church was to receive directions” (Allen 1962:131). But it nonetheless probably displays the natural fellowship ties that existed within a province, and from there to include all the provinces as mirroring the Roman Empire in its natural lines of communication within the *Pax-Romana*.

Fellowship for Paul and lines of communication did not just happen between cities of a province and from the cities to the province surrounding them in ever increasing concentric circles whose ripples may eventually overlap, but also downwards or smaller to the more intimate in size. As beyond the basic unit of the home church could be added the fellowship experienced between two individuals. For Paul, the basic element of fellowship

existed often in twos, and in which the kiss was an accepted practice and expression of their unity and fellowship, and beyond even that, to the individual himself in the faith (cf. 1 Cor 16:20-22). With these few remarks relating to the fellowship bonds between various levels (structures of community), the blueprint of a Paul's conceptual framework for the lines of communication has been fleshed out, and though somewhat speculative, it none the less gives a fair indication of how various levels related to each other as portrayed below.

Figure 3.10: Pauline Church-Community and the Jewish Church Structures



Finally Paul's vision of community was expansive, for he truly believed in a global citizenship or a citizenship at least for the whole known world, which on an earthly level constituted the "Church of God". His concept of Kingdom went beyond the strictly physical domain to include the spiritual and heavenly, which combined ideas generated from the Roman Empire and Israel's "blessing of the nations" through the "Abrahamic covenant", to Jewish concepts of the Spirit (*Ruach*) and a community built around the *Messiah* – Jesus. In his letter to the Ephesians, Paul looks towards an identity or citizenship with which all could identify, linking together concepts that were truly Empire-wide (citizenship) with the smallest unit of that Empire (household), such that the identity of any "stranger or alien" was secure in the knowledge that he was a "citizen" – in the "Kingdom of the Son" (cf Col 1:13) – and a member of "God's household", family/*Oikos*, having as a result of both, direct "...access to the Father by one Spirit" (Eph 2:17-20).

3.11 Overview of the Roman, Antioch and Pauline Contribution

It was to the Greek-speaking Roman world that Paul was indebted, as has been the Church ever since. For it was the Roman Empire's international security, trade, road and sea-faring infrastructures that gave place and shape to the gospel, even if one could argue that it was the gospel that eventually shaped the Empire. But none-the-less, the Roman Empire presented a remarkable opportunity of uniformity in language, government and organization, such that logistical and sociological barriers were more easily overcome in Paul's day than they were perhaps in any previous era (Sanneh 1997:19). Antioch-on-the-Orontes, proved to be the ideal staging ground for a church birthed, not along ethnic lines, but along lines of allegiance to Christ. A new association with its distinctly multicultural flavour that was so far removed from the previous practise of the Jewish sect's adherents or

followers of *the Way* that they were named *Christians*. In the Gentile Church the individual's belief system was profoundly influenced by Paul's and others' calls for ultimate allegiance to Jesus Christ alone defined in terms of *Kyrios*. This new distinction caused fundamental changes in the belief and community structures of the followers of the way and ultimately, centuries later, in the religious allegiance of the Roman Empire.

This change of allegiance was made possible through a few significant factors. Firstly, there was a philosophy of inclusion and a *lingua-franca* within the Roman Empire that established the parameters necessary for a birth of a new religion with an all-inclusive ethos. Secondly, there was a city such as Antioch which exhibited the very best of these ideals, and whose size and mixing of cultures allowed for the possibility of a multicultural *Koinonia*. Thirdly, and of almost equal import, there was Paul, a man whose very upbringing evoked pride of place in both Palestine and Cilicia, for he was both a Pharisee and Roman citizen at one and the same time.

The presence of this man and his missionary band(s) and a few other travelling Apostles and teachers often associated with Paul, were in their own right a major catalyst for change. These are the base factors that this chapter has endeavoured to clarify and expound upon, that made it possible for a multicultural community to emerge in the "Early Gentile Church". In particular Paul's *Model of Leadership* (his structures, styles and values, as well as his transcultural ability and belief system – including theologies of reconciliation and election) has been closely examined which affords a direct comparison with the three political and three Christian leadership models discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The concepts laid out in this Chapter provide a biblical and historical precedent which gives substance to the proposition of this thesis that *successful incarnation of the gospel into a multicultural context requires models of leadership that both enhance multiculturalism and also promote the underlying multiple cultures albeit from the platform of a common – but not exclusive – language and ethos*. Thus the Early Gentile Church provides both an instruction to, and standard of comparison for, contemporary multicultural models of leadership.

The theology of reconciliation and praxis was perfected in Paul's church-planting and disciple-making and is seen most clearly by the inclusion of the Jew and Gentile in the house churches he established in the various cities he visited and also in the missionary teams he led. This work of Paul culminated in the evolution of a *third race* beyond Graeco-Roman and Jew, to that of the Christian, whose claim to this status within the Empire proved not only extremely resilient in the face of persecution from Jew and Roman, but ultimately successful. This *third race's* belief in Jesus as the only *Kyrios* and their unprecedented transcultural fellowship helped change the ultimate allegiance and belief systems of the Roman world and in doing so influenced the macro-cultural identity of an Empire.

The significance of Paul's work that had a long-term causative effect in a fundamental change, of allegiance and ultimately in an Empire's religio-cultural identity, is that it gives both a historical and a biblical precedent for understanding that a change in an individual's belief system at the deepest level(s) in a multicultural setting, can produce a cultural identity that goes beyond any one ethnicity. Further, this new individual sense of a greater cultural identity, can as it matures in community give rise to a new local multicultural identity and thus could possibly – as a microcosm of a nation that multiplies its new multicultural genetic code – feed into a new macro-cultural identity of a nation.

CHAPTER 4: LEADERSHIP MODELS OF THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICAL LEADERS

4.1 Introduction

Before emphasising the importance and place of this chapter, a brief recap of the previous chapters is required. Retracing the steps already taken, Chapter 1 drew attention to the problems Southern Africa is facing, particularly regarding those problems arising out of the internally and externally inspired demographic shifts to the cities. These problems were further established, specifically for South Africa in Chapter 2. Other problems facing Africa were also highlighted, with attention being given to Zimbabwe's socio-economic woes but also noting the progress as concerns transformational leadership in the African context in general. In Chapter 2 the need for strategic transcultural leaders together with their inherent ability in bridging socio-political boundaries not normally crossed was posited. This ability to cross boundaries beyond the norm is postulated as stemming from a certain belief system and in this regard Chapter 2 specifically mentioning two agents of transcultural leadership in Southern Africa – Mandela and De Klerk.

Chapter 3 looked at Early Church (1st Century Apostolic) models of leadership in order to establish a connection between belief systems, leadership models and the ability to cross socio-political boundaries, with special attention being paid to Paul and the Antioch model. Paul's role in changing an individual's ultimate allegiance and his model of leadership as the basis for developing a multicultural community, which ultimately changed the belief system of the Empire was analysed. Chapter 4 looks primarily at the leadership models – the structures, styles, values, philosophical/political/Christian convictions and transcultural abilities – employed by three political leaders, namely Moshoeshe, Smuts and Mandela. This chapter is also useful in setting the stage – historically speaking – for ascertaining multicultural models of leadership. This chapter will follow along these lines:

1. A brief commentary, of the rise to leadership of each of the three political leaders.
2. The models of leadership employed by the three political leaders, assessed in terms of the structures, style(s) and values of leadership used – each in turn.
3. Each model of leadership is next assessed in terms of the philosophical or Christian convictions of the three leaders, and their ability to cross socio-political boundaries.
4. The connection between national lasting changes and each leader's political, traditional and/or Christian convictions where applicable – assessed independently.
5. A tabulated comparison of the three models, including a brief analysis – noting the historical contexts and initial implications for the present Southern African context.

Beyond the inferred impact that political leadership models had on the Christian leadership models of their day, the *model of synthesis* used in this thesis allows for multiple inputs that have bearing on the *thesis* and *antithesis* (see Chapter 1, and Section headed: *An Understanding of Synthesis*) as do the lives and societal norms of the day of these three political leaders. Along with setting the historical stage principally for the *thesis*, these individual lives and the norms of their times set a background of understanding for the following chapter's analysis of three Christian leaders. The analysis of these political leaders through the lens of their visionary-prophetic leadership, using the secondary *semiotic model*, provides insights into the *synthesis* of what a multicultural leadership model might look like in the early 21st century Southern African city context.

4.2 Morena Moshoeshoe

A brief commentary on Moshoeshoe's life and rise to leadership

Moshoeshoe, whose birth name was Lepoqo, was born in 1786, in the eastern Highveld beyond the Drakensberg. The Drakensberg's ramparts divide the plateau of the interior, home to the Sotho peoples, from the rolling hills below, where the Nguni tribes reside. His early childhood was a happy one, and as a young warrior without any of the moral problem with wars he had later in life, he quickly gained a reputation and was known as *Letlama*, the binder, after the way he would allegedly bind and subsequently subdue his enemy. After their circumcision class, his whole age group was called the *Matlama*, which means "the Binders". The *Matlama* were extremely loyal, and in war formed a single regiment under Lepoqo's command. One raid was so successful that he gained a new name – Moshoeshoe, pronounced "Mo-shwe-shwe", which implies the swish of the razor. It was said that after this raid he had returned with so many cattle that he had shaved the beard off the raided chief, Moeletsi of the Mapolane (Becker 1969:23-24; Sanders 1975:11-12).

Early on, it seemed that Moshoeshoe (known also as Moshesh) was ambitious, and he sought out the advice of a successful neighbouring wise seer, Mohlomi of the Koena, the grandson of Monaheng. He was seeking a way forward in his quest to become a chief, and not just a mere clan chieftain like his father. To this end, "Mohlomi's words were to have a profound affect on Moshoeshoe, highlighted by the horrors to come - 'Go, rule by love, and look upon thy people as men and brothers'" (Knight 1994:59). Or, as Fred Ellenberger records this same event, "'One day thou wilt rule men: learn, then, to know them; and when thou judgest, let thy judgements be just.' Moshoeshoe never forgot these words, and throughout a long and famous life tried to act up to them" (Ellenberger 1912:96).

In 1820, Moshoeshoe left with a number of people including many of the *Matlama* and chose a flat-topped mountain called Botha-Botha for his new tribal home. It can be surmised with some degree of certainty that the influence for this unprecedented trek to form a mountain top settlement had come from Mohlomi's prophecy of the start of the *Mfecane* and ensuing cannibalism as seen in the "red dust" coming from the east, which he made on his death-bed. This prophetic word Moshoeshoe, would most certainly have heard upon his visitation of Mohlomi, as recorded in Ellenberger's "History of the Basuto": "'My friends, I wanted to move my children out of the way of the war which is coming, and take up my abode on the plateau of Qeme, but sickness has prevented me. After my death, a cloud of red dust will come out of the east and consume the tribes. The father will eat his children. I greet you all, and depart to where our fathers rest'" (Ellenberger 1912:97).

Previously these flat topped mountains and associated caves had only been occupied by the San; however the move gave only temporary sanctuary and relief from the marauding raids of the *Mfecane* (Sotho – *lifaqane*). It proved to be too close to the splattering effects of the volcanic upheaval and did not ideally suite his military strategy, and so in mid 1824, Moshoeshoe fetched his parents and grandparents from Menkhoaneng, the town he was born in, and moved with the tribe to Thaba Bosiu. The move to Thaba Bosiu was a master-stroke. The fortress was virtually impregnable and the table-top summit had sufficient grassland and water to hold a large herd of cattle for some weeks. In all aspects it was the perfect mountain stronghold, rising over 130 meters from the valley floor in sandstone cliffs, with access was restricted to six distinct passes, close to which Moshoeshoe's people placed rock-piles used to ward off hostile intruders (Sanders 1975:35; Du Preez 2004P).

Thaba Bosiu was so well selected that the mountain top citadel was never captured nor its defences successfully breached in Moshoeshoe's lifetime. According to Knight (1994:63):

To survive on the mountain, Moshoeshoe needed cattle to attract and support followers. Not long after his arrival he organized the first of a series of spectacularly successful raids, which swept down through the Drakensberg passes and carried off thousands of cattle belonging to the Thembu chieftains there. Sure enough, word soon spread about his apparent power and prosperity, and refugees from the *lifaqane* began to make their way towards Thabo Bosiu.

An interesting aspect of the way Moshoeshoe governed was his dealings with chiefs, who came to him for sanctuary in return for their allegiance, and were allowed to keep their cattle under the *mafisa* reciprocal arrangement. The difference between Moshoeshoe and neighbouring independent chiefs was that he applied the *mafisa* system on a far grander scale than was normally practised. Under his application of the *mafisa* system, the state was the technical owner of the cattle that in theory was incorporated into the national herd, but in practice its subjects retained them in a stewardship arrangement. Herds gained from a raiding party were also distributed in this way so that Moshoeshoe retained the good will of all the people. These chiefs and tribesmen who joined Moshoeshoe over time gained their own herds, but by that stage Moshoeshoe's prominence had also grown – most of the increase to the *mafisa* herds were passed to the royal family (Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:7).

Thaba Bosiu was indeed a refuge for many, and Moshoeshoe incorporated many peoples into his extended tribe. Among these were some Nguni who had fled from Shaka, the Sotho and even a number of different bands of cannibals and other clans and peoples seeking refuge. However, such a safe haven could not go unchallenged. One of Moshoeshoe's rivals was Matiwane, chief of the Ngwane, whom he tried to appease early on by paying tribute in the form of cattle. Unfortunately this offer did not settle the palpable tension caused by having two tribal groups living in the same area, and so in another calculated move Moshoeshoe became Shaka's vassal as a means of protection against Matiwane's warriors (Becker 1969:57; 60-61; Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:5).

But in 1828, Matiwane's Ngwane army surrounded Thabo Bosiu, catching Moshoeshoe by surprise. Moshoeshoe chose not to wait out a prolonged siege fighting from the top with stones, but to descend fighting with clubs and spears in a calculated risk. Neville Grant tells us that the Ngwane swarmed into battle: Moshoeshoe, having hid his own *Matlama* in a fold or donga, sent his Mollo regiment in first. The Sotho lines soon broke:

One huge Ngwane warrior struck a Mollo shield and shouted, "Look at this little shield! What kind of shield is this?" But then the laugh on his lips froze. He suddenly saw the *Matlama* rise, as if from nowhere, and charge down on them. Moshoeshoe sank his spear into the chest of the Ngwane warrior, and a fierce fight developed. The Ngwane had not expected such a strong attack; suddenly, they turned, and fled. That day the Ngwane lost many men (Grant 1981:26).

Matiwane's defeat was by no means absolute (it was the British in 1828, mistaking his troops for Shaka's, who eventually broke his strength), but it was indeed a great day for Moshoeshoe in his pursuit of peace for his people. After Matiwane's defeat by the British, Moshoeshoe magnanimously offered him refuge, which he refused (Knight 1994:64-65).

Moshoeshoe faced many threats in his lifetime, one of which was from the Ndebele in 1831. With the approach of the Ndebele, Moshoeshoe decided to defend his position on top of Thaba Bosiu, believing that they would not opt for a prolonged siege being a long way from home. This tactic proved astute, and the Ndebele's two frontal attacks were both repulsed by a hail of boulders interlaced with spears. An interesting aspect of Moshoeshoe's warfaring was his astute diplomacy – as the Ndebele withdrew, he sent cattle to them as a gift for their journey. This magnanimous if tongue in cheek act was no doubt meant to pacify them from any further attack and showed some sort of respect for the Ndebele, who could have returned at a later time with reinforcements (Sanders 1975:45).

Moshoeshoe was a shrewd diplomat, not only in the use of traditional systems and indeed how to step beyond the normal use of these, but he also learnt fast how to use the best of two very different worlds. By 1833, the Basotho numbered some 25 000. To safeguard their advantage in strength and traditional fighting skills with the new world of the white settler, Moshoeshoe realized it would be politically astute to use the newly arrived Protestant missionaries from the Paris Missionary Society as a buffer to the expansive interests of the Boer: “By the time the first missionaries arrived in 1833, invited by Moshoeshoe to help secure peace on the western frontier and to teach his people the secrets of their superior technology, the Basotho nation of Moshoeshoe had emerged the strongest force in the Caledon River Valley” (Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:5).

The first three missionaries to arrive were Thomas Arbousset and Eugene Casalis and their assistant Constant Gosselin. With regards to the missionaries' faith, Moshoeshoe held many similar values and indeed accepted many of their teachings. Because of this and their perceived influence over him and his adoption of many of their customs, he was often at odds with his councillors over the merit and presence of the missionaries. He wore European clothing, took visiting chiefs to church with him and had a stone house to entertain his European guests. He seemed to live much of his life vacillating between his political and religious responsibilities as chief of his people and his desire to follow the Christian faith. For their part the missionaries unwittingly were conveyors of western custom and were culturally prejudiced, and although their work achieved a measure of success, they struggled to gain the allegiance of many particularly in the first four years. However, the presence of the mission station so close to Thaba Bosiu undoubtedly brought some measure of peace. The missionaries themselves, particularly Casalis, acted as political emissaries for Moshoeshoe, placating the Boer and the British alike (Thompson 1975:72-78; Sanders 1975:122-129).

Unfortunately, enduring peace for Moshoeshoe was not so easily won. As early as 1835 the Afrikaners began to break out from under the restrictive nature of British rule and increased population pressure of living in the Cape. The Great Trek, which was in truth made up of a series of treks, moved northwards and the trekkers (Boers) began to occupy tracts of land in-between the Orange and Vaal Rivers. This in turn caused a pressure for land with many disputes as to the extent of Moshoeshoe's lands and the validity of any Boer claim to land within his extended pasture-lands. As the pressure mounted, Moshoeshoe appealed to the British, who for their part were glad to have an ally, having fought another war against the Xhosa and having clashed with the Boer Voortrekkers in Natal. The Napier Treaty was signed in October 1843, but instead of quelling the storm, it just fermented it all the more as the Boers were not about to be governed by Moshoeshoe. Under the treaty, Moshoeshoe controlled all British subjects entering Basotho Land, which

apart from the Boers reaction, did not endear the Rolong, nor the Sotho of Sekonyela, as it did not differentiate these from Moshoeshoe's own land and peoples. Beyond this, his own people's population grew, increasing the pressure for land – by 1948 there were 80 000 peoples subject directly to Moshoeshoe (Knight 1994:72-73; Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:7).

With the pressure for grassing lands ever increasing, Moshoeshoe looked to the British and their great Queen to sort out the disputes. However, for all Moshoeshoe's best intentions and misplaced trust in the British integrity to put an end to the Kora and for that matter Boer raids on his cattle, the British time and again backed the Boers' land claims in preference to the Sotho. The Kora horsemen (men descended from the Khoikhoi, originally from the Cape) quite apart from the Boer raids and disputes over land, were constantly raiding his western front. Because of this breach of faith, direct conflict with the British over the land between the Orange and the Vaal became inevitable. This was a conflict driven primarily by Boer encroachment on his pastoral lands, which they claimed as their own. Eventually he used a similar strategy to appease the British as he had the Ndebele some years before, even though on more than one occasion the British under Cathcart in 1952 had come off second best or had little to show for their tacit victory (Thompson 1975:163).

Beyond the skirmishes with the Boers, the Orange Free State tried to mount an assault on Thaba Bosiu at least twice. The first time they formed a defensive laager once they came within sight of Thaba Bosiu. The fighting started on 6 May 1858 and the laager proved impenetrable. However the cunning Sotho slipped behind the Boers lines and raided their farms. The Boers got wind of this and withdrew, shouting "*huis toe*" (go home; return home), but with their defences now being in complete disarray, the BaSotho attacked and defeated them. Eventually the two sides agreed that the British should arbitrate and a new boundary line, which favoured the Boers, was established under Governor Grey. On 25 June 1865 a second war broke out after an unfortunate incident. Moshoeshoe's people, having again overflowed the available land, had already conceded to pulling back to the original boundary. However, some crops were left unharvested and upon trying to retrieve them, Moshoeshoe's men happened upon some Boers already harvesting Sotho crops. One Boer farmer was beaten up, which was enough to trigger war only a few months later (Knight 1994:82-84; Lelimo 2004).

Once war broke out the Sotho retreated, but they were this time vigorously pursued by 600 Boer volunteers under Louw Wepener. The Boers used the boulders for temporary protection against the rocks and spears that rained down on them. However, Louw Wepener, having made progress past two rock walls, could not get past the third right near the summit and was there shot dead. The siege then lost its intensity and a stalemate once more ensued. The British were again asked to intervene and under Sir Philip Wodehouse now offered the BaSotho crown protection. Thus Moshoeshoe's faith in the British was finally rewarded.

However president Brand of the Orange Free State did not back down immediately and in a final charge on Posholi's fortress (Moshoeshoe's brother) in 1868, the chief was defeated and himself killed. From then on, not wanting to risk war with Britain, President Brand backed off (Knight 1994:84-86). Posholi was by no means beyond reproach. He seems to have made his living off robbing cattle, including the Boers'. Indeed he had managed to

instil quite an anxiety and the Boers in this regard had more than the normal reasons to want to pursue him in particular (Du Plessis 1919:111).

Although Moshoeshoe was successful in the war with the Boers of the Orange Free State in 1858 to the extent that another stalemate developed (he was successful again in 1865), he was surpassed in power, in part due to the British embargo on guns and munitions to indigenous chiefs. He at length sought the favour and protection of the British flag – from the Boers, the Rolong and the Sotho under chief Sekonyela of the Tlokoa who all claimed grassing pasture in close proximity, or in the case of the Boers and the Tlokoa, some of the very same veld. When the British did finally assist it was on their terms, treating LeSotho as a vassal, and Moshoeshoe's power and lands diminished (Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:7).

Moshoeshoe fought an enduring battle to stabilize a new kingdom against mounting odds. Suffice to say that he used the knowledge gleaned from the missionaries to broker a protected position with the British. Though this brokered position was at first by no means secure, it did in fact in the long term give him what he wanted – crown protection, but at a price. In the long-standing dispute with the Boers over land he time and again lost more land and had to accept LeSotho (Basutoland) becoming a British possession. In his trade with the Griqua, he had managed to acquire a number of firearms and horses, and Moshoeshoe's men were known to have learnt how to fight on horseback. The fact that his men became so adept at using horses and firearms and the presence of the missionaries, whom the Kora horsemen feared (or at least respected), helped in repelling the Kora raids on the western front (Becker 1969:83-85; Thompson 1975:78; Gill 2004).

He showed reluctance in accepting Christian faith in its entirety during his lifetime. His main concern seems to have centred upon giving up his wives – many of whom were daughters of chiefs – an arrangement which was foundational to sustained inter-tribal harmony. As a chief he carried with him political and religious responsibility to the tribe that was not easy to cast aside in a satisfactory manner without destroying the very basis of the tribe. He did finally arrange for his son to succeed him on the throne and formally announced his intention to be baptised as his health failed him, declaring himself a Christian. The baptism date was brought forward a week but he died on 11 March 1870 before the missionaries could baptise him – only a day or two before the ceremony, depending on which account is believed (Becker 1969:274-275; cf Sanders 1975:315).

Moshoeshoe's success was partly due to his shrewd use of the countryside, much like Shaka, and a system of warfare which strength lay in an impregnable fortress, rapid strikes and luring his enemy into a premature sense of victory, only to unleash his reserve troops in a deathblow effect. The other half of the equation, and equally important, was his quiet diplomacy and ability to offer a face-saving compromise. He is known possibly more for being a broker of peace for his people and thus a great model statesman than for his early military exploits or his later position as a reluctant warrior-chief.

Structures employed in Moshoeshoe's model of leadership

The leadership structures used by Moshoeshoe were for the most part tribal ones. In the beginning of his rise to prominence he exerted leadership in his *Matlama* circumcision class by using force and building on fear, coupled with heroic exploits that added weight to the traditional structures open to him as a clan chieftain's son. He later used double edged

leadership continuity and discontinuity, whereby he struck out on his own, but as the son of a petty-chief who had gained some notoriety. “From his early manhood his ambition was ‘to become a chief,’ as he himself expressed it, and indeed he had all the qualities which go to make one” (Ellenberger1912:229). His rise to prominence was heightened by choosing strongholds wisely and providing protection to virtually one and all, incorporating them into the tribe and the tribal decision making structures. This process started long before his notoriety as a benevolent chief, emanating from his values and the perception that tribal independence was not the best way to go. Ellenberger (1912:229) comments further:

He could see farther ahead than most men; and, no matter what checks he encountered, he never lost sight of the end in view. Being one of the most astute men of his race and time, he was quick to realise the practical advantages of a policy of benevolence and mercy, quite a new thing in those wild days, when people were ruled by force and fear. Early in life, too, he perceived the disadvantages of the old system of tribal independence; seeing in it possibilities of abuse of power by a multitude of chiefs with no central overlord, and, more important still, a lack of cohesion in resisting a common foe. He had already conceived the idea of federating all the clans and tribes, and establishing a uniform code of law and equity among them, when the national convulsions of the Lifaqane came, and afforded him the opportunity of creating a kingdom for himself instead.

The chiefs that joined him were incorporated into what became a kingdom or nation in the *mafisa* system. In this system, the vassal chiefs retained their cattle in a reciprocal arrangement whereby the cattle tacitly became part of the royal herd. Moshoeshoe ruled using a somewhat loosely bound confederation of chiefs and beyond his outer sphere of influence with a network of alliances particularly with the Zulu and the British. The confederacy itself was made up of three envelopes of authority. At the core was the immediate area surrounding Thaba Bosiu that he ruled directly with Masopha assisting him (his third son from his First House). The second or intermediate territorial envelope was controlled by his eldest two sons from his First House, Letsie and Molapo. The outer territorial envelope was controlled by some of his kinsmen who were territorial chiefs, his brother Posholi, his half brothers Mohale and Mopeli and nephew Lesaoana – and the chiefs of other tribes who had aligned themselves with him, including Moorosi of the Phuthi, Moletsane of the Taung and Matela of the Khoikhoi (Thompson 1975:177).

Beyond this third envelope was an elaborate system of alliances. The extensive nature of these alliances also shows how he was able to go at least one step beyond traditional structures using the missionaries as political go-betweens with the European structures.

He had been sending peace-offerings annually to the Zulu since 1827, and was on friendly terms with their chief, Mpande; he was in alliance with Sekwati of the Pedi and Mtikrakra of the Thembu; and he was in regular contact with many other chiefs too. Their communications were not reduced to writing, and their contents largely unknown. It seems clear, however, that confident in his own success, he recommended the use of missionaries as political advisors, and when forming an alliance with Mtikrakra he carefully stipulated that both sides should remain in “peace and amity ... with the Colonial Government” (Sanders 1975:141).

With his success and the growing numbers of peoples, the confines of the mountain fortress could no longer contain them all. Soon there were tribesmen building villages not only at the foot of Thabo Bosiu, but in time these villages extended out into the whole of present day Lesotho and beyond. Between the years of 1833 and 1865, Moshoeshe's people grew from 25 000 to 150 000, in contrast his rival Sekonyela, who by 1836 had a following of some 14 000, but which remained static thereafter (Knight 1994:71).

The structures of leadership and governance that sustained this growth beyond the security of his mountain fortress, the foundations of which were established even as he vied for dominance with Sekonyela, are thus captured by Thompson (1975:216-217):

Moshoeshe had emerged as the leader of the southern Sotho during the 1820s, when their political system of small autonomous, segmentary chiefdoms was smashed by the Nguni invasions. The system he then created was a reconstruction of the traditional order, with two innovations: the kingship itself as a new top tier, and the placement of his kinsmen as territorial chiefs over the heads of all other lineages (except in the outer marches). By the 1850s this system had become partially stabilized, because pressures made it expedient for the territorial chiefs to accept it and also because he established a claim to legitimacy in traditional terms, for example by embellishing and appropriating the Mohlomi myth.

By the 1850s Moshoeshe's concern was to maintain a cohesive and united kingdom, not just for prestige and posterity but because while in the past fragmentation of chieftainship had not destroyed the Sotho way of life, it now threatened to implode with the presence of the white settler. The problem was not the settlers' way of life, for there had for quite some time been different pastoral groups vying for a larger portion of territory, but now a disgruntled chief could make an alliance with these settlers, who played by different rules. The white settler Boers took for themselves the best land and subjugated the peoples they made alliances with, which threatened to destroy the Sotho way of life (Thompson 1975:203-204). To beat back this threat from the Boer and Kora horsemen he came up with the revolutionary concept of adopting foreign military techniques such as a cavalry and appropriate weaponry as Professor Morgan (2005:2) relates:

Once again if we take the comparison with Shaka, Shaka also evolved as far as his military techniques were concerned but in a sense it was within the traditional framework. There is that famous horn formation and we know he did some research on the spear and the shield [modifying both] – evolving existing weaponry. But Moshoeshe – he makes this enormous jump, he's never seen a horse before and he has this idea that he could have cavalry. They have always used assegais and their spears and he sees what guns can do and Shaka did not do that. He [Shaka] probably saw them being used by the English but he did not make the jump across. A traditionalist yes, but [for Moshoeshe] pragmatism always has the last word.

Gill (2004) confirms this perspective: "Perhaps he created one of the earliest armed and mounted African cavalry anywhere on the continent, and this stood him in good stead in that he was able to mount concerted campaigns". So complete was this transformation of

military structures that only ten years after Moshoeshoe, the Sotho military had become predominantly cavalry (Knight 1994:92).

Not only did he use non-traditional structures and techniques, but he also built on traditional structures, using these to advance his influence. In addition to the territorial chiefs who provided regional stability to the pastoral lands, he also used councillors or *matona*. Together with structures for advice and discussion like the *pitso*, they provided Moshoeshoe with the necessary tribal discernment to supplement his own. In the new world of white Boers and British bureaucracy he stretched his traditional structures to the limit, using for example Casalis as his personal *letona*, or *Foreign Minister*, to advise him on diplomacy with the whites (Thompson 1975:204-206; Machobane 2004; Morgan 2004).

What Moshoeshoe most needed was a national standing army and centralized bureaucracy to maintain his power in the long term (Thompson 1975:217). He had two examples of this in the Zulu and the British. The Zulu had maintained a standing army, with allegiance given directly to Shaka as a precondition for a chief who wanted to come under his rule as a territorial *induna*. To this structural alliance Shaka added a bureaucratic leadership – to further offset the loyalty of the people to the territorial chiefs – with state officials operating out of royal homesteads or *amakhanda* in all the associated regions. These strategically placed *amakhanda* were simultaneously royal courts and army barracks, with authority often vested with female relatives, but implemented by these state officials or *induna*. These *induna* or royal envoys were often appointed for their skill in administration or fighting, and their allegiance was therefore solely to Shaka (Knight 1994:27).

The British model with its standing army, developed administration and advanced technological improvements, left even Shaka with his warfaring innovations without an answer. The exacting dictatorial rule of Shaka was offensive to Moshoeshoe's style and thus the British model appealed to him more. To implement the British model he sought to educate his sons and use them as Royal diplomats bringing with them technological improvement and offsetting the power of the territorial chief. Their close association to the Paramountcy, personal ambition for regional control and rivalry between themselves prevented them from performing to the same extent what Shaka's bureaucratic *indunas* or the British bureaucracy did (Thompson 1975:217-218). Yet for all the in-house rivalry, his kingdom fared incredibly well against mounting odds and by "... 1854 LeSotho had all the hallmarks of a first-generation kingdom, for its cohesion depended less on institutions than on the towering personality of its founder" (Thompson 1975:212).

Even though the reigns of his leadership were held somewhat lightly, especially in comparison to his Zulu counterpart Shaka, he had a knack of raising military support when it was most needed. He thus provided for a secure dominion, longevity and land to his royal lineage on a scale which few others beyond the Swazi, Zulu and Matabele – notably all Nguni – could ultimately boast. This securing of a nation for the Sotho he achieved despite the fact that the vassal chiefs were each allowed to raise their own regiments. In comparing Moshoeshoe to Shaka, Knight makes these interesting points:

At first glance, there are a number of similarities between the careers of King Moshoeshoe of the BaSotho and his more famous contemporary King Shaka of the Zulu. Both were the sons of minor chiefs, both achieved some early fame as warriors, both owed their rise to a period of terrible upheaval and both emerged

as founding fathers of new nation-states. Yet their personalities had little in common. Shaka was a ruthless warrior who exploited a period of tension to expand his territory by the vigorous use of military force. The resulting Zulu kingdom was politically highly centralized, with the king himself keeping a tight grip on the reigns of power. Moshoeshe, on the other hand, was a statesman; a compassionate man who accumulated followers by offering them refuge on his mountain stronghold, and demanding allegiance, rather than submission. His followers regarded him with respect rather than awe (Knight 1994:53).

Styles of leadership used by Moshoeshe

It would seem that early on in Moshoeshe's leadership, particularly regarding his circumcision class, the *Letlama*, he did more than just bind and subdue his enemies. Sanders gives a window of insight into some of the violence of his youth with which he reinforced his leadership. However this seemed to change for the better after a meeting with the great chief and wise seer of the Caledon valley, Mohlomi of the Koena:

Before this meeting Moshoeshe had little or no understanding of the value of Mohlomi's methods. He was forceful and domineering, and so determined to assert his authority that at various times he had killed five of his followers. Four had been slow in carrying out his instructions, and the fifth had been caught milking one of his cows without permission. It would be wrong to suggest that after the meeting he became a completely changed character, but he had certainly grasped the lesson that his previous behaviour, while it might enforce obedience, would in the long run alienate his followers and deter others from joining him. Now he began to be noted for his many acts of kindness and generosity, and he determined too, when wealthy enough, to follow Mohlomi's example in polygamy and the payment of *bohali* for those who had no resources of their own (Sanders 1975:22).

This chief greatly impacted the young Moshoeshe and was known to practise the understanding that no person, however poor should be denied justice. In this regard, Sanders (1975:21) says of Mohlomi: "He was also probably the first chief to carry out on an extensive scale the policy of paying the *bohali*, or marriage cattle, for those of his retainers whose families were too poor to pay it for them." Not long after this meeting, Makara, a fugitive chief, sought refuge from Mokhachane, Lepoqo's (Moshoeshe's) father. Unfortunately Makara had antagonised the chiefs of the area so Mokhachane's clansmen urged him to execute Makara so as not to incur the wrath of the other chiefs. However, Makara was no ordinary chief and was known to be an expert warrior, herbalist and rainmaker. In light of this Lepoqo urged the Bamokoteli not to be hasty in judgement and instead proposed that Makara should be restored with his cattle to his chieftainship as long as he became a vassal of Chief Mokhachane. "Lepoqo's proposal was accepted with a roar of approval. ...Turning to Lepoqo the chief praised and thanked him, and later drawing him aside beyond the earshot of the people of Menkwaneng he said: 'My child ... your power will grow, and you will become a great chief'" (Becker 1969:19).

This style of leadership which rested on mercy and restorative justice was to bode well for Moshoeshe's future! A "glowing account" was given by the missionary Arbousset of

Moshoeshoe's more mature style of leadership which was to distinguish him in his leadership beyond his initiation class:

“In everything this African prince has shown a tact which I admire extremely. His affability has not flagged for a single moment. Vivacity, gaiety, nothing is lacking in him. He speaks to anyone without regard to age or rank. He even amuses himself with the children, as if he were one of them himself; and, even more astonishing, his memory is so good that he seems to know the name and history of each of his subjects. I leave it to the imagination whether, with such qualities, he is popular among them!” Certainly Moshoeshoe preferred to rule his people by consensus whenever possible, leading them subtly round to his way of thinking in the *pitso*, the tribal gathering where Sotho men discussed events of national importance (Knight 1994:54).

In Moshoeshoe's chiefly leadership, he applied this concept of restoration, using the *mafisa* system to great effect. Despite the criticism that can be levelled at Moshoeshoe's open handed style of leadership that did not give him the absolute control of his chieftains, he consistently beat those he attacked or was forced to defend against. The chiefs were all allowed to raise their own regiments, which on the surface gave the appearance of a lack of discipline in his Sotho regiments and, with this, the inherent rival factions of his peoples. Inherent tensions, however, were normal for the Sotho with each son of a successive generation wanting to strike out on his own and sometimes even establish a new tribe, as Moshoeshoe himself has done. Yet part of Moshoeshoe's legacy was the ability to hold all these tribal aspirations in tension, ward off invaders, and establish a Kingdom which was to be the envy of many (Knight 1994:90-92).

Casalis saw Moshoeshoe as “majestic and benevolent” (Grant 1981:36). Concurring with this, Professor Naomi Morgan sees Moshoeshoe as the anti-Shaka and proto-type of the benevolent chief. Moshoeshoe sought restoration for the land and peace for his people by inclusivity and even accepted religious and cultural change:

Once again if you remember what happened in Shaka's time – remember that episode where he's interested in the way human life develops within pregnant women and he cuts them up alive to see. And you take another example – the Xhosa prophetess Nomquasi – who says they must kill all their cattle and then new cattle will come from the sea.... So on the one hand you have these scenes of complete desolation, cattle skulls and whatever, and this doesn't seem to bother the chiefs, and on the other hand you have these really wonderful descriptions in the missionary excursion by Arbousset where he travels with Moshoeshoe. And Moshoeshoe is absolutely pained and says: “When I was a young boy this was fertile land, look at it now and look at the skulls, look at the bones. This is complete desolation, this cannot go on, we have to change the ways”. And that to me is real statesmanship! In other words: “I will have to make concessions”. And he really makes them! He includes people from other tribes, he invites missionaries, he accepts a religion that goes contrary to everything that he knows and believes, like polygamy. He even changes the way people are buried (Morgan 2005:1-2).

Yet Cobus Dreyer contends that things were not always as rosy as they appeared on the surface, for even the Great Moshoeshoe was capable of tyrannical outbursts, even if in volume and intensity they never matched Shaka's. According to Dreyer (2005:4) Moshoeshoe stood apart from Shaka in line with his charge received from Mohlomi the seer, namely "... not to kill people, to provide a safe haven and so on, during these wars of devastation...." And yet he continues: "There is that story that Moshesh's first wife – that she died tragically of a nock on the head because there was this rumour that she had an affair with somebody else. But the Basotho people don't want to hear this story!"

Dreyer, an archaeologist, draws his reasoning from extensive research conducted in three different spheres. Firstly in the immediate arena of archaeology and basic enquiry, he has seen None's dwelling ruins, at the base of Thabo Bosiu (the prior inhabitant of the immediate vicinity around Thabo Bosiu before Moshoeshoe's people arrived) and has found and excavated the foundations of Moshoeshoe's European style home (cf Sanders 1975:35). Secondly he has drawn on the wisdom of the storytellers of the Basotho where corroborating evidence can be found and thirdly he has looked into the archival records of the various authorities at the time (of particular interest was his research conducted into the British army records). He combines all this research in alluding to the story of None, who it appears was not only deprived of his livelihood, the Basutos having outnumbered him and stolen his grain on occasions (Sanders 1975:35), but who was then murdered by them:

The other thing I picked up was that there was this guy living on the mountain; on Thabo Bosiu when they came there in 1824; a guy by the name of "None". Now to this day if someone were to take you to Thabo Bosiu, they will tell you that this area [pointing to ruins at the base of the mountain] here where you can see the ruins are the remains of None's place. But I stumbled on a report that is published by the British government in the 1850's. Probably what they did was – the 'Tommies' they kept a record of everything and that is my experience when I did the research on the Anglo-Boer war – they would take all their [meticulously] written records and they sent them home and they were published in thick volumes. Incidentally I got hold of one of these volumes and there was the story that None, after the occupation of Thabo Bosiu by the Basotho; Moshesh's people; this None was actually killed during a beer-party that was held on his behalf – that he was murdered – the Basotho don't want to hear this story. It's one of the skeleton's in the cupboard [of the Basotho] and so even the great King Moshoeshoe has them (Dreyer 2005:4).

However, Sanders (1975:35) portrays these same events in a very different light, and places the blame for the grain stolen from None, squarely on the shoulders of Moshoeshoe's brother who operated against Moshoeshoe's express wishes. And in contrast to Dreyer, Sanders argues that None was shown magnanimity by Moshoeshoe, when he acted on the chief's behalf who had allowed himself, somewhat unwisely perhaps, to be forced into a face-off with one of Moshoeshoe's brothers. Moshoeshoe tried to calm Chief None for this intrusion by sending him cattle but things got somewhat desperate as some of Moshoeshoe's wards were starving. Chief None of the Ntsane lost heavily in the event of war and was captured, with no mention of his death either then or in any subsequent gesture of a reconciliation for; "... Moshoeshoe himself magnanimously paid his ransom and sent him back to his home" (Sanders 1975:35). And yet, if Dreyer is correct, and he may well be – drawing as he does on the British army records in this instance rather than the

storytelling of reliable Basotho as Sanders appears to – it is not hard to see how a brother's, or even an unrelated petty-chief's indiscretion under Moshoeshoe's rule could be blamed on him by the authorities of the day, whether a killing actually occurred or not.

According to Dreyer, Moshoeshoe's style is difficult to define when one is faced with popularly hidden truths of actual events, for “[o]n some occasions he acted in a very humanitarian way, but in other cases he also had people shoved off the cliffs...” (Dreyer 2005:4). Yet by reliable sources these outbursts or autocratic tendencies did not constitute a frequent occurrence in the life of Moshoeshoe, which is a point made by Casalis, (see below) the Huguenot missionary. Dreyer for one though holds firm that there is record of a putting to death of at least one person, one of Moshoeshoe's wives, from “personal motives” as indicated above. Yet these occasions of outrage or despotic tendencies need to be understood within their context, for a chief's final word (albeit for the Sotho this often amounted to the “will of the people”) was law. This paradoxical nature is thus understood by the fact that all traditional chiefs wield, to a greater or lesser degree, both autocratic and consensus based styles, on account of the traditional structures of chieftaincy which are both highly hierarchical and interactive (seen most clearly in the chief's court where there is only one head but where there are many advisors and consensus is sought) at one and the same time. Even Shaka operated from the basis of both (Knight 1994:26-27). According to Eugene Casalis (1891:220-221), Moshoeshoe's missionary/minister of foreign affairs:

During the twenty-three years I spent among the Basutos, the chief put no one to death from personal motives; and nothing like an attempt upon his life was ever made. As he was walking with me one day along the cliffs of the mountains he inhabits, he pointed out to me a horrible precipice, saying, “I once had two rebels thrown over there, and I have often repented of it. More than once, when trouble has come upon me, I have attributed the cause of it to this act of severity.” During the same lapse of time, the report of not more than two or three executions reached us from the neighbouring tribes.

In conclusion he was a chief who ruled with mercy, was magnanimous often to former enemies and sought to build on consensus. Moshoeshoe furthered the tribal methods learnt from his youth in which “[h]e allowed his followers to appeal to the chief's court (*lekhotla*) against his own decisions” (Thompson 1975:175). However he was not above a ruthless style of top down hierarchical leadership, which was displayed in his youth and which he used on the rare occasion, dictated by situations where his anger burned against someone who violated his will or whose actions broke the tribal harmony. He ruled by a system of alliances and tribute beyond his borders and consensus building within, which built loyalty and allegiance. And in his relationships with neighbouring tribes and the colonial powers, his style was one of deferential humility, respecting those of superior power like the Zulu, whom he was not beyond being a vassal to, and the British whom he realized could offer him a long term prospect of survival in staying the hand of the Boer.

Values of Moshoeshoe's leadership

The values of unity and restoration

Moshoeshoe seems to have had a greater ability to assimilate a multiplicity of peoples to his mountain strong hold. As he became more established on Thaba Bosiu he incorporated Nguni and Sotho, renegade and chieftain alike into his people, this capacity continued to

expand: “As the months passed Moshesh’s reputation as a benefactor grew and a steady stream of strangers flowed towards Thaba Bosiu” (Becker 1969:67). Yet he did not stop here, regarding cannibals as “living sepulchres”, he went beyond the call of duty and actively sought out and offered sanctuary and restoration to any who would accept it:

During the following months Moshesh’s envoys visited cannibals throughout the Valley and in areas as remote as presentday Winburg in the north and Queenstown in the south. Some were located in blood-bespattered caves ... the envoys managed to win the confidence of many who could see in Moshesh’s offer “an unhoped-for means of restoration to their former position”. While vast numbers of cannibals refused to be lured from their lairs and hunting grounds the great majority of them praised Moshesh for his attitude to their way of life. No other chief had ever sought to help them; they had been regarded everywhere as vermin deserving of extermination (Becker 1969:67).

Moshoeshoe seemed to be able to attract peoples from the most disparate backgrounds and unite them into a nation. This he did for anyone who would accept the basics of unity: the common Sotho language and a common loyalty and allegiance to himself.

Through diplomacy, polygamy, a reputation for fairness, courage in battle and an ability to provide for the livelihood of his growing people, Moshoeshoe built a new united nation called Lesotho at his fortress of Thaba-Bosiu. His nation was composed of various Sotho and Nguni clans as well as numerous groups of refugees and reformed cannibals. Through Moshoeshoe’s diplomacy and fairness, these disparate and often desperate peoples were welded together into one people with a common language and allegiance (Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:5).

So strong were these values of restoration and unity that he despised racial prejudice, as was seen in his concern for Boer attitudes towards the various coloured people(s) – in reality more than one people group – of the Cape. This is all the more remarkable when it is considered that the Kora horsemen, whose practices he must have despised as raiders of his cattle were largely of Khoi-Khoi but also of mixed extraction, originated from the Cape:

He had heard his missionaries’ opinions on their treatment of coloured people in the Colony, and there can be little doubt that he came to share them. Casalis, for example, regarded the Voortrekkers as “people who exiled themselves, chiefly because they had been obliged to emancipate their slaves”, and on one occasion at least Moshoeshoe went poking around their wagons at Thaba Nchu looking for slaves and apprentices. In his eyes the Afrikaners were not patriots throwing off the oppressor’s yoke, but misguided subjects... (Sanders 1975:77).

The values of magnanimity, forgiveness and reconciliation

The value of magnanimity is seen early on in Moshoeshoe’s career. As a young warrior Moshoeshoe persuaded the tribal court to forgive a cattle-thief at the expense of his own standing as a warrior and his actions brought into question even his own loyalty to the clan (Becker 1969:22). Later on this value was not forgotten, but if anything it was enhanced as the leader Moshoeshoe rose in stature. The legendary story of Moshoeshoe’s magnanimous gesture to the defeated Ndebele is recorded by Sanders (1975:45) as follows:

As they prepared to move away Moshoeshoe sent them some oxen for their journey. It was a striking and dramatic gesture which somehow blended humility and arrogance, an act of magnanimity that must have embarrassed the Ndebele as much as it pleased them. No doubt his intention was to ensure that he was not attacked again, but if so the precaution was probably unnecessary.

Perhaps the greatest gesture of unwarranted forgiveness, reconciliation and magnanimity was offered by Moshoeshoe to the very cannibals under chief RaKotsoane who had eaten his grandfather. He had been warned by Mohlomi the seer years earlier to personally bury old Peete his grandfather and perform the traditional burial rites or else face great misfortune. This presented a problem since old Peete had been consumed by cannibals on the journey to Thaba Bosiu. Later on, realizing he could still perform the rites over cannibals – the *living tombs* of old Peete – he sent his warriors to capture them. Once captured the Sotho quite naturally wanted them slaughtered, and saw them in a much more direct sense, as the *living dead*. Moshoeshoe however offered RaKotsoane clemency if he and his people would allow the burial rights to be performed, quite literally, over their stomachs – the “living sepulchres” of the deceased (Du Preez 2004:60). This ceremony was performed, and the act exemplified the values and diplomacy of his rule:

Azariel Sekese who had known Moshoeshoe characterized the distinctive qualities of his rule: he disposed even-handed justice: he did not retaliate against people like RaKotsoane the cannibal chief who had wronged him; he gave sanctuary and aid to refugees; and he was not too proud to pay tribute to other rulers, such as Shaka, for diplomatic advantage (Thompson 1975:215).

Looking at this specific pardoning of the cannibals under RaKotsoane, Moshoeshoe applied a rare mixture of unique tribal reasoning, magnanimity and forgiveness, for not only did he promise that they could be returned if they helped him with the ceremony, but afterwards he invited them to join in a feast of thanksgiving. He then proceeded to give chief RaKotsoane a gift of cattle and had him and his cannibals escorted back to their place in Sufficing. He could just as easily have proceeded to kill them and bury them “together with old Peete” once the ceremony was finished (Becker 1969:74-75).

Here in this story, according to Lesotho historian Martin Lelimo, “... you have a classic example of a leader who understands that two wrongs don’t make a right” (Lelimo 2004). Moshoeshoe understood that retribution does not pay and realised that the cannibals needed to be restored and reconciled with their fellow tribesmen for there to be lasting peace in the land. Another understanding of some of Moshoeshoe’s magnanimous actions could have been interpreted as calculated humility with an aggressor or superior power attacking him and reciprocity with those who were subservient to Moshoeshoe. There is no doubt that both parties gained from some of his magnanimous actions, as the *mafisa* system exemplifies.

The values of peace, ubuntu and service

When the actions of Moshoeshoe are considered, including his peace offerings of cattle to the armies of the Ndebele and the British under Cathcart, who had both suffered somewhat at the hands of Moshoeshoe’s warriors, there can be little doubt that he valued peace and would rather not have had to endure wars, which could often be cyclical. The war with Cathcart had produced a sobering effect on both the Sotho and the British:

Though they [the Sotho] had won a partial victory, they were awed by the discipline and fire-power of the British troops. Already many BaSotho were preparing to retreat to the mountains with their cattle. ...The kingdom would disintegrate and the British would have no further cause to restrain white farmers from occupying the arable lowlands. The time had come for diplomacy. At midnight, in the presence of his missionary Casalis, Moshoeshe dictated to his son Sekhonyana a letter to Cathcart:

Thaba Bosigo, Midnight, 20th December, 1852.

“Your Excellency, -This day you have fought against my people, and taken much cattle. As the object for which you came is to have a compensation for Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you, - you have shown your power -you have chastised, -let it be enough I pray you; and let me no longer be considered an enemy of the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.” ...Cathcart, in turn, had been astonished by the fighting qualities and numbers of the BaSotho. To resume the offensive, he realized, might be to embark on a guerrilla war as long and as costly as the one he had recently concluded with the Xhosa (Thompson 1975:162-163).

This was a diplomatic victory for Moshoeshe for though Cathcart had been beaten back, he had made off with some cattle he was allowed to keep as compensation for Moshoeshe’s earlier raids on the Boer which gave Cathcart a mechanism of saving face. It gave the impression that he had won a partial victory and brought the BaSotho to heel. In Thompson’s version, Cathcart for his part realised it would not be an easy task to win an outright victory and so accepted Moshoeshe’s placations and offered him peace. It seems that Moshoeshe realised it would be only a matter of time before the British with their superior weaponry would emerge victorious.

Just as striking as his value for *peace* was also his desire for *consensus* and willingness to *serve* his people – arising out of a value of *ubuntu*. Possibly more than any other chief of his time he embodied the noble qualities of a chief who *served* his people and understood that his power should not be dependant on fear, but on the goodwill or grace of the people. There is a direct link between these three passions of Moshoeshe’s, for as *consensus building* and *service* are afforded by the chief to the people for whom he cares – offering identity, land and security – so there is *peace* within the tribe. This in turn becomes a means of attracting newcomers. And as security in numbers coupled with tribute or peace-offering to neighbouring tribes reduces the chance of external threat, so peace is established both within the tribe and without. Knight (1994:54-55) again captures the essence of these three desires seen in Moshoeshe’s leadership, and though not mentioning *ubuntu*, there can be little doubt that this value undergirds the other three passions already mentioned:

Though he was not above waging war when it was necessary, he abhorred it, believing that “peace is the rain which makes the grass grow, while war is the wind which dries it up”.... Certainly Moshoeshe preferred to rule his people by consensus whenever possible, leading them subtly round to his own way of thinking in the *pitso*, the tribal gathering where Sotho men discussed events of national importance.... Moshoeshe is remembered as “a man who loved people”, and one who aptly fulfilled the Sotho proverb encapsulating the ideal

relationship between ruler and his subjects – “A chief is a chief by the grace of the people.”

Moshoeshoe was noted for being a generous chief and served his people in this manner. This value of service displayed through his generosity is closely related to his value of magnanimity. He was in many ways more generous than any of his contemporaries. This is indicated by Eldredge who tells us how his generosity surpassed at least that of his uncle's: “Comparing Moshoeshoe to his uncle, Libe, one of my informants related that: ‘[Libe] was not generous; he did not have the goodness which attracted the nation to lay down for him; it was for this that others said they loved Moshoeshoe because he felt sympathy, and others said he knew the customs’” ... (Eldredge 1993:35). In a similar vein the words of Moshoeshoe's son, Sekhonyana, as recorded by Knight, tell how Moshoeshoe was generous beyond what could be customarily expected of him. Knight (1994:63-64) then relates the lasting impact his generous and magnanimous actions had on the people who placed themselves under Moshoeshoe and the unifying effect his actions brought:

Moshoeshoe's son Sekhonyana testified to the success of these methods: “[Moshoeshoe] gained the esteem of the [BaSotho] and established his power by succouring the distressed and protected them and not keeping recaptured cattle of other clans of the [BaSothos] for himself, as he could have done according to custom, but returning them to their owners.” Within a few years his following had grown to such an extent that he was known not merely as a *Morena*, a Chief, but as a *Morena e Moholo*, a Great Chief, or King. His people began to stop referring to themselves as Mokoteli or the countless other group names reflecting their origins, but called themselves instead simply *BaSotho*, “the Sotho People” (Knight 1994:63-64).

But with many a service of a generous nature came also a reciprocal relationship, exemplified by the *mafisa* system and the offer to pay *bohali*, or marriage cattle, on others behalf, both of which Moshoeshoe applied extensively. He applied the *mafisa* system on a wholly unprecedented level, which also gained him an extensive following and royal herd: “Because of the absolute impoverishment of thousands of households during the upheaval of the *Lifaqane*, Moshoeshoe utilised the system of *mafisa* on a new and entirely unprecedented scale. ... Everyone benefited during this era of peace and the ruling house became ever stronger” (Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:7). Eldredge points out that Moshoeshoe used these customary practices to benefit many in his quest to form a new nation:

Moshoeshoe encouraged the expansion of arable and pastoral production, and consolidated his own wealth and influence through arrangements involving tribute labor and *mafisa*. Both commoners and chiefs benefited from expansion, however. Many BaSotho had been incorporated into Moshoeshoe's new nation by accepting *mafisa* cattle, and many young men were married through the provision of cattle for bridewealth by Moshoeshoe and other chiefs (Eldredge 1993:37).

The value of calculated humility

Not only was Moshoeshoe someone who used the reciprocal arrangements of tribal life to great benefit for chief and people alike, but he was also astute when it came to the use of calculated humility with an aggressor who could return again or a superior who could possibly be an aggressor in the future. In the same fabled story of the Ndebele, Knight

gives the oral tradition of this same event reinforcing the validity of the claim by Sanders (1975:45), that Moshoeshoe was magnanimous in his gesture to the Ndebele. Knight adds an interesting slant, from the perspective of “calculated humility”, which is an important factor when the Ndebele’s proud and relentless warfaring heritage is considered:

“[Moshoeshoe] salutes you. Supposing that hunger has brought you into this country, he sends you these cattle, that you may eat them on the way home.” If true – and it was a ploy Moshoeshoe certainly used on other occasions – it was an act of calculated humility which allowed the Ndebele to save face and offered peace for the future. For whatever reason, Mzilikazi did not attack the BaSotho again (Knight 1994:66-67).

This calculated humility was a diplomatic stroke of genius by Moshoeshoe, though it was possibly also embarrassing to the Ndebele regiment who never did attack Thabo Bosiu again. This strategy exemplifies Moshoeshoe’s shrewd diplomacy, a “particular talent” commented on by Prince Seeiso Bereng Seeiso (2004), a direct descendant of Moshoeshoe:

One needs to look at his particular attribute or his particular talent of diplomacy, I mean diplomacy does not mean weakness, but diplomacy can be a tool which can be exercised with some sense of authority and strength. So I mean in relation to his contemporaries during his own life-time, it was not a sign of weakness on his part, but it was a sign of strength. He was speaking from a very solid moral high ground.

In like manner Moshoeshoe was deferential to Matiwane, chief of the Ngwane, and paid a regular tribute in his early dealings with him which was later seen to be totally congruous with his value of calculated humility, as were all his dealings with his powerful neighbours. Sanders tells us that before this quality of Moshoeshoe’s was exposed that,

Moshoeshoe had paid *nychelo* [tribute] to Matiwane as early as 1822, and he now renewed his offerings. His attitude towards his powerful neighbour was always extremely deferential, so much so that Matiwane, with a mixture of contempt and affection, generally referred to him as his “little Sotho”. But he was still ambitious. With his cattle, grain, and mountain fortress he was bound to attract more followers and so, sooner or later, to arouse the Ngwane’s hostility (Sanders 1975:37).

The tribute to Matiwane could only stem his growing concern for the swelling ranks under his “Little Sotho” to a point. Moshoeshoe arranged for a calculated payment of tribute to Shaka, for which Shaka is said to have “... loudly extolled Moshesh’s farsightedness” (Becker 1969:61). Not only did this regular tribute stem the possibility of a Zulu onslaught, who promised to bypass Moshoeshoe when they raided, but in time to come he could and did call on the Zulu to inflict a crushing blow to the Ngwane. This vigorous Zulu attack no doubt weakened the Ngwane considerably, such that when they did attack Moshoeshoe they were ultimately defeated by him (Becker 1969:61-69).

In all areas of communal life he epitomised the best qualities of a “majestic and benevolent chief”, which was Casalis’ first impression of him (Grant 1981:36). And even in the area

of taxation he seems to have been extremely reasonable as Eldredge (1993:37) records for us, and had a direct reciprocal benefit for the people – peace:

Similarly, military service required of subjects cannot be seen as merely reflecting the ability of the chiefs to subordinate subjects, when military security was a primary interest of the subjects themselves. Taxes, that is payment in kind, were only collected in rare circumstances, such as to pay the bridewealth of the senior wife of a chief who would bear the new heir for the nation, to pay a war indemnity, or to pay a rainmaker from whom the whole nation would presumably benefit. While no one likes to pay taxes, apparently the burden in Moshoeshoe's time was not onerous and the benefits were evident, for the BaSotho say, "*Lekhetho ke boroko le khotso*," or "taxation is sleep and peace."

Moshoeshoe's traditional and Christian beliefs

Moshoeshoe's background and traditional beliefs never quite disappeared, despite his acceptance of his missionaries' ways and teachings later in life. This was because the chief's religious responsibilities to his people had been engrained from his early years as the son of Mokhachane and the powerful role-model he represented in Moshoeshoe's life:

One of the ways in which Mokhachane served his followers was by acting as their priest. The Sotho had a vague idea of a supreme being (though not of a creator), but, far more important, they entertained a profound reverence for the *balimo*, the spirits of their ancestors; and, just as each family head interceded with the ancestors on behalf of the family, so Mokhachane interceded with his on behalf of his followers as a whole. The *balimo* were thought to lead much the same sort of existence as the living, but in another world in the bowels of the earth, from which they could observe the doings of their descendants and even interfere when they considered it necessary. They were mainly concerned that traditional customs should be maintained and that they themselves should be treated with respect. It was also thought that they sometimes bestowed special favours on their descendants, such as a good harvest or rain in time of drought, and that occasionally a departed chief gave guidance for his successor's welfare (Sanders 1975:15).

The overriding concern was that the offended *balimo* could come back to harm and thus an offering from every harvest was made to them. Besides the *balimo*, sorcerers could engage in witchcraft to bring harm upon someone. Diviners engaged in among other things the "smelling out" of these witches, a practise which Moshoeshoe was very suspicious of, as mentioned by Sanders (1975:16-17) who concludes his comment on Moshoeshoe's religious roots birthed in Menkhoaneng (his childhood village) with the following:

Such then was Menkhoaneng, the small, closely knit community into which Moshoeshoe was born and in which he grew up. In later years he would see many changes in this way of life, mainly through the growth of a large chiefdom under his own rule and through the impact of European civilisation. Yet on the whole its values and institutions survived, and he was always strongly attached to them. Although he adapted his methods of government to meet his new circumstances, and although he was deeply impressed by European civilisation,

he knew that he could never leave his more conservative followers too far behind, even if he wished to.

Intriguingly to the Western mind, Casalis noted the following of the BaSotho and the surrounding tribes that the missionaries had interviewed: “These tribes had entirely lost idea of a Creator. All the natives whom we have questioned on the subject have assured us that it never entered their heads that the earth and sky might be the work of an invisible Being” (Casalis 1861:239). This is surprising because just to the east of the Drakensberg lived the Zulu, and further afield were the Ndebele and the Swazi as John Mbiti (1969:34, 78) mentions: “The main Zulu name for God, *Unkulunkulu*, carries with it the sense of ‘the Great/great/One’ and the same name is used by neighbouring peoples, such as the Ndebele for whom it means ‘the Greatest of the great’”, and later he mentions; “The Swazi speak of God’s one/legged messenger.” Unless all these tribes’ understanding of a High God was from much more recent times, then surely the Sotho, especially with Moshoeshe’s Nguni roots, must have heard of him? Again this was in stark contrast to the situation just north of the Limpopo, for Daneel (1970B:15-16) records that *Mwari*, “Lord of the Heavens” pre-existed in Shona culture.

Yet Casalis also records his colleague, Arbousset as mentioning in his *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour* a wise *Mosuto*, Sekesa, who shortly after their arrival, related that some twelve years earlier, he had started asking questions that amounted to a rudimentary enquiry into a “Creator God” such as; “‘Who has touched the stars with his hands? On what pillars do they rest?’ I asked myself. ... ‘The clouds also come and go, and burst in water over the earth. Whence come they? Who sends them? The diviners certainly do not give us rain, for how could they do it?’” (Casalis 1861:239). But this is not the whole collective understanding on this subject for Ellenberger (1912:239) perceived the foundations of their belief in God somewhat differently:

Among the Bahlaping there is a faint trace of a memory of one God, invisible, wise, and powerful; but among the ancient Basuto, he was for the most part, regarded as a malignant spirit, invisible and wicked But still there were among them thinkers like the mystic Mohlomi, to whom it was given to know that there was in existence somewhere a Supreme Being, a mighty and invisible power which ruled all things. Mention [is] ... made of the ancient prayer, “*Melimo e mecha rapelang Molimo oak hale*” (“New gods, pray for us to the God of old”), in which the old Basuto used to invoke the Deity through the mediation of spirits; which would seem to point to the idea of the necessity of mediation between God and man.

This concept of a God, who is considered evil by some and yet by others inherently good, as unusual as it may sound, is not uncommon among African tribes, even held by some tribes in a dynamic dualism. John V. Taylor (2001:51) who wrote *The Primal Vision* notes the following: “The Mende of Sierra Leone call God, He-who-gives-rots. ‘*Imana* who sends famine’, says the Banyarwanda, ‘also provides a place to buy food.’” Ellenberger (1912:238) quoting first Casalis and then Rolland, says that their worship of the “higher Ancestors”; the *Melimo*; “‘has nothing vague or indefinite about it: it is a homage rendered to past generations; it is a real adoration.’ ‘Moreover,’ says Mr. Rolland, ‘by *Molimo* the Basuto designate the Great Lord Creator of their several tribes.’” However partial; vague or even mostly unrealised this memory or idea of a “God of old” was, as Moshoeshe

pioneered his new nation, one thing seems certain: the missionary arrival in the vicinity was very timely from a religious perspective.

Once there was a missionary presence at Thabo Bosiu, Moshoeshoe grew increasingly absorbed by their teachings and the European civilisation they brought with them. Indeed the missionary world view was such that the literary ability, customs and technology were a natural extension of their faith. This was indeed the Christendom era where civilisation and the gospel went hand in hand! Casalis and Arbousset, his first missionaries, struggled with the value of Sotho customs. Conversion for them meant not only faith in Christ, but a complete set of new customs, and distinctly European ones at that, with little if any crosspollination. For his part Moshoeshoe listened attentively to their preaching and was, except for certain interludes, regular in his church attendance. He often even gave his own rendition of the sermon, indicating he clearly understood the message (Knight 1994:68).

He used a selective approach to applying their technology, which is exactly how he also applied their beliefs for most of his life. Such that this adaptation of culture and belief was not a wholesale acceptance nor was it immediate for Moshoeshoe, for unlike his subjects, he had the whole Kingdom's welfare to consider. But over time he gradually rejected the more offensive to the missionary palates of his former customs, and even ceased most of his raiding after 1835. The missionaries dreamt of a Christian Kingdom over which the benevolent and Christian King Moshoeshoe reigned. This dream seemed close to reality in the 1840's when many prominent persons including a number of his wives and councillors were baptised; Moshoeshoe himself seemed to be waiting for a critical mass before placing himself fully inside the Christian camp (Gay, Gill & Hall 1995:5-6).

The Sotho customs he rejected were the traditional burial rites in favour of Christian burial, the ceasing of the practise of initiation rites, the cessation of capital punishment for witches that were "smelt out" and the adoption of the custom of granting divorce to baptised women. Thompson mentions that despite these four customs, there were two that Moshoeshoe would not give up: the practise of clientship (whereby the children and wife of a deceased tribesman were automatically ascribed to the chief until he could find a suitable husband for her) and secondly, polygyny. Yet it was not the labour from these dependant *clients* nor the sexual pleasures derived from multiple wives that prevented him giving up these two institutions. It was rather based in part on his standing among his fellow chiefs who gauged his prominence by how many wives and cattle he had, and in part on the benevolent protection these two institutions offered the Sotho women (Thompson 1975: 95; 98-99). As his kingdom grew the practice of polygyny provided the very basis for his new nation as many of his wives were daughters of chiefs in political alliance with Moshoeshoe:

By 1848 Moshoeshoe realized that Christianity had created a dangerous cleavage in his court and his country. His family was divided. His council was divided. Most of his territorial chiefs were resentful of the influence of the missionaries over him. The vast majority of the villagers were inclined to follow the *lingaka* in blaming them for their misfortunes. Moshoeshoe's reluctance to take the final plunge into Christianity was not due merely to his commitment to polygyny (important though that was). It might endanger his very kingship (Thompson 1975:104).

What the missionaries perhaps did not quite appreciate was the obvious fact that once the kingship was threatened the kingdom might well come crumbling down. For a people who had built themselves up after the decimation the *lifaqane* had caused, this would have meant going back to a fragmented Sotho society with no sense of a greater Kingdom and destiny, and was thus not an option. For the Sotho and countless other peoples who had been incorporated going back meant being given to raiding as a major source of livelihood and constantly fearing being decimated by some more militant enemy like the Zulu.

Even though this was so, Moshoeshe often seemed to totter on the brink of being converted and was reported by Gosselin to have prayed for forgiveness to Jehovah, asking to be converted and to be given a “new heart”, as he indeed asked for all his extended family and people, and “[i]n the following year Arbousset heard him tell his aged father Mokhachane, that ‘the truths of the Gospel have conquered’” (Thompson 1975:79-80). However, his faith was often seen by his regular and visiting missionaries as wavering between his traditional beliefs and responsibilities and the Christian faith that he so admired, in a way that many today would call syncretistic. He would visit, Fredoux notes and recorded in Thompson (1975:215), a tribal seer the one day and listen to his missionary preaching in church the next.

But for all this vacillation, his values and practices were often truly astounding from a Christian perspective: “Moshoeshe's shrewdness and leadership resided in the fact that he was not arrogant about his victory, that he respected his opponent (this is obvious in the case of Louw Wepener, for example); in fact, he did the unthinkable: he treated the opponent as the victor. Ironically, the conduct of this 'unconverted' man was almost biblical to the letter” (Morgan 2005:3). Professor Naomi Morgan of the University of the Free State again alluding to Moshoeshe's magnanimous gesture to the defeated Ndebele, shows how similar his traditional, even self-made values were to Christian values:

The concept of sending cattle, which is also in a sense almost a Christian value. It's turning the other cheek, but you don't even need to because you were the one that slaps. Which is unthinkable – there had been no precedent, no model – where did this shrewdness come from, this diplomacy. But at the same time it is really pragmatic – he knew that there would be more battles, and that a small kingdom such as his was in dire need of allies (Morgan 2005:1).

Near the end of his life, he did however seem to shift from this continuous vacillation. As his strength began to fail him and the missionary activity directed towards himself increased, he had for a season wanted to appease both Protestant and Catholic demands and to be baptised by both. Once persuaded that this was not possible he asked for a protestant baptism. Many of his protestant missionaries were convinced by the end of his life that his faith was authentic, even if their Catholic counterparts were less sure due to his diplomatic hesitation to raise the subject of his coming to faith in their presence. Sanders tells us that “... all those who had seen him since he declared himself a Christian – Jousse, Dyke, Maitin, Mabile, Germond, Duvoisin, and Dr Casalis – all were persuaded of his complete sincerity” (Sanders 1975:315). Becker in fact, if the style is to be believed, describes in some detail his conversion experience in which Moshoeshe declared of himself that he had “become a believer” and likened his spiritual age to that of the little baby Louis the grandchild of Casalis (Becker 1969:274-275).

Yet even if Becker did manage to capture the real essence of Moshoeshoe's final days it is important to note; the reasons for getting around to asking for baptism; just who would have finally conducted such a ceremony; and his supposed conversion are all points of contention among academics. Professor Morgan (2005:2) offers us another perspective on this: "There is the idea that if he were to convert he would have gone the Catholic way, because he liked the idea of spectacle, the incense, the music and the colours, these things that really appealed to him, as he had a sense of theatre. I don't mean in a frivolous or superficial way."

Indeed various academics and research specialists including Stephen Gill, Naomi Morgan Leonard Thompson and Kobus Dreyer – who all focus on the baptism rather than the verbal accent to faith – believe that he never converted to Christianity (Dreyer 2005:4; Gill 2004; Morgan 2004; Thompson 1975:80). In a personal interview Naomi Morgan (2005:3), relates why he might have been in favour of applying Christian beliefs and practices, even if his own belated conversion and who would have performed the baptism in the event of such a monumental decision are hanging in the balance:

As far as the Christian religion is concerned it is always difficult for us to see whether he did this out of a certain belief or just because he saw the good effects of religion. And maybe we need to be pragmatists ourselves and tell ourselves if a leader can see it's better to have the good effects of Christianity even if you are not a Christian yourself, then it's the next best thing! If we can compare what Napoleon, who converted cathedrals into temples of reason and then brought back the Christian religion, even though he probably thought it's just a lot of humbug, because it was easier to rule people not because it's the 'Opiate of the masses' but because it gives them a moral code. He can appeal to their sense of moral responsibility. Whereas without that you've got nothing – this I think Moshoeshoe saw as well. What is extraordinary is that Napoleon came from a Bourgeois family, so he was exposed to Catholicism, so he knew what it could do. Moshoeshoe just didn't know – he came into contact with the Christian religion via the Christian missionaries from the 1830's onwards – and for him to realize that this can have a beneficial effect! To me its pragmatism.

Even though there is some controversy, Sanders as we have already seen does verify Becker's take on this, quoting the names of a surprising number of missionaries who would substantiate the sincerity of Moshoeshoe's claim to have in the end become a Christian. These all had first hand working knowledge of Moshoeshoe's faith, most notably Casalis. If he were not sincere in asking for baptism there would have been no reason to summon all the people, for the chief's hut to be plastered and whitewashed, and for a huge platform to be erected so all could see the ceremony (Becker 1969:274). This circumstantially makes sense for he had dispensed with the need to have a foot in both camps for the sake of the kingdom by resigning the Paramountcy to his eldest son, Letsie and with that his need for polygamy was dispensed with (Thompson 1975:315). This enabled him to take a stand.

Thus the weight of evidence – Moshoeshoe's own verbal claim, the account of the missionaries closest to him, the preparatory circumstances – despite the academic dispute, does strongly suggest that he was indeed a Christian by the end of his life. And beyond these facts, his missionaries must have sensed the seriousness of his intent and arranged for

his baptism to be brought forward as he rapidly weakened, but he died just days before the ceremony could be performed, as was mentioned earlier (Sanders 1975:313-315).

The basis for Moshoeshoe's ability to cross socio-political boundaries

Moshoeshoe was brought up in a village where his father, Mokhachane, was a respected petty-chief who followed many of the more noble ways of tribal life. Early in his life he came under the influence of the prophet-chief Mohlomi whose words and model of leadership no doubt had a great influence on him. During Lepoqo's (Moshoeshoe's birth name) first visit he was told that over the years Mohlomi had endeavoured to persuade the younger men to live in peaceful coexistence with their neighbouring tribes and to spend their energies on threshing maize rather than raiding cattle. On the morning of Lepoqo's departure, he asked the seer which potion would give him wisdom and power: he was told that these two were not dependant on potions but on level headedness, mercy and the serving of one's fellow tribesmen. One of the policies that had strengthened his hand and protected him from attack was to marry at least one daughter of each belligerent clan chief from the Caledon valley. This practise of intertribal marriage with the daughters of chieftains he learnt from Mohlomi: "In this way he had created bonds of friendship with the people he feared the most. He recommended this practice to Lepoqo" (Becker 1969:17).

Max du Preez (2004:44-45) – using a reconstruction of the story composed by Ntsu Mokhehle, who later became Prime Minister to Lesotho, gleaned by interviewing many of the old people of Lesotho who were gifted in recalling the past, and many of whom were alive less than two decades after Moshoeshoe's death (not Mohlomi's as du Preez states⁵) – records the seer's parting instructions (*italics mine* – see *Glossary of Terminology*):

"One day you will truly be a chief and rule over men. Learn to understand men and know their ways. Learn to bear with their human weaknesses and shortcomings. Always determine to direct them along the paths of truth and purity. In their disputes, adjudicate with justice and sympathy. You must not allow elements of preferences based on wealth, status or prestige to influence and tarnish any of your decisions."

Then according to Mokhehle's interviews with the elders, he spoke these words that became the basis of Moshoeshoe's building of the Basotho nation: "You must be a friend and helper to all those who are in tribulation, the poor and the needy. Travellers of all types should be fully protected throughout the areas of your chieftom. Fugitives escaping death and persecution in their own homelands should find a sanctuary in your land. You should protect them. The land you shall rule should be a home to travellers and fugitives."

Then Mohlomi took off one of his earrings and fixed it to Lepoqo's ear as a symbol of authority. He gave him a black cow, a symbol of hospitality, and a knobkerrie as a symbol of power. He took Lepoqo's head in his hands and rubbed his forehead against the teenager's saying: "All the experience, knowledge and wisdom with which *Molimo* (the Supreme Being) and our

⁵ Moshoeshoe's death, not Mohlomi's, as a base level is implied by deduction, 1976 less 90 is actually 1886 some sixteen years after Moshoeshoe's death. Mohlomi actually died in 1815 (du Preez 2004:56).

Balimo have endowed and enriched my mind shall be nurtured in, inhabit and enrich your intellect for the great work you are to perform” (Du Preez 2004:54).

This meeting was a watershed experience for Moshoeshoe and was to change the way he lead people from a style based on fear to one based on wisdom and compassion. His ability to cross socio-political boundaries which was decidedly absent before this, was in no small way due to the wise words and model of leadership that Mohlomi left with Moshoeshoe. During his second visit to Mohlomi, the old seer produced a multicoloured handkerchief which had been procured by one of his clansmen from a Portuguese trader – its method of procurement is confirmed by Ellenberger (1912:96 and notes). Moshoeshoe, according to Becker’s account of this second meeting, was presented with the handkerchief and told to befriend and make trade with the white-skinned people from beyond the Maluti Mountains. Becker also mentions that during his third visit, the wise old seer advised all present while on his death-bed, that he had wanted to move his people to the plateau land, as war, famine and poverty were about to come in an unprecedented manner (Becker 1969:28-30).

There is little doubt that this advice was to serve Moshoeshoe well. He was able to integrate his traditional wisdom and beliefs with the message that the missionaries brought because he saw congruence in their teachings and the wise prophetic words of Mohlomi.

Even before his missionaries’ arrival, he had developed from his traditional basis and wise observation of his subjects a total dislike for brutality and a love for moderation, a fact that Casalis freely admitted (Thompson 1975:215). The wisdom, hitherto presumed to have arisen in his Sotho culture and his own observations – particularly regarding inclusivity and restoration of cannibals or refugees – may have to some extent had their roots in Christian teachings according to Professor Morgan (2005:3). Possibly this was so not because Christianity was the formative foundation to his belief system and thus his ability to cross socio-political boundaries, but more likely because he found a resonance between what Arbousset and Casalis stood for and taught and what he had imbibed from his traditional understanding and Mohlomi’s model of leadership. These twin bases were intertwined such that they in all probability were in the end indistinguishable to Moshoeshoe.

But what could have helped him beyond a seers wise words and the congruence he must have found between these and the teachings of his missionaries, to have been able to cross the socio-political spectrum of peoples and tribes that later poured into the LeSotho area due to the *lifaqane* on the one hand and the great trek on the other, and so successfully? No doubt it had helped him as a young boy growing up to have had Sotho and Nguni neighbours, whose language and to a lesser extent customs were so different from each others. And though his own culture, which was Nguni related – for the Bamokoteli tribe were an offshoot of the Nguni – must have adjusted over time to represent the dominant Sotho culture (Dreyer 2005:4), his grandfather – who was the son of a Nguni – was a great influence on him (Du Preez 2004:57).

Beyond the immediate circumstances of Moshoeshoe’s family roots and the place of his birth, was the great variety of peoples in and of themselves who infiltrated the highveld of Lesotho who helped him see the possibility of a great Kingdom founded on another basis to that which was common to the stricter tribal lines of the past. These peoples who infiltrated the highveld varied enormously – the trekboer, displaced tribesmen, coloured tribesmen of the Khoikhoi and those of mixed origins (the Griqua, Kora horsemen and the Bastards),

Nguni, Sotho and still other tribes of more dubious origin and means of existence such as the cannibals, as well as those of European descent such as the French Huguenot missionaries and the British settlers and the colonial officials. In all this array of diversity, Moshoeshe was assisted at least in understanding the whites by his personal missionary Casalis and in understanding the other tribesmen by his territorial chiefs and his councillors, at least one of whom was of Northern Nguni roots. All Moshoeshe's councillors were chosen "... on the basis of their proven abilities, regardless of ascriptive status or ethnic background" (Thompson 1975:205).

In time, Moshoeshe included a great variety of peoples together with those of Sotho descent into his kingdom. These peoples were Nguni, particularly the Phuthi (fugitives from the *lifaqane* and Shaka's merciless raids), the San who had been incorporated even during Moshoeshe's childhood into the BaSotho clans, as well as some Tswana, at least one Khoikhoi tribal group and the Taung tribe. The Kora and Griqua were also incorporated according to Thompson (between 1820 and 1860), who mentions the probable inclusion of a few stray white British soldiers who deserted their ranks and the odd Afrikaner frontiersman (Thompson 1975:172-174, 177; Dreyer 2005:4).

There was a lot of danger in many peoples bringing with them their own diversity of culture and a pressure for land, for too much of either threatened the stability of a newly emerging kingdom, yet beyond these was the instability afforded by so many marauding independent tribes which Moshoeshe recognised rightly as the greater threat. It may have been this fear of instability as well as a desire to be a great chief that allowed him to go to such lengths in accepting into his tribe all who would show him allegiance. Moshoeshe saw clearly the dangers of such things as firearms and the Boer's seemingly insatiable desire for land (though to be sure the Boer probably saw the Sotho in a similar vein and raiding by both occurred constantly, particularly when the Boer first arrived) and responded to these by forming a united front: "In response, his strategy was to amalgamate the diverse black and coloured communities in the Caledon valley under his leadership, to keep white farmers as far away as possible, to accelerate a process of selective modernization with the help of his missionaries, and to offset settler power by diplomacy" (Thompson 1975:117).

He seemed to be able to live a dualistic lifestyle, in which he possessed both a European style home and a traditional hut; a large European wardrobe and traditional dress; horses and firearms and a Sotho spear and shield. He used these appropriately as the situation demanded, such as whether a chief or European guest was visiting him. Perhaps this familiarity with the assets and condiments of both cultures helped him overcome the diplomatic, cultural and ethnic barriers that existed, better than most. In his dealings with his missionary he seemed to possess a surprising ability to find commonality and also to deal with discontinuity in ways in which his fellow Sotho, being more bound by tradition, seemed unable to emulate. No doubt it helped having Casalis lecture him for hours on end in matters concerning, history, technology and the faith, and yet there was a hidden tension:

Like his fellow Sotho, he had to wrestle with the conflicting demands of two societies. His own solution would have been to reconcile these demands. According to Casalis, he admired the teaching of Christ, but "his natural tendencies and his turn of mind have always inclined him to think that the interpretation of the matters contained in the Bible ought to vary according to peoples, circumstances, temperaments" (Sanders 1975:130).

He may well have seen things more clearly than his missionaries. He knew that in order for a people to move so drastically from one position to a totally new one with regard to their faith and customs, they would need stepping stones to achieve this. Arbousset could claim that practices such as the worship of ancestral spirits, sorcery and rainmaking already by 1843, were falling into disuse; even polygamy was on the decline (Sanders 1975:125). If Casalis and Arbousset and the other missionaries – all blinded by their own cultural preconditioning – could have seen that some practices, such as clientship, stabilised the tribal society and that the demand for divorce for Christian wives of polygamists destabilised it, they may have been able to build a bridge themselves, without leaving it almost entirely to Moshoeshe to do.

For Moshoeshe's bridge-building with the white British authorities he used diplomacy, the adoption of white customs and his Christian missionaries – particularly Casalis – as brokers. By also placating the British, he managed to ultimately gain their favour. "Better, perhaps, than any other African leader who was confronted by the forces of European expansion in the nineteenth century, he managed to accommodate the intrusion of the modern world" (Thompson 1975:214). In terms of the internal integration of his tribe, comprising many peoples, his policy was profound:

The essence of Moshoeshe's problem as a state-maker was how to build on these established institutions so as to hold his political community together while it was expanding greatly in scale. For this purpose, he used a system of 'placing' kinsmen at specific localities and delegated to them limited authority over the surrounding areas. He made sure that such kinsmen were accompanied by families of many different antecedents, so that each of his territorial chiefdoms included a cross-section of the population of LeSotho. Consequently the revival of pre-*lifaqane* political allegiances was impeded by geographical dispersion (Thompson 1975:176).

How Moshoeshe's traditional/Christian convictions effected lasting national change

In the establishment of what is today the independent and sovereign Kingdom of Lesotho, the long process by which the tribes were united is sometimes overlooked. It is this aspect that Kobus Dreyer (2005:4) reflects on, in the imprint that Moshoeshe left on what was Basutoland and became known as Lesotho:

If I think of more recent times ... the Basotho people feel very strongly about the fact that the nation was actually made by the Great King Moshoeshe. If you look at all the different tribes today which you can still identify amongst the people in Lesotho. They have Nguni people from the other side of the mountain and even Tswana people from the west came in to take refuge ... there was quite some motive in his madness to get the people together – to keep the people together.

How he built a nation on previously unemployed principles and gave refuge to many peoples is perhaps best illustrated with how the king dealt with the prevalent problem of cannibalism in his early years of nation building. Max du Preez in his book *Of Warriors, Lovers and Prophets*, quoting Casalis, comments first that Eugene Casalis,

...wrote in 1861 that the king's first priority was to suppress cannibalism. Most of his people despised the cannibals and wanted them to be killed, but Moshoeshe thought there had been enough killing and he realised that the cannibals themselves found their lifestyle repugnant. ...He therefore answered that man-eaters were living sepulchres and that one could not fight with sepulchres," Casalis wrote. "These words were sufficient to rescue the wretches whom he wished to bring to repentance. They saw in the clemency of their chief an unhoped-for means of restoration to their former position.... From that time cannibalism was gradually discontinued. There are critical moments in the fate of nations, when a word suffices to introduce a new era (Du Preez 2004:60).

Thompson quotes a Cape Town based newspaper, the *South African Commercial Advisor*, which along with others published a number of articles on Moshoeshe around 1843. This particular article, under the heading *Moshesh, Chief of the Basutos* dated 1 March 1843, pointed to the sustained transformation that Moshoeshe was responsible for:

"Among the national benefits conferred by Moshesh on the Tribes of the Basutos, the suppression of cannibalism should not be forgotten. That awful scourge took its rise during the wars that desolated the country from 1820 to 1830, and threatened to become a national habit when this Chief suppressed it effectually by judicious and firm measures. He has also, by his example and inference, imparted to the Tribe a character of humanity and gentleness of manners, very remarkable. Robberies and murders are almost unheard of. Foreigners are everywhere respected and well received. Capital punishments have been done away with, and replaced by heavy fines" (Thompson 1975:81).

In assessing the social reforms that Moshoeshe brought, it is possible, from the fabled sayings of Mohlomi to the innovation of traditional customs, to credit all the moral restructuring of society at the hand of Moshoeshe to have derived almost exclusively from the man, his traditional religion and his culture. In all this it is important not to forget the influence of the Christian message on Moshoeshe and consequently on the Sotho, as he himself recognised and Thompson (1975:80) notes, quoting first Dyke and then Arbousset:

He also repeatedly advised his people to accept the teachings of the missionaries. In 1842 he was telling former cannibals, "It is the Gospel that is the source of the prosperity and the peace which you enjoy, and I am perfectly satisfied that any nation that does not enjoy the instructions of religion is lost." And in the following year Arbousset heard him tell his aged father, Mokhachane, that "the truths of the Gospel have conquered."

It was not only in the transformation of cannibals that Moshoeshe brought change in part at the hand of the missionaries. He even dared to abandon many a Sotho custom. In his desire to rebuild a new nation out of a land of desolation that had been ruined by the *lifaqane*, he was prepared to go to great lengths and in some areas of Sotho culture even completely dismantle the sacred. He replaced the Sotho burial customs in honouring and sacrificing to the *balimo* (explicitly recognised within the ceremony) in favour of a Christian burial for Mantsane, one of his principle wives who had died, and for whose ceremony almost a thousand head of cattle had been assembled (Casalis 1861:89-90). This was a very daring step to take, for it brought him into a sharp confrontation with the

powerful clan to which Mantsane belonged and the stubborn desire of the chiefs, all of whom wanted to follow the traditional belief and practise that was instilled in their culture. Casalis (1861:90-91) goes on to record Moshoeshoe's words, which were answered by a silent but unyielding spirit in Ratsiu, his chief opponent:

“You say we must sacrifice to our ancestors, but they were only men like ourselves. You, also, when you are dead, will be turned into gods: would you like us to worship you now? But how are we to worship men? And if you are but men now, will you be more powerful when death has reaped the half of you?” Here Ratsiu, the chief opponent bitterly replied: “We are silent, because we will not yield.”

These steps show how he rejected his traditional beliefs and gradually accepted Christian ones. Though he vacillated on the question of polygyny in particular, he did do away with it in the long term. Moshoeshoe never completely reformed in this regard, but the process that he no doubt started did have an enduring impact on the nation:

I think on a religious level the change was pretty permanent. Lesotho today is a very religious country. ...It is a Christian country and interestingly if you were to compare the present day King Letsie with for example Mswati from Swaziland, Letsie is a monogamous king, which is not the case with the Swazi king. So in a sense it has come full circle – the one problem that Moshoeshoe had and Moshoeshoe did not want to give up (a hundred wives) either. And in the same way that cattle were part of your riches, so were your wives. And it did take time, there was a permutation process, but if you look at where we are today, the fact that it is virtually a monogamous society, maybe there are social circumstances in which people have affairs or whatever, but it's no longer part of their culture to be polygamous (Morgan 2005:1).

The changes that Moshoeshoe brought were not just religious or moral, but in many ways he impacted by his example the whole basis of Sotho society. After Moshoeshoe's introduction of horses and firearms into the Basotho military, he gained an “...acquired taste for the products of European civilization”, and according to Thompson (1975:77-78): “The introduction of these novelties by the king as well as the missionaries set an example to the subjects. To see Moshoeshoe approach in European cloths at the head of a cavalcade of armed horsemen must have impressed a MoSotho village.”

In assessing these changes, especially changes to the culture and religion, missionaries are often judged harshly as subversive agents who destabilise a pre-existing religio-political tribal system. But it is important to note that the missionaries were invited by Moshoeshoe. Looking through a purely socio-political lens, in a vacuum one could possibly wish for a tribal structure untouched by missionary or for that matter any other western influence, whose negative influences may well be more severe than the missionary's. But society does not exist in a vacuum, and in the real world of culture shift and diverse cultural interpenetration, which in the case of Lesotho involved a fight for land even as it was being founded, many long term positive features can be seen. These missionaries, who in no small way enabled him to cope with the political pressures that beset his new nation and who encouraged the long term positive features in Lesotho's national makeup, are incalculable:

In the material things they probably lost a lot. They lost land, they lost power, they lost many other things. But what they gained in the end is what they did not lose – their pride and their autonomy. Many writers and historians often remark that there is a difference almost in the gait, in the body language of a Sotho, in the South African mines and in going back to Lesotho when he comes across the border he is his own man again. There's a sense that although the price that was paid was extremely high I think there was always self respect. South Africa was always the richer brother, there was autonomy even if it meant relative poverty – there was a sense of self respect and there was a sense of pride. They were their own people even though they lost a lot; they were reduced to the poor brother in the Southern African context.

...They lost a little land but they gained self esteem. ...Lesotho remained independent, it never was a homeland. I don't know if you can really separate the two. Isn't that what the whole Palestinian question is about? Can you go and be proud and independent somewhere else with no land? Can you be landless and independent? (Morgan 2005:3)

Lesotho, birthed as it was from a fragmentation of tribes licking the wounds caused by the *lifaqane*, went through a remarkable transformation in the early stages of nation-building as a fledgling kingdom. The spoils of this transformation have become so much the identity of its people today that the hard-fought battles of yesteryear are often forgotten. The philosophical shift of a nation can only rarely be pinned to one person and the sheer force of his morality and convictions. But if one person can ever be attributed with a national philosophical shift then surely Moshoeshe must be one of these rare beings who did instil in a nation a new sense of identity. That a sovereign nation with the BaSotho's sense of national pride and of self worth emerged, can largely be credited to one man or possibly two – Ntsu Mokhehle comments on the relationship that Moshoeshe and his traditional mentor Mohlomi had on the building of a nation as related by Max du Preez (2004:55):

It is not overstretching the point to state that what Jesus Christ was to Paul or Matthew, what Karl Marx was to Lenin or Mao, so was Mohlomi to Moshoeshe. Jesus, Marx and Mohlomi laid down new principles for the recasting of human society. And Paul, Lenin and Moshoeshe, each in his own field, built up new societies, state structures and religious institutions to make human society a surety for man's humane existence in this world; to ensure man's security and survival in man's own society-complex.

4.3 Jan Smuts

A brief commentary on Smuts' life and rise to leadership

It is not easy to give a brief commentary on the rise to leadership of Jan Smuts as he could almost equally be described as politician, military leader, international statesman and self taught botanist, natural scientist and philosopher. However, staying within his academic, legal, military and political spheres of influence it is possible to trace his rise to prominence while mentioning a few of his more outstanding as well as less noteworthy achievements.

Jan Smuts was born on 24 May 1870 on a farm in Riebeeck West. He was the second son born to Jacobus Abraham and Catherine Petronella Smuts (nee De Vries). As a child, he had a very different disposition to most children and instead of playing he would spend his time with a Hottentot called Outa Adams who taught him much about the veld and nature (Meiring 1975:9). Jan was at first home schooled but after his older brother died when Jan was only twelve, he took his brother's place at *Die Ark* (The Ark). After only four years of formal schooling he came second in the higher examination for the whole of the Cape Colony. Of this period in Smuts' life and schooling, Cameron (1994:9) mentions that; "The headmaster commented in later years on Smut's brilliance, his remarkable memory and his unique capacity for hard work."

Possibly his most notable academic achievement came early on, mentioned in *One Man in His Time*, by Phyllis Scarnell Lean (1995:5-6): "Nothing more dramatically reveals his intellectual brilliance than his achievement in mastering, in six days, without a teacher, sufficient Greek not only to pass the matriculation examination but also to top the list. He himself considered this the most remarkable feat of memorising of his life."

From The Ark he went to Stellenbosch Gymnasium to do his matriculation, after which he enrolled at Victoria College, Stellenbosch in 1886. In 1891, having won the Ebdon scholarship, he sold some livestock to pay for his passage by ship to England, where he studied law at Christ's College, Cambridge. Here he came first in both parts of the Law Tripos, and executed this double in just one year, a feat never before achieved in Cambridge (Friedman 1975:11). It is not difficult to see why Nattrass and Spies say he could easily have become a professor of law:

In 1936, Albert Einstein said of Smuts that he was one of only eleven men in the world who conceptually understood his theories of relativity; in 1970, Lord Todd, the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, where Smuts had studied, said that in the 500 years of the College's history, of all its members, past and present, three had been truly outstanding: John Milton, Charles Darwin and Jan Smuts (Nattrass & Spies 1994:19).

On returning to South Africa in 1895, Jan Smuts became an advocate in Cape Town. He was a keen supporter of the Afrikaner Bond and Cecil John Rhodes as he saw the need to weld together the two peoples of European descent (English and Afrikaner) into one white race that was clearly South African in its orientation. He supported Rhodes' policies and defended his Glen Grey Act of 1894, which imposed a tax on black males who held no land and did not work for at least three months of the year, and supported a qualified franchise – believing that once people had reached a certain level of development they should be given the vote – which affected the coloureds in the Cape. Both Rhodes and the Bond backed the idea that a colonial Cape government should promote and set the pace for a Union of South

Africa. However, after the aborted Jameson Raid which implicated Rhodes in an attempt to overthrow the Kruger administration, Smuts became disillusioned with Rhodes and the British and left the Cape Colony for the Transvaal (Cameron 1994:25).

In 1898, he became state attorney for the Transvaal government under President Kruger and became Paul Kruger's right hand man in negotiations with Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner. Smuts and Kruger tried desperately to avoid a confrontation – heightened by the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand – by negotiating reforms for a mutually acceptable franchise (involving voting rights for British aliens) in the Transvaal. However, even after considerable concessions, including agreeing to Lord Milner's original demands in return for non-interference in the republic's legislation in the future, Milner was unbending, making war – which broke out in 1899 – inevitable. Smuts approached war as he had done peace, leading by example whether in strategy or in the field:

With the same unflagging energy as before, he produced a plan of political warfare, a plan of economic mobilisation and a plan of military operations. ... After the fall of Pretoria to the British forces, not just making war with words as Kruger did, sitting in exile in Holland, Smuts joined De la Ray in the field and learned fast from his new mentor the art of raiding (Shearing & Shearing 2000:12).

As the war with the British dragged on, Smuts became a feared and elusive Boer general to the British. His abilities in the field were matched by his promotion to assistant commandant-general of the fighting forces in the Cape Colony in 1901. He thus effectively became the Commander-in-Chief of the Cape Boer forces, replacing the wounded and now captured Commandant Kritzinger (Shearing & Shearing 2000:178). Despite his own successes, Smuts was forced to consider the overall picture and realized quickly that for all their tenacity, the Republican forces of the Free State and Transvaal were spent and in sad disarray compared to their Cape counterparts. He and General Botha worked closely on the terms of peace to secure the most reasonable conditions possible from Britain, and according to Friedman this "... laid the foundation to a remarkable and enduring friendship which was to be a decisive influence on the course of history" (Friedman 1975:12).

As legal negotiator for the Transvaal and as the only general present from the Cape, Smuts helped Hertzog draw up the settlement for peace. He did this only after Kitchener confided in him that in two years time, by his reckoning, a Liberal government would be in power in London. And a Liberal government would be more favourably predisposed towards South Africa, and thus willing to grant a constitution to South Africa. Despite the fact that the settlement was ratified by an overwhelming 90% majority on 31 May 1902, Smuts was seen as a traitor and sell-out by some of his Cape forces and in years to come by many of the sons of his old Burgers (Friedman 1975:12-13; Hancock 1962:156-160). In the years that followed, Smuts *buried the hatchet* and became a British loyalist:

He felt that the British policy after the war had been magnanimous, especially in the granting of self-government to the Transvaal in 1906. In 1909, Smuts was the main supporter of negotiations to establish a Union of South Africa within the British Commonwealth, and he was the chief architect of the constitution which was drafted by the National Convention. He became Deputy Prime Minister under Louis Botha in the first Union government, in 1910. When

World War I broke out in 1914, they took South Africa into the war on the side of the British, despite alienating much Afrikaner support for the government as a result (Nattrass & Spies 1994:14-15).

In September 1914, the South West African campaign commenced with General Botha commanding the South African forces against the Germans and the renegade South African officers and soldiers who had joined the German cause. Botha arrived in Swakopmund in February 1915 and did an admirable job in the north but soon asked Smuts to assist him by leading the forces in the south. By April 1915, in no less than three weeks, Smuts had neutralized the enemy. Later in the war while on loan to the British government but still on the pay-role of the South African government – Botha willingly relinquished Smuts, regarding it a great honour to South Africa – he became a member of the Imperial War Cabinet. Smuts thus advised Lloyd George and organized the British air defences into the first organised national air force (the Royal Air Force) and was the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces in East Africa (Hancock 1962:394-399, 436-438; Lean 1995:12).

He helped in moulding the proposals for peace with Germany, but believing that the terms for peace in the Treaty of Versailles were too onerous he almost refused to sign it. In 1917 he played an important role in drafting a resolution that acknowledged the need to consider all British dominions as autonomous within the context of an Imperial Commonwealth. He went further by dropping of the word *Imperial* and *Imperialist* overtones in favour of the term *Commonwealth of Nations*. The new term was included in the Balfour Declaration of 1926, which was attended by Hertzog, and in time this led to the formation of the Commonwealth. These milestones cannot be underestimated in white South Africa's striving for self governance. On 16 December 1918 Smuts submitted a paper suggesting the formation of the League of Nations; in 1919, Smuts as one of its founders, was responsible for writing the preamble to its charter. Upon the death of Louis Botha, Smuts became the Prime Minister of South Africa as the natural successor in 1919, and was in office for his first term until 1924 (Beukes 1991:174-176; Cameron 1994:77, 87).

His government tried to walk the middle road and was primarily responsible for legislating *The Native Affairs Act* of 1920, with Smuts' being both Minister of Native Affairs and the Prime Minister. The Native Affairs Act enabled blacks beyond the Cape to have a political voice, albeit through a Native Affairs Commission. However, this can also be seen as a reinforcement of the policy of segregation, which was further strengthened by the Native Act of 1923. Smuts did however adopt a liberal policy in 1923 in the returning of white occupied farmland to the Rehoboth tribe of South West Africa. He was criticized for the way he handled the workers strikes of 1913, 1914 and 1922, and took the rap for the handling of the black religious sect at Bulhoek, Queenstown, in 1921, even though he was only indirectly involved. He suffered the bitter disappointment of having white Rhodesians vote against Rhodesia's inclusion as a fifth province within the Union of South Africa. Such an inclusion would have considerably strengthened the support base of the South African Party with the added support of the English-speaking white Rhodesians (Nattrass & Spies 1994:15; Cameron 1994:85, 95).

Smuts' party failed to gain a second term in office, and thus as leader of the opposition, he found far more time for his other interests. He completed his book, *Holism and Evolution*, in September 1925, a year after conceiving it. Smuts was also a well read botanist and expert on South African grasses and an avid reader of the latest scientific theories

pertaining to evolution, continental drift and many other subjects. In 1925 he also became president of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (Hancock 1968:170-176; Beukes 1991:35).

Smuts used a series of delaying tactics with regards to the *Native Policy* of Hertzog's who had now superseded Smuts as Prime Minister. Smuts was in favour of a franchise vote, but a common one for the whole of South Africa, which by its very nature at the time would have included most whites and coloureds but excluded most blacks. Smuts was aware that if handled wrongly he would lose coloured and black support in the Cape for his South African Party. In the 1929 general election Hertzog used the impasse over the bills as political capital to emphasise the impending *Black Peril*, exploiting white fears and a growing racial prejudice throughout the nation. In 1933, amidst mounting national feelings that the time had come for a coalition government, and with a motion of no-confidence hanging in the air, Hertzog was forced to consider joining forces. He agreed to it, making Smuts his deputy in what became the United Party. Smuts used further delaying tactics to prize out what he considered to be the best compromise he could expect and in 1936 he finally added his weight to Hertzog's Native Bills. These bills took the blacks in the Cape off the common voter's role and gave them instead a separate representation, but at the same time honoured the promise of more land (Cameron 1994:112-113, 130-131).

On 4 September 1939 Hertzog spoke passionately against going to war, as he saw the prospect of war as conflicting with South Africa status as an independent nation. However this position was compromised by a defence of Hitler's aggression in Europe. What followed was a swift chain of events in parliament, the beginning of which Cameron relates: "An unprecedented step then occurred in South African parliamentary history: Smuts the deputy Prime Minister, rose to oppose his Prime Minister. He moved that an amendment be made to Hertzog's proposed motion, in which South Africa would commit herself to war with Germany" (Cameron 1994:135).

This unprecedented step resulted in a vote, in which the result went heavily against Hertzog. As this was construed as a vote of no confidence, Hertzog stood down and Smuts was then at the age of seventy asked to form a new government. South African forces were sent out to East Africa on 16 July 1940 and by 1941, King George VI gave Smuts the rank of Field Marshal. Smuts considered South Africa's main task and contribution to the war to be to repel Mussolini's African expansion and prevent the forces under Rommel from commanding the Suez, thereby keeping the Allied sea lanes open. This fell in line with his military strategy of holding onto the Middle East, particularly Egypt. Even though the South Africans and the Eighth Army were defeated at Tobruk in June 1942, they managed to regroup and reinforced their positions at Alamein, protecting the Suez. Their lines held this time and the Germans retreated (Hancock 1968:353-356, 373-376).

In August 1942, Churchill invited Smuts to join him in London while important decisions over future war strategies were being made. He joined Churchill and the War Cabinet in October of that year and was invited to address both Houses of Parliament on 21 October, an honour never before afforded a premier from the Colonies. In this speech he declared that "The Offensive Phase" of the war had just begun, and suggested that the United Nations was a "fruitful conception" (Cameron 1996:150). Not only was the United Nations (UN) a worthy endeavour endorsed by Smuts, but he also had a major hand in its formulation. Even though his attentions were once again needed back home immediately

after the war, causing him to come late into the fray at San Francisco in 1945 – others having already met in Dumbarton Oaks prior to this – he is still credited as the major voice behind the preamble to the United Nations Charter (Cameron 1994:157-158).

In February 1943, while the Russians were victorious at Stalingrad, the armies in North Africa made little if any progress. The British and American forces' apparent ineptitude did not help matters. But things were turning around by the end of March with the legendary combination of Montgomery and Alexander (each commanding the two sections of the Allied army), who were both successful in driving the German army back. According to Churchill, Smuts was instrumental in making the decision to use Montgomery and Alexander to command different parts of North Africa. From this point onwards the Allied forces under the command of Montgomery and Alexander could go onto the offensive and push Rommel and the Axis forces out of North Africa. This was a more spectacular victory than Smuts could ever have prophesied – his 21 October 1942 speech to the two British Houses of Parliament anticipated the victories of 1943 – and offered him a great political opportunity at home (Hancock 1968:378-380).

The shrewd politician, appropriately called *slim Jannie* by many, called for an election, appealing to the predominantly white electorate on the basis of the great progress made in the war and won, what was for Smuts his greatest victory ever. Before the war the United Party had held 72 seats against the Nationalist's 41 seats. As the conservative Afrikaner vote was divided between the Nationalist and Afrikaner parties, he was comfortable. Nevertheless he had to rely strongly on his allies – the Labour Party and Dominion Party, to combat the combined effect of the Nationalist/Afrikaner party front. After the election in which the returning soldiers also voted, the United Party had 89 seats (and 110 with their allies). While the Afrikaner Party had been wiped out, the Nationalists had however managed to gain two seats totalling 43 seats. With this result the tension of having two parties who both said they spoke for the whole Afrikaner nation was dispensed with in the *Nats* favour (Hancock 1968:381-384).

Instead of sensing this slowly rising nationalist voice, he reminisced – and why not, Smuts had indeed fought hard and won resoundingly, a thought reflected in his letter to Margaret Gillett on 31 July:

“The results of the General Election were finally known yesterday and our victory of 67 in the House, compared with the 13 with whom I went to war in September 1939.... And when I think of my years in the wilderness ... and at the sunset I find such recognition of what I stood for and suffered for, I feel that at last I have been repaid with more than compound interest ... it is indeed a ‘famous victory’” (Cameron 1994:152).

In Smuts' own domestic policies he seemed to have less success than he did on the world stage. He differed with the more liberal instincts of his deputy president, Jan Hofmeyr, who had a more sympathetic position to black and Indian rights in South Africa. In September 1944, Dr A B Xuma had sent a copy of a document entitled *African Claims in South Africa* to Smuts asking for an interview to discuss it, but Smuts refused, seeing no fruit from such a discussion. The more liberal Hofmeyr also failed to follow through in like manner towards the advances made by Xuma while Smuts was away and Hofmeyr was acting Prime Minister. Not only did Smuts fail to confront the black-white issue(s), but in

1943 Smuts also failed to help in the Indian cause over land issues in Natal. He passed a law forbidding Indians to purchase land in Natal and the Transvaal for the next three years. In the end he did find some middle ground over the issue of separate development and accepting the *Fagan Report* of 1948, which recommended that black and white communities should be allowed to exist side by side. But before this could be implemented, Smuts lost the May 1948 election (Cameron 1994:156-157; 165).

His defeat had much to do with the rise of rampant nationalism, inspired by Nazi Germany's success in Europe. The Afrikaner Broederbond was instrumental in the propagation of nationalism and was particularly anti non-Afrikaner, which impacted black-white relations as well as English-Afrikaner sentiments. After refraining from speaking into the bond's activities for some time, finally in 1944 Smuts was totally outspoken against the bond (Harvey 2001:45). On 12 June 1948 he was inaugurated as Chancellor of Cambridge University, and though he remained as leader of the United Party he did not win an election again. Smuts was devastated by the early deaths of Hofmeyr and then soon afterwards his eldest son, both late in 1948. When the Voortrekker Monument was inaugurated on 16 December 1949 many Afrikaners saw him as a traitor, and seemed to have forgotten the service he had rendered South Africa in claiming her position as a nation alongside the other nations. He died on 11 September 1950.

Jan Smuts remains a controversial figure regarding his loyalties to the Afrikaner nation. Some see him as a hero responsible for the Afrikaner's very survival and coming to power; others see him as a traitor who unpatriotically sold out to the British. Some honour his memory as the one who is primarily responsible for South African independence and its standing as a fellow nation in the League of Nations; some however question his early decision to back the signing of the agreement with Britain, ending the Anglo-Boer War. But as to his gifts and intellect there is no difference of opinion (Meiring 1975:1).

Structures employed in Smuts' model of leadership

The military of both South Africa and Britain after the Anglo-Boer War, political parties and the civil service, which was the stepping stone to Smuts' entry into the political arena, were all top down structures of leadership. Even the guerrilla warfaring structure of the Boers during the Anglo-Boer War even at the level of commando were highly authoritarian. This is possibly no more clearly portrayed than at the start of his command as a Boer officer:

De la Rey had ordered him [Smuts] to make an example of renegade Boers. Alex Boshoff, normally a cheerful extrovert, sent to capture a National Scout patrol operating near Ventersdorp, went with a long face. But he rounded them up. After a proper hearing P de Bruin and JAB de Beer were found guilty and briskly executed as traitors at Lapfontein on 27-12-1900. HC Boshoff was let off because of his youth, and C Barnard escaped. The fear of being a traitor to the Afrikaner cause was to keep many a Boer in the saddle long after the light of battle had faded from their eyes (Shearing & Shearing 2000:13).

General Deon Fourie an expert on Smuts' military background, inferred that Smuts did not really change the top down structures he inherited in any way. He instead either consolidated them or was often even responsible for the establishment of these top down

structures at the implementary stage, as the Defence Act of 1912, which Smuts himself wrote, proves (Fourie 2005:6). When this act was amended in 1923, much of the original was left unchanged. What Smuts did do upon the recommendation of Beeves (an attorney and officer in the Union Defence Forces who had done a study on other defence systems of the Australians and the Swiss), was to change the permanent force structures as these were originally very vaguely structured. There was no Chief of Staff and everyone spoke to the minister. A diagram of this would look like a spider web. Instead a more pyramid type structure was put into operation with a single Chief of Staff reporting to the Minister of Defence (Fourie 2005:8).

Perhaps the one arena where Smuts had to rely on his accommodative skills was in the international arena. Here there was at first only one structure – The British Empire, and he learnt the craft of chief advisor and ancillary appendage to the political/military structures. Something of this specially created ancillary position to the British prime minister that Smuts occupied in the two World Wars, most notably so with Churchill, is captured below:

It was common knowledge amongst Churchill's colleagues, his personal staff and his generals that Smuts had a great influence on the British War prime minister. It is true that no active statesman at the time, apart from Churchill, had longer political experience. According to Moran: "He (Smuts) is the only man who has any influence with the P.M., indeed, he is the only ally I have in pressing counsels of common sense on the P.M. Smuts sees so clearly that Winston is irreplaceable that he may make an effort to persuade him to be sensible" (Geysler 2001:107-108).

This ability to act as mediator/advisor in an ancillary role yet as a statesman equal to the British prime minister bore fruit in the structures that became part and parcel of the international arena in the League of Nations, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. Smuts himself played a major role in the founding of all three institutions which spanned the globe and were established on the basis of equal participation. The foundational concept undergirding all three is one of a round table where understanding and consensus amongst sovereign nations are sought. This was underlined in the Balfour Declaration of 1926, attended by Hertzog, which used as its foundation a memorandum prepared by Smuts in June 1921 for the Imperial Conference (Cameron 1994:87). It's imperialistic overtones were dropped in favour of a concept of equal partnership central to founding the Commonwealth. Smuts' willingness to fill a subordinate position alongside others is also reflected at home by his acceptance of the role of deputy to Hertzog. This accommodating stance taken by Smuts was echoed by the English in their willingness to accept a significantly reduced role in relation to the Afrikaners as part of the United Party.

In the Commonwealth, as a mature trans-national organisation, and more particularly in the League of Nations, the sovereign right of a nation to vote and act on its own behalf while keeping conciliation in mind is underlined in the equality of all nations, even if some nations with veto powers ended up being *more equal than others*. President Wilson of the United States of America is often credited for the creative leadership and vision for establishing The League, but in fact Beukes shows that the idea was initiated by Smuts. By Smuts' own analysis, Wilson's grand plan was largely a regurgitation of Smut's pamphlet on the League of Nations, which he wrote in 1918. Credit should actually thus fall to Smuts first and only secondly to Wilson (Beukes 1991:174-176).

Styles of leadership used by Smuts

It is not easy to define Smuts' leadership style, as there are so many facets to his life which instead of phasing out with every passing decade in his illustrious career, rather accumulated. His leadership is at best described as highly versatile yet commanding, and with a breadth of understanding that penetrated many fields, not least of which the military. Even as a state attorney in the Transvaal before his commando days he seemed at ease with making tough decisions. Mrs Arina Kock (2005:5), expert on Smuts and previous curator of the Smuts memorial museum has this to say about his leadership style: "He was appointed state attorney by Paul Kruger and had to get rid of the head of police almost immediately. He seemed to be able to make the tough calls with ease, even early on, and was most comfortable with top down command." General Deon Fourie, an avid student and lecturer of Smuts Military leadership confirms this point of view, which he points out was learnt early on in his Victoria College days in Stellenbosch. It was here at the Victoria College that Smuts was part of the "Victoria College Rifle Volunteers":

I have a suspicion that Smuts like a lot of other Boer Generals ... went to Stellenbosch University which was the "Victoria College". ... They had a pretty thorough military training – they weren't just "being drilled". They learnt things that sort of built leadership and the model of leadership that Smuts would have had – it would have been in the first place a leadership model of command. And so Smuts' model really would have been a command model. And being, if they were trained properly there and I think his experiences in the war showed him to be ... he probably would have learnt to plan and to think ahead and so on, which might have been part of his personality as well (Fourie 2005:6).

Perhaps Smuts' ability to adapt his leadership to the circumstances at hand is best seen in Smuts' early career moves. He showed remarkable versatility and sheer moral strength of authority to be able to adapt so quickly from being the State Attorney and Paul Kruger's right hand legal man to successfully commanding his first commando in the Anglo-Boer War. Indeed his transition from political negotiator to military leader was almost seamless; his mastering of the art of military leadership was swift: "He was determined to command his own men and they discovered their new commandant meant business. He didn't chat, and a glance from his piercing eyes stopped the infighting. He pulled the guerrillas up by sheer authority. Orders were obeyed" (Shearing & Shearing 2000:13).

This commanding style, mentioned as relating to the early days of Smuts' military life, was no doubt backed up in due cause by his daring, tenacity and good strategic and intuitive decision-making in the field. These qualities certainly gave him the trust of and moral authority with, his men. Bringing out this rather autocratic side of Smuts' leadership in the political and military spheres, Arina Kock (2005:5) states:

Jan Smuts was rather autocratic. He was an extremely hard worker who expected the same of all his staff. He would rather do the work himself, and was a leader who did not have the confidence in his underlings – for example when he was on commando. He did not plan with his junior officers.... Smuts was not good in a team but was a brilliant individual. He started in June 1900 as a commandant – already a year later he was a general. He had extremely brilliant leadership qualities and had an aura around him.... He was a strategist and tactician and kept on evading the British and he had perseverance.

Smuts not only excelled at being a brilliant field officer, but as one of those extremely talented individuals he was also gifted in visionary planning. His ride to the Cape had as its purpose the recruitment of large numbers of men through whom he felt sure the war could be won. He felt success was guaranteed if the Boer could be pre-emptive and take the fight to British territory before British reinforcements arrived. He did recruit 13 000 men by January 1902 and his plan could possibly have worked if the British had not been equally shrewd by taking the Cape Boer horses away. This made the Boers infantry relatively ineffective in a war largely fought by using horses to traverse the expansive terrain of the South African hinterland (Grant 1910:453; Fourie 2005:7).

Smuts' long ride to the Cape itself exemplifies his stubbornly tenacious leadership, as expressed by Captain Maurice Grant, in his *History of War in South Africa: Volume IV*: "Throughout the campaign in South Africa there was scarcely a more striking feat of perseverance, daring and good fortune than Smuts' ride of 300 miles through one British army after another from the Gatsrand up to and over the banks of the Orange" (Grant 1910:268). A little later he says the following of Smuts' remarkable field command: "Now Smuts exhibited one of those sudden miracles of judgement and endurance which had so often set at naught the closest meshes woven by surrounding columns" (Grant 1910:274).

Smuts' leadership went beyond his own personal achievements of daring tenacity and perceptive judgement in the field to that of an inspirational leader. Smuts made a great contribution during the war by inspiring his *burgers* to courage and acts of valour. His iron resolve contributed to the early successes of the Boer, and he for one, refused to give up hope under the most severe of circumstances. Because of his reclusive nature his troops did not have an affective bond with him; however they were willing to follow him everywhere, even to death, as so many did. Their loyal following was sustained by his unrivalled self confidence and leadership qualities as a commander, which inspired the *burgers* courageous exploits (Meiring 1975:44).

Also reflecting on his inspirational leadership, and emphasising Smuts' tactical military command, *The Times History of The War in South Africa: Volume V*, states the following (presumably, the 3000 as mentioned below is a typographical error, as Grant (1910:453) mentions a figure of 13 000 and Fourie (2005:8) mentions 10 000):

In seven months Smuts had succeeded in raising the number of men in arms to [1]3000 [*sic*], six-sevenths of who were rebels and one-seventh Boers. Tactically he had inflicted far more loss than he had suffered.... Strategically, by means of an insignificant abstraction from the fighting strengths of the two Republics, he had kept one of the best British generals and eight or nine thousand Imperial troops actively employed in defending British territory. There was no reason why he should not have persisted for an indefinite period in the same sort of campaign. But to what end? Smuts knew very well that the main purpose of the campaign, a general rebellion, had failed, and it was in this spirit that he travelled to Pretoria in May (Amery & Childers 1907:553).

Smuts was one of those rare men who, though able to be high minded, philosophical and a visionary planner, is also firmly rooted to the ground. In his military and political careers he was very much a pragmatist who could dig to the root of the problem, see the solution and be strategic in its implementation. This is again born out in Smuts' ability to at one and

the same time be a visionary tactician whose head perceived a reality in the clouds, but also a pragmatic analyst whose common sense dictated that his farsightedness be played out on the ground. This versatility was used to full effect by the British. His achievements in the Imperial War Cabinet were obvious even to the British who extensively used his considerable leadership and versatile mind on loan from the South African government.

When Germany attacked the city with Zeppelins and squadrons of bombers, Smuts believed that “we can only defend this island effectively against air attack by offensive measures, by attacking his air bases on the continent”, and suggested that various air services of the army and navy should be united into one independent Air Force. He was appointed chairman of the committee which established the Air Ministry, and thus became one of the founders of the Royal Air Force. He also headed the War Priorities Committee, which regulated the confusion which had previously existed concerning production and supply to various departments which had resulted from rivalry to obtain weapons. As chairman, Smuts presided over a committee which consisted of the First Lord of Admiralty, the Secretary of State of War, the Minister of Munitions (Winston Churchill), the Secretary for Air and the Minister of National Service. This committee under Smuts’s tactful but firm leadership expedited production and supply efficiently and quickly (Cameron 1994:69).

Smuts is attributed the qualities of “tactful but firm leadership” in this quotation of Trehwella Cameron’s, but he could also be cold, hard and incisive: “Lord Moran noted in his diary on 4 August 1942: ‘I am glad he (Smuts) is here. The P.M. hates the thought of removing one of his commanders. Smuts is more ruthless, and if the P.M. has to make changes in the higher command, even, it may be, to get rid of General Auchinleck, Smuts’ presence and counsel will fortify and comfort him’” (Geysler 2001:109).

Smuts’ at times ruthless leadership, or perhaps arrogant high mindedness when he plainly believed he was right, was forgiven in the field by his men, perhaps because due to his brilliant but practical mind, he often was (cf Fourie 2005:7-8). Peter Townsend (1978:172-173) poses another angle on Smuts when he says that “Smuts possessed, like all great men, simplicity and humility. His vision was clear and far-sighted and he spoke to you as if he had known you all your life.” His ingenious decision making in the heat of the moment, probably wasn’t the dominant reason for the following he commanded. As the Supreme Commander of the East African campaign during the First World War he employed a style of leadership – leading from the front – which must have inspired his men:

They would get to a river ...and everyone would say we can’t cross here we will have to go back and suddenly this green car would arrive and the general would say hang on. And if he couldn’t go any further in his car he would be on somebody’s horse and he’d be off and would go and do a personal rekkie and he’d be back half an hour, an hour later and say; “there is another way, we go this way.” And off they went. Taking the initiative and real personal, Smuts was a leading from the front kind of Rommel general (Fourie 2005:7).

At a glance it would seem easy to attribute a single style to Smuts. For the most part he did indeed use a commanding, authoritarian style that would have been appropriate in his day. The concept of democratic or participatory leadership appears to have been employed far

less, even if he did have it in his arsenal. His was for the most part a military leadership where one gave orders to those below, and at best sought to give advice to those alongside or above. This authoritarian and yet loyal style was clearly displayed in the Bondelswarts fiasco, where Gys Hofmeyr (not Jan Hofmeyr) had used brute force to subdue the Khoi people. He stood by his man to the point of taking the blame himself, but immediately afterwards he gave strict orders that were completely the opposite to Gys Hofmeyr's original actions:

In fact, Smuts could have defended himself, since he had sent telegrams to Hofmeyr counselling restrained action and appealing to him to obtain a reasonable settlement. His actions in Parliament of shouldering the blame and standing by Hofmeyr are indicative of his style of leadership. In May 1923, after the Bondelswarts debate had been concluded in Parliament, Smuts gave Hofmeyr strict instructions as to the future policy towards tribes in South West Africa ... (Cameron 1994:95).

But this authoritarian top down leadership was by no means his only style; he also showed a remarkable ability to accommodate the more liberal instincts of his deputy, Jan Hofmeyr, even if he at times did treat him like a younger brother. Perhaps this accommodative style is best illustrated in the South West African campaign, where his clear thinking and sense of loyalty to Botha made him drop his own plan of attack in favour of Botha's. Smuts and Botha had agreed on a three pronged attack in the south, commanded by Berrange, Van Deventer and MacKenzie. Smuts wanted to add his weight to Van Deventer's, but Botha advised him on a central command, directing operations from the coast. Smuts, although preferring to lead in the field, accepted Botha's plan, having the wisdom to quickly drop his own in favour of a more sensible plan of action (Hancock 1962:398).

This accommodative style seems to have been accentuated in friendships which bore the test of time through war and politics. This softer side to Smuts' leadership, is pointed out by Lord Harlech as quoted by Geyser (2001:109): “‘Smuts' own weakness,’ wrote Lord Harlech, British high commissioner in South Africa, in one of his reports to the British prime minister, ‘is extreme tenderness for old friends and colleagues in past struggles and a reluctance to try out new men.’”

He could also delegate on those rare occasions when he could see the benefit of employing a specialist or allowing another minister to devote their full attention to a certain area. Such was the case with Van der Byl when the country needed to rapidly build up its arms industry, according to General Fourie (2005:8):

We started the war with fifteen Bren guns – light machine guns – and about seventy eight artillery pieces – but they were of mixed kinds, very old – we didn't even have ammunitions for a mornings shoot on the range. We had two tanks that were unusable and two or three armoured cars and that was all. But he got into the declaration of war and then he got Dr van der Byl to start an arms industry in the country and in less than two years we were building armoured cars.... We were producing small arms, ammunition; we eventually produced shells for British cruisers and battle ships, sights for guns which is quite a job because it's all optical stuff.... Again leadership, by finding the right people during the war and getting them going and developing.

Values of Smuts' leadership*The values of trust and unity expressed through natural development*

Smuts could easily be accused of procrastination in implementing more liberal ideals and eventually acquiescing to legislation that was fundamentally flawed. One could possibly go further and accuse Smuts of double standards in his various dealings with whites and blacks, especially as there was a basic discontinuity in his dealings with indigenous Africans and his espoused view of *Holism*. This concept of holism was applied with vigour in the international political arena where he wanted South Africans to be treated as an equals and as a part of the whole world order, but when it came to black and Indian South Africans, the concept of separate development seemed to dull his concept of holism.

However, one needs to remember two facts. Firstly, he was an Afrikaner who put his people and the survival of his people above all else. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, Smuts believed that one had to allow things to develop at their own pace. This meant that he wore almost as a cape the more conservative white South African consensus of his day. Being a politician, he thus often had to lean more towards the right than the left on issues of race. His position was truly more central, although at times especially because of the more liberal tendencies of his deputy Hofmeyr – whom he often agreed with in principle but viewed as too idealistic – he could appear to the conservative Nationalist vote as being somewhat to the left of centre. Cameron portrays this stalling; or more negatively the vacillation, by which Smuts trusted that in time the natural development of progressive steps and the “wise brains of the future” would supply the answer. This *wait and see tactic* – the trust he placed in the natural development of humankind – that he applied to the Native Bill, on which he differed with Hertzog, is reported by Cameron (1994:111):

Smuts adopted a “Fabian policy” towards the issue, using delaying tactics and playing for time whenever possible. His position was complicated by the fact that he had no “alternative solution” to offer. He believed that as far as this issue was concerned it was better to “take one step at a time” rather than look for comprehensive solutions. Matters should be dealt with “as they arose” and he expressed the hope that “wise brains of the future” could deal more effectively with the issues.

Smuts' belief in natural development is also clearly portrayed in an interview with Nico Smith as recorded by Michael Cassidy (1989:131):

His whole concept of ‘let things develop’ also included that one must handle every situation as it comes. So I believe he was thinking that at the correct time, if it was necessary to give the vote to the blacks, it would have to be accepted. I remember that back in 1950 he stood up in Parliament in a very serious mood and warned the Nationalist Party (it was very clear at that time that they would do what they had promised in terms of separating the people), that if they continued in this way they would ruin this country. He said South Africa would become a world problem. I can remember how as students we laughed about that. And of course it happened like that exactly. I always think Smuts died from total despair. He just couldn't take it that the Nationalists were really doing what they started to do in 1948.” Nico went on: “You see, Smuts' whole line on letting things develop and not manipulating society with social engineering to fit a political blueprint was based on his conviction that if one did

that the whole society would be polarized and everyone would be turned against everyone.”

Unity and freedom were for him the most sought after ideals in his building of a United South Africa, based as they were on the principle of trust – trust that in the course of time Britain would reward South Africa’s natural development with Independence. These two ideals governed two trends that Smuts sought after. The first trend was towards mature holistic personhood; towards a harmonious integrated thinking-praxis personality. And the second trend was towards “holoids”, as Smuts called them, or organisations, which may combine with other organisations and so outwardly can express a concept of increasing wholes but are not of themselves holistic internally, being constituted for the welfare of the individuals represented and never become more than the sum of their lesser unions (Beukes 1991:143-144). It was probably not chance that lead him to employ the aforementioned ideals in pursuit of his overall goal – a *United* South Africa taking its place among the family of nations. Through his early exposure to the Cape’s English and later at Cambridge, he crossed the cultural divide and became in his local political power base and outlook a truly bi-cultural South African rather than singularly Afrikaner. Beukes (1991:142) quite apart from this exposure emphasises the early trust instilled in him by the magnanimous gesture of Britain in granting the Boers self government, so soon after defeat, and goes on to say:

Freedom to him [Smuts] was always the highest ideal for both nations and individuals. And from the beginning he wanted unity – to build a united nation in South Africa. These two aspirations lay at the basis of his public work from his earliest years. Eventually they became the cornerstones of his Holism too.... In studying his public life we see that these two trends which I have described, the one born of trust and based upon it, the other unifying and holistic with unity and freedom as its core, together shaped all he did (Beukes 1991:144).

The value of reconciliation

Smuts’ star on the home front shone most brightly in his efforts to create one united white South Africa – not just an ideal, he offered the pragmatic solution of dual medium schools. Students would not only receive instruction in their mother tongue (Afrikaans or English), but the alternate language would become just that – an alternate language medium for instruction. The children would intermingle during sport and Smuts hoped that eventually a singular loyalty to South Africa would develop and single medium schools would cease to exist (Harrison 1987:141-142). Margaret Thatcher, in her 1991 *Jan Smuts Memorial Lecture*, painted a clear picture of Smuts’ passion for unity welded in the fires of his time:

For Smuts, however, South Africa did not belong exclusively to any one cultural group. Perhaps he had what we would consider today a somewhat paternalist view of South Africa’s black population. But his goal was always, as he put it, “to work away from racialism”. Of course, the “racialism” to which he specifically referred was the hostility at that time between Afrikaners and British. And we should not forget how extraordinary it seemed for the valiant Afrikaner leader of the conflict with the British at the turn of the Century to become the trusted friend and staunch ally of his former adversaries, taking South Africans with him in the bloody battles of two World Wars to live and die with British servicemen. ... In that same London speech of 1917 Smuts put the point like

this: "...We must have national unity in South Africa as the one true basis of future stability and strength – and that national unity is entirely consistent with the preservation of our languages, our traditions, our cultural interests, and all that is dear to us in our past. ...The ideal of national unity means a continuous effort towards better relations, towards mutual respect and forbearance, toward cooperation, and that breadth of view and character which will be the most potent instrument for dealing with our problems" (Thatcher 1991:3-4).

Trewhella Cameron not only sees unity and specifically the reconciliation between Boer and Briton as the bedrock of his political philosophy, but sees this philosophy as being so dear to Smuts that he was prepared to override his own political ambitions and join forces with Hertzog in the fusion government. For this act of self-sacrifice he was commended by Lord Clarendon, the Governor General at the time, as mentioned by Cameron (1994:46; 120), who later expands on this point and states:

Some historians feel that Smuts accepted the role of deputy leader in the United Party because he believed that his goal of co-operation and conciliation among white South Africans was being achieved. What had begun with Coalition was being furthered by Fusion, and Smuts was prepared to sacrifice his personal ambitions for what he believed was a worthy cause. This opinion is borne out by a letter which he wrote to Margaret Gillett in August 1934: "There is a very good spirit abroad. English and Dutch are coming well together and now that the artificial political differences have disappeared, the fundamental points of agreement are emerging and pulling people together. If this progress could continue for some years this would be a different country from what I have known in my lifetime" (Cameron 1994:125).

Some people underestimate the enduring value of what Smuts stood for, opposing as it did the tidal wave of resentment levelled against the Britain arising out of the treatment of women and children in the concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War, and later, possibly as great, the pro-Nazi stance of many Afrikaners. Smuts was vehemently opposed to the Broederbond, which actively backing Nazi sentiments. He also had to contend with the Ossewabrandwag which after 1942 boasted some 400 000 members and was really a neo-Nazi front. The Bond employed ideals of purity of race, and particularly the purity of the Afrikaner, inspired by Nazi concepts of an Aryan race and the Nationalists politically propagated this ideal. In 1944 Smuts, fearing the more sinister intentions of the Bond, forbade any civil servant to be a part of it (Harvey 2001:44).

He was passionate about reconciliation between Afrikaner and English and also between all South Africans. Concluding his Voortrekker Monument address to some 250 000 gathered there on 16 December 1949, Smuts painted his vision for South Africa after remarking that the greatest challenge for the country was the relations between blacks and whites:

"In the Andes mountains in South America, on the border between Argentina and Chile, there stands a monumental cross, named 'The Christ of the Andes'! It was erected by the people of both sides, after a period of warfare, as a symbol of enduring peace. Let this monument ... [the Voortrekker Monument] be a similar symbol, the Christ of Africa, a symbol not only of past conflict, of blood and tears, but also of our reconciliation and everlasting peace, and of our

covenant always to strive in our race and colour relations, towards the just, the good and the beautiful.”

He was not optimistic about the acceptance of his last vision, and said in a letter to Sarah Gertrude Millin: “The celebration of the monument has come and gone – and all the better so.... For our European relations it has on the whole been good. But its repercussions on our non-European relations will be bad, and this weighs heaviest” (Cameron 1994:184-185).

Smuts therefore, did not himself believe in the plausibility of this vision. How could he, with the Voortrekker Monument’s reminders of all the bloodshed set in stone? The monument was sure to sour black-white relations.

Though this was Smuts’ view at the end of his political career, he was often seen as undecided on issues involving the non-European races. His indiscretion was influenced by the fact that his own power base was whittled away by the Nationalist hard line, which he so detested. The Nationalists drew a proportion of his original following with talk of *die Swart Gevaar* – the Black Danger. History will no doubt judge him for his initial input into separate development as it will do his vacillation at the end of his life. Edgar Brooks, later Chairman of African Enterprise made these comments, as quoted by Cassidy (1989:135):

Smuts, whom he admired as a man “brave and merciful and big in mind and heart”, was “weakest in the area where men such as I needed him most....” Brookes feels Smuts hesitated on colour questions mainly “because of his political position. He had lost a large proportion of the Afrikaner intelligentsia who had gone into the Nationalist ranks. He was determined not to become merely the Afrikaner leader of an all-British Party. His solid core of Afrikaans-speaking supporters, apart from a few intellectual leaders of outstanding merit, consisted of men who had been on commando with him or with General Botha during the Boer War, and were thus not the type of men to respond to liberal doctrines of race or colour. Whether General Smuts really believed in liberal policies or not I could never make out. He adds: “Smuts once committed himself to the view that ‘segregation has fallen on evil days’. But beyond this he did not go. ...No doubt he was right in feeling that the bulk of the white electorate was deeply conservative on the colour question, but he did not win it over by his refusal to support liberal ideas. He lost the sons of his own old burghers, and he also lost the black leaders and some of the best younger white men who expressed liberal views. With all these faults he remains the biggest figure in South African parliamentary history.”

The values of loyalty and magnanimity

Smuts was exceptionally loyal to those who had gone through the fires of war and/or politics with him. This loyalty was foundational for Smuts because he valued a friend who despite the trials of life had remained true to their shared convictions and friendship. Loyalty seemed to underpin his deepest intent and it can be clearly seen in his relationships with men such as Louis Botha, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Winston Churchill and Jan Hofmeyr. Natrass and Spies say this about his relationship with Louis Botha:

His most significant friendship was with Louis Botha. Each thought the other the greatest man in South Africa, and it was Botha's untimely death in 1919 at the age of fifty-six that brought Smuts into the position of Prime Minister. It was not a role he had consciously sought. Many motives and forces must have influenced Smuts in his lifetime, not the least of them loyalty to Louis Botha. The two men had thought alike and complemented each other. Both had commanded Boer forces in the South African War, both had worked for reconciliation with the British afterwards, and both had been key members of the first Union government in 1910. Theirs had been a leadership jointly given and it had been a successful partnership (Nattrass & Spies 1994:17).

Smuts was eternally grateful for the major role Henry Campbell-Bannerman had as the British prime minister played in the formation of the Union. Hancock (1962:215-216), in his first volume on Smuts, describes Smuts' view of their encounter:

Smuts always looked upon his meeting with Campbell-Bannerman that night as the crisis [*sic* – *crux*], the creative encounter of his political life. The older he grew, the more vivid grew his vision of it, until it illuminated the whole of his experience. ...In his memory, Botha and Campbell-Bannerman became linked together with the greatest of political virtues, magnanimity. ...In moments of doubt and depression he found reassurance in the portrait of Campbell-Bannerman, which hung on the wall behind his desk in the study at Doornkloof. Magnanimity had been achieved once, at any rate, in the dealings of man with man and nation with nation.”

No doubt this gesture fostered a friendship with Britain and inspired unflinching loyalty in Smuts and Botha in coming to Britain's aid in two world wars. The first of which, it should not be forgotten, started out for South Africa with Boer against Boer conflict – pulling into line the renegade Afrikaner forces that had joined the German cause in South West Africa – a task that Smuts and Botha did not shrink from, such was the value they placed on this loyalty. The importance of this magnanimous gesture toward South Africa, so soon after the Anglo-Boer war is indicated by John Wilson:

“C.B's greatest achievement was the settlement with South Africa, under which the defeated Boer states ... the Transvaal and the Orange Free State ... were given full self-government and allowed to elect Boer governments. This was a wise, large-minded and imaginative solution, which turned Botha and Smuts into lifelong friends of Britain and resulted in South Africa coming to Britain's help in two world wars”. Smuts' conversion to British imperialism became complete when the Liberals granted responsible government to the Transvaal and later to the Orange River Colony (Geyser 2001:68).

This was no doubt the foundation for Smuts' unique relationship first with Lloyd George and later with Winston Churchill, and for his unprecedented role as he sat as a South African on the British War Cabinet for both men. Much more could be written about the relationships with George and Churchill and his unprecedented access to particularly Churchill, but it would be remiss not to mention his devoted relationship to Jan Hofmeyr, who rose to become Jan Smuts' right hand man and deputy. Because of his more liberal inclination he was often at odds with his party – which in reality consisted of a broad cross-

section of opinion when it came to inter-race relations in South Africa – and indeed on occasion with Smuts himself. He was an exceptionally bright man, who seems to have worked as hard for Smuts and the United Party, as Smuts in his day had done for Botha. Perhaps nothing can better describe the special relationship between Smuts and his deputy than the revolt in 1948 after Smuts' return from a visit to his Alma Mater – Cambridge:

He was faced, on his return with another anti-Hofmeyr revolt, this time in the Transvaal Head Committee of the United Party. He stood by Hofmeyr, and in the end the committee unanimously thanked Hofmeyr and called on all party members to work together. However, certain members of the party, notably E.G. Malherbe ... felt that the United Party should make approaches regarding the NP-Afrikaner Party alliance to Havenga as soon as possible. This would mean the addition of the Afrikaner Party's 9 seats to the United Party's 65, thus outnumbering and toppling the National Party which held 70 seats. Smuts refused to consider this, for two reasons: He was not prepared to work with "a lot of Fascists" (Havenga's party formed an *entente* with the Ossewabrandwag for a brief period) and, more importantly, he was not prepared to make the sacrifice which Malherbe thought would be necessary, namely the dropping of Hofmeyr (Cameron 1994:178).

Hofmeyr was elected party chairman that year. However he was not to see out the year as he suffered an untimely death at the age of 54. Cameron (1994:179) records Smuts words given at the funeral, which underlines his high regard for Hofmeyr:

"The sense of what South Africa has lost in Jan Hofmeyr remains almost more than one can bear. Once more my thoughts revert to what I personally owe him throughout the years of great struggle in the Second World War.... During my frequent absences he added my heavy burdens in the Cabinet to his own, and carried them all with ability and distinction, with even a gay and buoyant spirit" He also wrote of his loss to Margaret Gillett: "He was our ablest and most high minded public man, and was in a sense the conscience of South Africa. To me he was my right hand, and his going will add immensely to my labours – already as much as I can bear. He was only 54 and was my destined successor. The pity of it is that I should have had to bury him."

Despite Smuts' magnanimity, when it came to his expansionist vision of the "United States of Africa" – a phrase coined by Hofmeyr but fully in sync with Smuts' opinion (borrowed from Rhodes) that the whole of Eastern and Central Africa were indeed South Africa's hinterland – he was prepared to use almost every trick in the book. He used bullying tactics, political leverage and even resorted to blackmailing Britain in South Africa's consultations with, and attempt to annex South West Africa (Henshaw 2004:69-71).

Smuts' philosophy of holism, love of nature and his Christian beliefs

Smuts believed that evolution while giving a mechanical understanding of the development of the created order, did not explain the extraordinary way something new, indeed a higher order of life, can come forth from the old. Darwin pointed to not only the external factor of natural selection, but also an internal creative factor that allowed for variance in the species as well as the formation of high life forms. This intrinsic inheritance could be altered from

within. Variation was largely a mystery to Darwin. To help explain it he came up with the theory of Pangenesis. However, this was not pursued by any of his successors and he himself largely left the subject of variation on the shelf. Since Darwin and apart from the mechanistic answers supplied by genetics (i.e. natural variance and mutation), variation in species and beyond that to higher forms of life has all but totally been overlooked by scientists, who focused almost exclusively on natural selection. This mechanistic distortion of the facts was as far as Smuts was concerned a tragic tangent that science had taken. He saw the real secret as the “creative freedom for the future”, which was not bound to the past, and Darwin’s twin concepts of evolution as indicating a movement towards wholes or what he called *holism* (Smuts 1987:90, 187-189; Beukes 1989:104-106).

Smuts does not try to explain this mystical ability to bring forth the new out of the old, to be able to jump to higher orders and higher plains of life forms and the self-perpetuating drive toward the making of wholes. He merely states: “It is as if the Great Creative Spirit hath said: ‘Behold, I make all things whole’” (Smuts 1987:106). For Smuts this principle of making wholes, being a somehow mystical yet unifying principle, went beyond the evolution of species to a unifying principle in all of life and creation:

We find thus a great unifying tendency of a specific holistic character in the universe, operating through and sustaining the forces and activities of nature and life and mind, and giving ever more of a distinctive holistic character to the universe. The creative tendency or principle we call Holism. Holism in all its endless forms is the principle which works up the raw material or unorganised energy units of the world, utilises, assimilates and organises them, endows them with specific structure and character and individuality, and finally with personality, and creates beauty and truth and value from them. And it does all this through a definite method of whole-making, which it pursues with ever-increasing intensity from the beginning to the end, through things and plants and beasts and men. Thus it is that a scale of wholes forms the ladder of Evolution. It is through a continuous and universal process of whole-making that reality rises step by step, until from the poor empty, worthless stuff of its humble beginnings it builds the spiritual world beyond our greatest dreams (Smuts 1987:107-108).

Personality was for Smuts the highest known physical level in the upward ladder of the making of wholes (Smuts 1987:263). Beukes points out that Smuts saw two more spheres operating beyond the individual physical level; “...human associations like communities and states and finally in the world of ideals and values, beauty and goodness lay the foundations of a new order in the universe” (Beukes 1991:115). But he saw the human associations/states/nations not as greater than the individual personalities they incorporated but as serving these (Beukes 1991:144). Personality was for Smuts spelt with a capital *P*, designating both its temporal meaning and its spiritual otherness. In *Evolution and Holism* he attempted to build a “philosophy of science”, standing opposite a “philosophy of religion”, the twin pillars of this master theorem. “Between those two pillars he envisaged an arch strong enough to bear the weight of all the ‘I–Thou’ and the ‘I–It’ relationships. The keystone of the arch would be Personality” (Hancock 1968:401).

Because of his views on evolution and creation, Smuts has been accused by conservative Christians of a lot of things, among them that he is agnostic, pantheist, distinctly un-

Christian and atheistic (Beukes 1991:101; Kock 2005:5). Smuts was more politely called a “theist” by Raven, who called himself a “holist” after reading Smuts’ book *Holism and Evolution* (Hancock 1968:196). The impact that each of these men had on the other when one also considers the impact Raven’s own work had on Smuts, as can be seen later in this section, is at first startling, unless it is realised, as Meiring (1975:118) the journalist points out that Raven was vice-chancellor of Cambridge when Smuts became chancellor in 1948.

There can be little doubt that for a period in Smuts’ life there was a battle going on for an acceptable synthesis between his childhood faith and his many and expansive ideas that included evolution, science and feelings of *otherness*. Smuts particularly struggled with his new ideas of holism in relation to God and the Bible, for in 1932 he wrote:

“The last and highest phase of holism is religion and the subject is often in my mind. But it is a conception of religion which is very unorthodox – almost a religion without God, I fear. ...I think the New Testament can be modernised in holistic language and thus rid of all antiquarianism which now sounds so strange and far off to us, trained as we are in a modern outlook. Of course it will take generations of groping, of trial and error before we once more see a clear light” (Beukes 1994:37).

The Quakers in England inspired in Smuts concepts of the *universal man* and by 1934 he was describing the loss of one’s “soul” as expressed in Mark 8:36, not in terms of “personal salvation” but in terms of “...the great spiritual ideals which have been the very life-blood of our civilization” (Beukes 1994:33, 38). But after 1937, when he started reading his Greek New Testament afresh, his childhood view of the scriptures and what they said particularly in relation to Jesus Christ appeared to be rekindled, at least in their essential foundations (cf Hancock 1968:306-307). As a young man Smuts was distinctly pious. He saw the crossing of his and Isie Krige’s lives as no mere chance, but the doings of their “Heavenly Father” as he stated in a love letter to Isie (Cameron 1994:15). The young, still impressionable Smuts attended Cambridge and at this stage explored all sorts of ideas. His much loved South African professor from Victoria College – Professor Marais – wrote him these sobering words about his commitment to his Christian belief and his ethnic roots:

“Try to realise that you are not your own; that God has a claim upon you, your life, your talents, your whole being – and when you realise this you will see how calm, restful and fruitful your life will be.” In a later letter he reminded Smuts that the Afrikaner owed everything to the guiding hand and providence of God. “Too many young men fling away every vestige of religion when abroad. But that is not all: never be ashamed of your country and your countrymen! An Anglicised Afrikaner is as objectionable as an Anglicised Scotsman. Please don’t misunderstand me. It is certainly wrong to hate the English, but Anglomania is equally reprehensible” (Meiring 1975:19).

The early stirrings of his personal awareness of God seem to have started in the veld as he looked after his father’s cattle on their farm Ongegund in the Cape. For Smuts, the concept of God was intrinsically tied to nature from which Smuts drew his strength of character (Beukes 1991:32-33). So strong was Smut’s love of nature that some said he was not just a naturalist but worshiped it. Of Table Mountain behind his beloved Groot Schuur, Smuts said: “This is my cathedral. I come here for rest, relaxation, happiness and meditation.

Who would deny me? Give me the open spaces, a hard bed, plain food, the stars above me, the flowers, the birds and the wind in the trees” (Smuts 1951:223).

Smuts in his lifetime became an expert self trained botanist and was an authority particularly on Southern African grasses. Smuts’ love of nature was in many ways foundational to his values and stemmed naturally according to Cameron (1994:9) from his boyhood days as a Cape farmer’s son. Beukes (1991:32) has a similar position, extending nature’s influence on Smuts – to an innate ability he had to perceive God arising intuitively for him directly from the veld. Journalist Piet Meiring (1975:9) however explains the roots to his love of nature not as intuitively appreciated, and the foundations to his expertise in botany not as self-taught, but acquired primarily through his Khoi (Hottentot) *mentor*:

Unlike the other children, Jan did not spend much time at play. He had a special mentor, Old Adam, a shrewd, wrinkled old Hottentot, with whom he enjoyed strolling across the hills after sheep. Adam lived close to nature and understood the language of the animals and birds. In later life, Jan Smuts admitted that his love for plants, animals and insects was first instilled by Old Adam. They spent hours on end sitting around a little fire talking about the wonders of nature, but with Jan doing most of the listening.

Nature basking in the glory of her mountains, was not only much loved by Smuts but was also the source of inspiration and the rejuvenating agent of his values. Such was the strength of the *living* metaphor of the mountain for him:

The Religion of the mountain is in reality the religion of joy, of release of the soul from the things that weigh it down and fill it with a sense of weariness, sorrow and defeat. The religion of joy realizes the freedom of the soul, the soul’s kinship to the great creative spirit, and its dominance over all the things of sense. ...Not only on the mountain summits of life, not only on the heights of success and achievement, but down in the deep valleys of drudgery, of anxiety and defeat, we must cultivate this great spirit of joyous freedom and uplift the soul. ...To this great end Nature will co-operate with the soul. The mountains uphold us and the stars beckon us. The mountains of our lovely land will make a constant appeal to us to live the higher life of joy and freedom. Table Mountain, in particular, will preach this great gospel to the myriads of toilers in the valley below (Smuts 1951:222-223).

But was this a passing phase, or more accurately a reawakening of his Christian beliefs; a stirring up of a deeper realization of the mystical “Great Creative Spirit” that he preferred to just cover more broadly with Holism and usually to not go beyond this, at least early on in the synthesis of his thinking? Or was his “Religion of the mountain” a foretaste of Pantheism where nature took pre-eminence over all? But this view of nature-worship would be too literal an understanding of Smuts’ beliefs, for he enjoyed describing soul rejuvenation in a mixture of rich metaphors of nature – and not just as metaphors but as the reality of Nature and mankind’s intangible communion – that spoke of the mystical qualities of the Creator (cf Beukes 1994:34-35).

Charles E Raven’s book, *The Cross and the Crisis*, serves as a pointer to Smuts’ religious bearing, according to Piet Meiring the journalist, who mentions that Smuts had a profound

respect for books and only a handful of books in his library were marked at all. But Meiring (1975:118) notes that one book in particular by Charles E. Raven "...contained a number of approving remarks in his own handwriting. ...In the front of the book Smuts had written that the chapter dealing with God was important and should be read often. ...Raven wrote that man reaches his greatest personal heights when he becomes aware of God." The book was highly pertinent to Smuts' faith:

Then Raven wrote something which appeared to have been of particular value to Smuts, judging by the pencilled remarks. He said everyone experienced moments of awareness of God through the simple "sacrament of nature" – a sunset, a starry sky, a shimmering sea, the beauty of spring, the marvel of being a person, of being a child, or of friendship, pain or joy. One then suddenly became aware of an unfathomable presence and of eternity. It was as if one experienced a moment of waking, a moment during which one stood at the heart of all things and during which God was one with one's soul. This experience, he believed, was the most precious of all human adventures (Meiring 1975:120).

Smuts himself gives a key to his faith in his description of the Bible in an address that he made to the British and Foreign Bible Society in August 1934, notably some time after the first publication in 1926 of his book *Holism and Evolution*:

To me the greatest thing that has happened on this earth of ours is the rise of the human race from ape-like conditions, from the very dust in fact, to the vision of God, which dominates us. All those ideals of truth, beauty and goodness which to-day are the standards up to which we try to live are enshrined in the Bible. The Bible has in my opinion made the greatest contribution to the wonderful drama of the rise of men (Smuts 1951:69).

Smuts here seems to combine with ease the Bible's teaching of the creation of man as arising from the dust and the evolutionary understanding of ape-like beginnings. Indeed, for Smuts evolution was an explanation of the *how* and did not contradict the *who* or *source* of the created order, for he did not view the creation story as an explanation of mechanism but as a picture of God's providential act(s). Smuts goes on to say: "As history, the Bible embodies the whole story of mankind. It is a record extending thousands of years into the past –a record which has been confirmed and filled out by all the researches of science. ...The Bible does not look upon the Universe as a world of reason, but more as a world of mystery, a divine world" (Smuts 1951:69-70).

Smuts could thus easily be described as an evolutionary creationist (cf Beukes 1991:101) who in his musings about God, the Bible and science goes beyond that of a theist to an inner comprehension of Christ. Smuts (1951:71) describes Christ in a letter to a friend written in August 1936 as follows: "Christ remains as the outstanding miracle of our human story. And the more one gathers experience of life and sees the pitiable lot of mankind, the more one is drawn to that Figure and the message He delivered and stands for in our human story." In a similar vein underlining the personal, even mystic aspects of Smuts' faith, Piet Meiring (1975:121) – the Journalist – says that in the years before the Second World War, Smuts made time to bring his spiritual search closer to the principles of the Bible's teachings and quotes Smuts as having said: "Christ remains the high point of the human race. If he was compared to the best and the greatest in history, the miracle of Jesus

increased. He said he believed in Jesus and loved Him in a childlike way. He said he was gripped by the mystery of the universe and what had at first appeared to be simple and obvious had become deep and mysterious.” However the English translation unfortunately misses out a phrase that is in the original Afrikaans version, which roughly translated says: “The kingdom of God in you – is there ever a more intriguing revelation granted to us as human-children?” (Meiring 1974:124).

In a letter Smuts wrote that the New Testament is full of pure gold and that Jesus captivates him, and later that Matthew especially touches him profoundly and in a deep spiritual manner (Meiring 1974:124-125). Still on the surface Smuts appears entranced with holism, to the extent that many question the validity of his personal and seemingly deeply profound faith. Yet Smuts himself says that his good friend Monsignor Kolbe describes Paul as the “Greatest Holist of them all”, as seen in a reply of Smuts’, included in his foreword of FC Kolbe’s book, *A Catholic view of Holism*:

It was a matter of great gratification to me that on appearance of *Holism*, Monsignor Kolbe at once acknowledged himself a Holist. I hailed him as a convert. There I was wrong, and he has written an interesting Essay to prove that Holism is older than my book, that it is at least as old as Christianity, and that St Paul was the greatest Holist of them all. So be it. I waive all claim to priority before such august competition (Beukes 1991:99).

Paul does seem to indicate a grand picture of the coming together of the whole created order in liberty and freedom as it witnesses the coming of age of the “sons of God” in Romans 8. Paul goes on to say: “We know that the whole creation has been groaning in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time” (Rm 8:22). This verse may have been the subconscious seedbed for Smuts’ concept on the inner creative workings of evolution and his holism, even if Darwin was his overt initial inspiration. Confirming this perspective, Beukes sees no conflict between Smuts’ philosophy of Holism and the Christian message (Beukes 1991:101). Monsignor Kolbe, seeing the resemblance between *wholes* and the phrase used by Aristotle and Aquinas of *substantial forms*, pointed this out to Smuts, and suggested that he might find it worth while to re-read John 1 (Hancock 1968:196).

Smuts was “addicted to his Greek [New] Testament” (Hancock 1968:386) and would almost certainly have read John 1 in Greek. He would presumably have been struck by the Greek concept of *Logos* (word; knowledge; the unspoken word in the mind or reason) used for Christ and by the notion that in Him all things were made. For Smuts this indicated the origin of the wholeness and alignment of the created order (see Smuts quotation in Hancock 1968:523). Smuts’ own study of the Pauline scriptures is considered by Beukes to be one of the foundational sources for his holism, along with his interest in the early Greek philosophers (but this second feature was largely subliminal, if Hancock’s comment on Kolbe’s advice to Smuts, as mentioned above, is to be taken seriously):

Smuts himself was a great student of St Paul. In his library there were many volumes dealing with his ideas and his work. He was profoundly influenced by St Paul’s epistles in the New Testament. To sum up, one can therefore say that Smuts derived support both from Greek philosophy and early Christian thinking for this idea of the whole (Beukes 1991:101).

Smuts' faith remains highly questionable for strict creationists or at best a mystery to most others. This at least seems justified, of a man who at times thought of the Bible as encrusted with myth and himself grappled endlessly with the Pauline doctrines of Faith and the Resurrection. The first of these he all too often equated to a firm belief in the Allied resolve, which considering the dire times Smuts lived through and the *evil* intent of Hitler, he was possibly not so far off target. Hancock says that in his contemplation of Jesus: "Almost was he persuaded to be a Christian" (Hancock 1968:401; 399). His faith will no doubt continue to be argued about on a theological level depending where one sits in the faith spectrum. But perhaps putting all arguments to rest, his own words speak loudest with an interpretation by Hancock (1968:400) – who draws his conclusion from three letters of Smuts' to M. C. Gillett; those being dated 7 April 1940; 13 January and 28 July 1941 – underlining a certain sentiment:

"Is the Christian hope well founded? Who can tell? ...[T]o me in the deepest sense a man like Jesus can never die, but does live on in men's souls forever. And those very souls are made alive or resurrected by his indwelling spirit and presence. So whether the tangible Christ remains (as for Thomas's hands) or the intangible spiritual Christ who rises for ever like a fountain in men's souls, I do believe in the Risen Lord." But not as Paul believed in him. Smuts knew that Paul stood firmly for Thomas and the physically risen Lord; whereas he himself, if pressed for an answer, would have to take his stand on the other side.

Smuts should probably have the last word – without someone else's interpretation – on this subject of belief in Jesus, wondering as he did what Jesus knew of the *Pax Romana*:

It is perhaps doubtful whether He knew much; but in Galilee ... where Roman troops were stationed to keep the peace.... He may have heard of the great Human Experiment of organization. The Jews were in any case looking forward to a worldly kingdom for their resurrection and rise from thralldom. And Jesus spread the message that not along those lines would the Salvation come. The Soul, Man's relation to God, the inner purification and the practice of the gentler virtues would herald ... the Kingdom of Heaven. Is this thought not basic in the truest sense? Has mankind not first to find its Soul again before it finds the new Kingdom? (Hancock 1968:427).

The basis for Smuts' ability to cross the white socio-political boundaries

Smuts was more so than most able to forgive the past's bitter struggles and cross the socio-political boundaries between the British and Afrikaner. He could do this for a number of reasons, one of which was his early immersion in English culture when he studied law at Christ's college, Cambridge. His values of trust, unity and freedom seemingly allowed for his ability to cross the white socio-political barriers. These values were reinforced in the magnanimity with which South Africa was granted the right to govern itself only four years after the Anglo-Boer war had ended. His notion of man's evolution towards a greater whole (in personality) was realized for Smuts in the Union of South Africa. The Union and also the international agencies (the League of Nations, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations) he helped create were indeed a manifestation of his holism – which he perceived as finding its pinnacle achievement of *wholes* in the personality of an individual who strove for unity and understanding between nations – a philosophy that

must have contributed in part to the ease with which Smuts was able to cross the socio-political boundaries of white South Africa (cf. Beukes 1991:141-144).

Early on in his political career Smut's displays an ability to navigate the white socio-political spectrum in backing parental choice regarding the medium of education, when he became Transvaal's Minister of Education under Botha, though Meiring (1975:67) the journalist considers this to have been unwise from a pro-nationalist perspective:

This enabled him to improve matters which had contributed to the Afrikaner's plight, such as the lack of educational facilities. ...One would have expected that in view of his previous struggle for the language rights of the Afrikaner ... Smuts would have used this opportunity to consolidate these language rights once and for all. But this is exactly what he failed to do. Why he did not use the opportunity to serve his people can only be explained by the assumption that he was already beginning to lose touch with the national aspirations of the Afrikaner. Smuts, who in the past has supported the Christian national education schools ... replaced them with State schools in which the principle of parental choice superseded that of compulsory mother-tongue education.

Meiring (1975:69) sheds more light on the pro-nationalist sentiment he expresses above when he says of Smuts' driving force: "The difference between the national aspirations of Smuts (and Botha) on the one side and Hertzog on the other was that Smuts already saw the Afrikaner as part of a greater, amorphous nationality (a part of the Empire), while Hertzog saw the Afrikaner as an entity which first had to establish its identity before it could become part of a greater group." It was because his own synthesis of a truly South African (yet strictly white) National identity was so far removed from his peers' that he struggled to relate to (rather than necessarily losing touch with) the common Afrikaner.

General Fourie (2005:8-9) feels Smuts was able to cross societal barriers because he chose to be "honest with people" and did not presume preferential treatment because of his rank:

I think he was honest with people; in his experience of war as a soldier. In the Boer War and the First World War, he lived in exactly the same circumstances as the people he was commanding ... in East Africa, a bed on the ground and a shelter to keep the rain off, that was all. And he lived with the men exactly as they were in the Boer war and I think that accounted for the great following he had. So he was honest with the people he was dealing with directly, and he had this technique of leadership of not expecting more of the people he commanded than what he expected of himself. He wasn't politically honest I noticed this in the debate over the Defence Act. He would jump into some change in the Defence Act just like that and I could just see in my opinion that he was doing this for political reasons.

The political dishonesty that Fourie portrays in a negative light, could at times have stemmed from a basic pragmatism that made Smuts sacrifice the lesser for the greater, a quality which allowed him to join Hertzog in the United Party. When it came to the treatment of issues pertinent to black and Indian South Africans, Tshekedi Khama, a leader of the Bangwato from Bechuanaland sensed this duplicity in Smuts, and even Gandhi accused him of a "breach of faith" (Geysers 2001:129; Henshaw 2004:71). Apart from the

pragmatic Smuts and the holistic Smuts, what best allowed him to cross at least the white socio-political barriers was his faith. Smuts' understanding of reconciliation cannot readily be explained as anything other than an extension of his Christian beliefs, even if reinforced by his philosophy of Holism, a perspective supported by Smuts (1951:70-71) himself:

The Christian Message still remains the greatest in human history. It goes to the roots of all our human troubles. Especially has it a special significance for our times, with their doubts and uncertainties, their world-wide friction and potentiality of danger, their threat to the unity of the human being. Never was there greater need than now for the deep human note of this message and its call to the building of the new order of things for which all mankind is longing.

His apparent inability to apply this to the races of non-European descent, remains one of the glaring flaws of his political career. He lived out his philosophy of the whole when it came to South Africa's Union and the formation of international organisations, but on the home front he was less successful. This is perhaps because holism for Smuts, stopped at the level of individual personality, and though he understood that organisations combined in ever increasing *wholes* they never became internally holistic; never were more than the sum of their lesser unions nor the individual whose welfare they were constituted for (Beukes 1991:144). So although he then employed another level beyond organisations to values – these were limited by the paternalistic attitudes of the day. Because of these prevailing attitudes Smuts desired only to nurture black South African's development within their own individual personality and institutions. His protracted political career caused him to cross paths with black leaders including those from the African National Congress (ANC) and other political antagonists in their struggle for self expression. One such antagonist was Gandhi, one of the great moral leaders of the twentieth century. In spite of the achievement of the 1908 settlement, Gandhi saw Smuts in the application of that agreement as reneging on its original intent and accused him of "a breach of faith", though later on he admitted it might not have been a deliberate one (Geyser 2001:128-129).

Smuts had for the main part a separatist, paternalistic view of the black-white issue in South Africa. It is however easy to judge a man out of context when in his own time he must be judged less critically. His ideals were beyond the grasp of most, and in his last years he failed to command a following. In a real sense he was a closet prophet of his day. Townsend, records a personal conversation with Smuts. In the Natal Drakensberg in 1947 his lofty words seemed to emulate the towering peaks of the Amphitheatre:

The "native problem", Smuts went on, was of course South Africa's greatest problem, but he did not see in it all those many difficulties and dangers. It was, after all, the world's problem: there were more blacks than whites in the world and if only the whites – in South Africa and the world at large – would stop their futile fighting between themselves, they would come to an understanding with the blacks. That would not happen in his lifetime, but Smuts did not think in terms of the present moment or place: he was hundreds of years ahead, thousands of miles away (Townsend 1978:176).

To be fair to Smuts the question of Africa loomed large as the European powers unravelled during and after World War 2 and all the white Allied leaders were plagued with how to solve the questions of race and development, perhaps as Hancock (1968:445) suggests,

more so for Smuts: “What was to become of Africa? He called Africa ‘the home continent’, ‘the continent of my love’. He was an African of white skin, the leader of a small white nation living dangerously on the shore of an ocean of colour.” He drew inspiration from Moshoeshe, of whose wisdom Smuts spoke, who outwitted Boer and Zulu alike in creating the Basotho nation (Townsend 1978:173). He had hoped that the “policy” of South African expansion, whether by economic means or by “Pretoria’s Sovereign jurisdiction in Africa”, would bring closer ties with black Africa, thereby inducing a more liberal dispensation in race relations, and though his quest for Africa failed, in his last few months of office he began “...to prepare the ground for a liberalisation of South Africa’s racial policies” (Henshaw 2004:69, 65).

How Smuts’ political convictions effected lasting national change

It is not easy to define the effect Smuts has had on a South African national level. An argument could be made that his prophetic words particularly towards the end of his life inspired people to speak out against the tide of the nationalist cries for apartheid. So strong were these Nationalistic cries of the ominous *Swart Gevaar* and so misplaced the Afrikaner nationalist faith in the people, the land and the blood of the forefathers (none of which was particularly exclusive to the Afrikaner) that the positive words and actions taken by Smuts were all but obliterated in the drive to establish Afrikaner dominance. What the patriotic nationalist supporters chose to ignore was the similar yet greater claim of the black populace: a right to universal suffrage for their people; a right to their land; and because of the blood, sweat and tears shed by their forefathers, a right to citizenship!

General Fourie feels that one of Smuts’ failures was his inability to retain the following of his own people. He can still with sadness remember the rising noise of crowds talking and leaving coming across the airwaves of the radio, as he listened as an eight year old to Smuts’ address at the inauguration of the Voortrekker Monument (Fourie 2005:9). It is debatable whether this was because of Smuts unwittingly losing touch with his own *volk* or a symptom of the *volk* losing touch with the diverse reality of their land and their visionary leader who voiced the plausibility of a land united across racial barriers. In a sense the white South Africans, even the English-speaking ones were not yet ready to hear what to Smuts’ mind was obvious, and yet his words were just a reworking of what his deputy Hofmeyr had said a few years earlier, but equally misunderstood (Cameron 1994:171).

Smuts’ primary vision was for a land whose two distinctive white peoples were united. To this end he even endeavoured to establish what was to be the frontrunner of dual-medium schooling (Harrison 1987:141). We cannot claim that all that has happened in the uniting of white South Africa was due to Smuts, but we can point to definite trends in which it is no longer unique to hear the words *hy of sy is, tweetalig* (he or she is bilingual). There is today far less division amongst the younger white generations, some of whom would be very difficult to place within either white camp. Paradoxically this is at least in part due to the rising trend among progressive Afrikaners to education their children in single-medium English, government or private schools, than any semblance of a dual-medium schooling system Smuts advocated. Though certainly it would not have harmed to have had more such schools pre 1994, but the few that were, may have been an initial catalyst.

But what of the majority? What did Smuts do for black South Africa and the people of colour? In this regard there are really only his words to point to, which through the decades

have been an inspiration to liberal white South Africans who earnestly desired change. Though not even remotely an inspiration to fellow black South Africans, there is little doubt that his words together with many others formed the backdrop to a change of perspective that allowed white South Africa, particularly Afrikaners, to start the process of building a new South Africa. The way in which Smuts has inspired many liberals is clear from Michael Cassidy's book, *The Passing Summer*, in which he mentions in the same breath Nico Smit, Alan Payton and by implication himself, all of whom had, in one form or another, been inspired by Smuts:

As Nico Smith spoke, it brought to mind Alan Paton's observation to me that Malan pushed the survival issue and exploited white fear of overwhelming black numerical superiority so as to breathe intense and gutsy new life into the National Party's appeal to the white rank and file. "What of Smuts, Nico?" I asked this modern Afrikaner prophet who has broken with the system so courageously. "How did he see this thing of black numbers?" "As I understand it, Smuts was a very pragmatic man. ...So I believe he was thinking that at the correct time, if it was necessary to give the vote to the blacks, it would have to be accepted" (Cassidy 1989:131).

Smuts' words from his Voortrekker Monument address in front of a largely nationalist crowd must have been shattering for those who bothered to listen to his impassioned cry for reconciliation. Cries for reconciliation that have been clearly shown to have rested on his Christian beliefs (cf Smuts 1951:70-71 and see previous subsection: *The basis for Smuts' ability to cross the white socio-political boundaries*), with the speech itself directly using the "Christ of the Andes" (Cameron 1994:185) as its motif even. For Smuts reconciliation flowed naturally out of the history of a united South Africa, and not only among white South Africans, but all South Africans:

"Out of pain and grief a new South Africa was born. Eight years after Vereeniging the answer to it was given in the realization of a united South Africa. The 'Union' of surrender had become the greater Union of South Africa. The greatest dream of our ancestors had, in miraculous fashion been realized.... The bridge was built over the chasm which existed in British-Afrikaner relations in the nineteenth century. Reconciliation and co-operation replaced the old estrangement. And so, under the higher guidance, good was born out of evil." ...He recalled Paul Kruger's last message to his people, that they should take from their past the good that it contained and use it for shaping the future, and stressed that the future of South Africa should rest on reconciliation, rather than conflict and that the unity of *all* its people, black and white, should be paramount in importance (Cameron 1994:184-185).

He more than any other was responsible for the Union of South Africa, it was his vision and to that end he tirelessly worked in the earlier days of his political career. The turning point for this came with Smuts' meeting with Campbell-Bannerman after the Liberals came to power in 1905. It was in Smuts' mind the master-stroke of his political career, even if it had more to do with Bannerman's own eloquent and moving speech to the British Cabinet the following morning than Smuts realised at the time. Smuts asked Campbell-Bannerman at 10 Downing Street: "Do you want friends or enemies?" And later in reference to this meeting: "That talk", said Smuts, "settled the future of South Africa" (Friedman 1975:14).

It took some time for Smuts to decide between a federal or a unitary system. But once this was decided in his mind, by skilful manoeuvring and strategy Smuts ensured that, "...the Native question would not influence the outcome of the debate on the form of Union; the Convention, having accepted his thesis that Union was the first priority, decided in favour of a unitary system" (Friedman 1975:51). Much later and with Hertzog's finger in the pie, the acceptance of South Africa as a republic and member of the Commonwealth of Nations can still largely be credited to Smuts.

Of course, the possible benefits of a more federal system were lost to South Africa. However it seems fair to say that the unity between the, in many ways, vastly different provinces and the independence that was granted South Africa, in the end far outweigh this loss. With the hindsight of those "wise brains of the future" Smuts himself alludes to (cf Cameron 1994:111), what was a more glaring mistake on Britain's part and one for which Smuts will not be easily forgiven either, was the thinking that Unity should have come before the "Native question". This held off universal suffrage until 1994, which favoured black South Africa. In light of this, his greatest lasting achievements, whether actual or simply inspirational, were not achieved at home, where in the end he was largely ignored, but on the world stage where he left an indelible mark. Smuts played no small part in the creation of new structures to safeguard world peace and the sovereignty of nations.

On a long list of achievements in the international arena must surely include his role as one of the most valued advisors on the British War Councils of both the First and Second World Wars, and the fact that he was the only foreigner to be given such an honour. This included the rank of Field Marshall as conferred on him by King George VI. He was the sustaining voice, even if he was not the first to put forward the notion of a Commonwealth of Nations (Cameron 1994:77; 87). He was as has been repeatedly mentioned, one of the founder members, and according to Beukes, the master planner for the League of Nations; moreover he was responsible for writing the preamble to the charter for the League (Beukes 1991:174-176). He is also credited as the voice behind the preamble to the United Nations Charter (Cameron 1994:158). Smuts had a remarkable gift for writing legislation, envisaging the future and implementing a strategy to fulfil an objective. The impact of this in the military and political arenas had lasting consequences for South Africa:

When he became Minister of Defence he wrote the defence act. ...So he sat down and drafted the act himself ... taking the lead in the situation. So it is very much a command model, what he's actually doing is to say, "I know more about this than you, so I'm taking the lead, you can come back with a counter draft, but this is what it is going to look like" (Fourie 2005:6).

Speaking about the Boer War, General Deon Fourie (2005:7) goes on to say:

...This is the important thing about Smuts is that he had the knowledge and the determination to impose his will in the Boer war. Imposing a future set of circumstances on people – he's planned for the war, although he was only state attorney or Attorney General as they called it, but he was an advisor to the president. So twenty eight years old or not he was a clever guy and in many ways he was right.

Smuts imposed his will on the future of a nation in many and varied situations and often with an electorate reluctant to follow his lead. He and Botha pursued the renegade South African officers who sided with the Germans in South West Africa and made sure South Africa supported the British in the First World War. Here too he was instrumental as a member of the Imperial War Cabinet and among other things was the architect of the Royal Air Force. The British Prime Minister at the time: “Lloyd George has revealed in his *War Memoirs* that Smuts, more perhaps than any other man, has the right to be called the father of the Royal air Force” (Hancock 1962:438).

Much later, as the United Party’s deputy, he voted against his prime minister, Hertzog, effectively causing a vote of no confidence. His amendment called for South Africa to enter the Second World War against Germany. Though the nationalists imbibed many Nazi German values, and though South Africa’s apartheid policies post-Smuts, can be seen as an extension of Aryanism, there is little doubt that the fact that South Africa backed the allies and was not instead herself a vassal to Nazi German wishes, was due to the determination of one man – Smuts.

In his clarity of thinking in North Africa and in his astute advice in the British War Cabinet in the Second World War, he added his substance to an outcome that impacted the whole world’s destiny. His suggestion of the famous Alexander-Montgomery fighting duo for the Allied forces was critical in securing North Africa, as was his perspective on protecting the Suez, which ensured the open shipping lanes for the Allies. But his role went way beyond this to one of a statesman with a wide vision for Africa and with the world literally as his stage. He was at one and the same time “Afrikaner, African, European, Terrestrial.... This spacious vision that Smuts had of Africa was something that the majority of his fellow Afrikaners could not understand; his policies were outward-looking, theirs were inward-looking; his impulse was *trek*, theirs was *laager*” (Hancock 1968:386). Hancock goes on to quote the Allied leader Lord Harlech, who all too well understood Smuts’ role: “He is in every way the pivotal figure of his country. There is no one else within feet of his mental stature or capacity. The further contribution that South Africa can make to the Allied cause depends all too absolutely on the life, health and continued leadership of Field-Marshal Smuts” (Hancock 1968:387).

When looking at his long term impact on specifically South Africa due to his international military dealings, it was not so much the victories left behind or the perceptive strategising that Smuts employed that changed her, but what he helped nullify – the threat of Nazism and a global domination of the Axis powers. From 1948 onwards, in a nationalist South Africa that often veered dangerously close to the aspirations of neo-Nazism and at times even reflected them, an alignment by Smuts to the western allied ideals set a critical trend. This inclination – which can be seen in the delicate game played by the Afrikaner nationalists to keep open the lines of communication with both America and Britain during the years that ensued, and in the eventual ascendancy of these ideals of justice, universal suffrage and freedom for all South Africans – cannot be overstated.

4.4 Nelson Mandela

*A brief commentary on Mandela's life and rise to leadership*⁶

On 18 July 1918, Rolihlahla – the birth-name given to Mandela – was born in the village of Mvezo in the Transkei. The name Rolihlahla literally means “stripping a branch from a tree”, which is interpreted as “trouble-maker”, an appropriate name for one who was destined to be a thorn in the side of the nationalist government (Mandela 1994:3). He was the son of Chief Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa and his third wife, Nosekeni Fanny. While he was still an infant his father was involved in a disagreement with the local magistrate, resulting in the loss of his chieftaincy and related livelihood. As a result Rolihlahla moved with his mother to Qunu north of Mvezo, where he remembers spending much of his time in the veld playing with the other boys, stick-fighting and living a carefree existence.

His father made friends with two amaMfengu brothers (the amaMfengu were rivals of the Xhosa, and as the first to become Christians had also been educated in more advanced agricultural methods that brought with it a relative wealth). They influenced Mandela's family substantially, and after his mother became a Christian, Rolihlahla – the youngest son of the Mphakanyiswas – was in due course baptised into the Methodist church. One day George Mbekela, one of the amaMfengu brothers, suggested that Rolihlahla, who appeared to be naturally bright, go to school. Thus it was that Rolihlahla, went to school, and as was the custom acquired the name, *Nelson*, from his teacher. This custom stems from a pejorative British practice in education of renaming African students with an English name.

Tragedy struck when his father died in 1927 when Rolihlahla was only nine. He was taken to be brought up by Jongintaba Dalindyebo, the regent of the Thembu people, who had not forgotten that it was Nelson's father who had advised on his succession. The Thembu had migrated from the vicinity of the Drakensberg Mountains in the sixteenth century and were subsequently incorporated into the Xhosa nation. Though he in a sense became part of the royal family by *traditional* adoption, Mandela says: “Stories that I was in the line of succession to the Thembu throne are a myth. Although I was a member of the royal household, I was not among the privileged few who were trained for rule. Instead I was groomed, like my father before me, to counsel the rulers of the tribe” (Mandela 1996:7).

Jongintaba saw to Mandela's education – both western and traditional – and he took part in a circumcision class at the age of sixteen that was principally arranged for Justice, the regent's eldest son. In 1937 at the age of nineteen, he joined Justice at Healdtown, a Wesleyan College in Fort Beaufort predominantly attended by Xhosa, but which also attracted students from other tribes. Though it was customary for the tribes to separate into exclusive groups in free time, here he made his first Sotho friend. It was at Healdtown that he heard for the first time of the African National Congress (ANC) and started to conceive of the idea of modern rather than traditional leadership (Dimbleby 2004).

After Healdtown he was privileged to attend Fort Hare, as with only 150 places and the only residential university open to black South Africans and attended by Africans from all over the Southern region as well as Central and East Africa, entrance was not a given. He joined his nephew K.D. Matanzima, a third-year student who encouraged him to study law as he saw it as a useful profession for one who was being groomed to counsel the future

⁶ Nelson Mandela's, “Long Walk to Freedom” dated 1994 provided the personal and historical timeline for Mandela's life, and where substantively supplemented, these references have been clearly indicated.

ruler. While at Fort Hare, Mandela also became a member of the Student Christian Association and taught Sunday bible classes in nearby villages.

But before graduating, Nelson Rolihlahla and Justice ran away to Johannesburg to avoid the arranged marriages the regent had orchestrated. There the two found employment at Crown Mines, the largest gold mine on the Witwatersrand. They joined others mostly from Thembuland in the same hostel, as hostels were often segregated according to tribe. Mandela was given the job of a night watchman while Justice was given a clerical job. The authorities found out that they had run from home and so they soon found themselves without jobs and again seeking employment. It was through the efforts of a successful estate agent, Walter Sisulu, that he was put in touch with Lazar Sidelsky, a white lawyer, who took him on as an articled clerk. Meanwhile Mandela finished his Bachelor of Arts degree by correspondence learning with the University of South Africa -UNISA.

The firm of Witkin, Sidelsky and Eidelman was known to be a progressive if decidedly apolitical law firm. However through Gaur Radebe, also a clerk at the firm, Mandela was introduced to the world of politics. At this stage Mandela was living in Alexandria, where the Africans were highly urbanised and politically motivated. Both Gaur and Sisulu were significant influences on Mandela and early on Sisulu actively recruited him for his leadership capabilities (Dimbleby 2004). In 1943, Mandela marched with Gaur and ten thousand others in support of the Alexandra bus boycott protesting the increase in bus fares. This event more than any other activated Mandela as a participant in black civic affairs, and underlined for him the effectiveness of mass action. In 1943 Mandela also enrolled at Wits (University of Witwatersrand) for his Bachelor of Law degree. Wits opened for him a new world of debate and political opinions of people from many different races. Here he found people his own age who, despite privileged positions, were prepared to align themselves with the liberation struggle and cause of the oppressed.

In 1944 the Youth League was founded as a more militant branch of the ANC, and Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo were elected onto the first executive. Many of the Youth League were extremely wary of communism, which was considered to be a foreign ideology. Of this organisation Mandela says: “African nationalism was our battle cry, and our creed was the creation of one nation out of many tribes, the overthrow of white supremacy, and the establishment of a truly democratic form of government” (Mandela 1994:99). In 1946, two events impacted Mandela: the mineworkers’ strike involving some 70 000 African miners, and the Indian passive resistance campaign demonstrating against the Smuts government’s Asiatic Land Tenure Act, which severely curtailed the Indian right to buy land and trade. Mandela was elected to the executive committee of the Transvaal ANC in 1947, which cemented for Mandela his union with the organization.

In 1948 the ruling United Party, led by General Smuts, was surprisingly beaten by the Nationalists, despite the expected positive impact due to South Africa’s success as an Ally of Great Britain in the Second World War. The Nationalists had openly been in favour of South Africa backing Nazi Germany. South Africa did not do this, but after the War Malan, the leader of the Nationalists, ran his campaign on the basis of apartheid which drew strength from the Nazi’s white supremacist ideals. At the 1949 ANC national conference in Bloemfontein, the organization adopted the Youth League’s more radically activist stance, a stance that was prepared to move beyond the constraints of the law.

Dr. Xuma, the leader of the ANC privately met with Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, A.P. Mda and Nelson Mandela to discuss the use of mass action based on Gandhi's non-violent protest ideas. Dr Xuma disagreed with them, claiming it was premature. The four then decided to sideline Xuma by supporting the unlikely candidacy of Dr Moroka, who consequently became president-general of the ANC. In the same elections, Walter Sisulu became the new secretary-general and the newly elected National Executive included Oliver Tambo. By 1950 Mandela had been co-opted onto the National Executive.

The Programme of Action approved the use of strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience; yet Mandela remained wary of anything driven by the communists or the Indian Congress. After the Communist Party and the Indian Congress staged a one-day general strike objecting to the pass laws, the Nationalist government struck back by passing the Suppression of Communism Act, outlawing the Communist Party. Mandela had opposed ANC involvement in the strike, but now in an act of solidarity with a fellow liberation movement the ANC decided to set a National Day of Protest for 26 June 1950. The Day of Protest was the first time the ANC had attempted to hold a nation-wide strike. Despite its being only moderately successful, the protest did boost the morale of the ANC and sent a clear shot across the bows of the apartheid policies of the Nationalist government.

In 1951 the Nationalists passed *The Separate Representation of Voters Act*, which deliberately transferred the coloureds to a separate voters' role in the Cape, thereby restricting the franchise rights they had enjoyed for over a century. The ANC demonstrated against this in Cape Town and Walter Sisulu proposed a plan of wilful disobedience of certain laws, by which a select group would voluntarily invite imprisonment. Mandela was named the volunteer-in-chief of the campaign and on the 22 June 1952 Mandela joined Chief Luthuli (president of the Natal ANC) and Dr Naicker (president of the Natal Indian Congress) as the main speaker in a rally held in Durban. The campaign started out with 250 volunteers and was generally successful in that resistance began to spread even to the rural areas. Nelson Mandela as well as twenty others, many of whom were the top leadership at the ANC, the ANC Youth League, the South African Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress were arrested, tried and given a nine month imprisonment, but the sentence was suspended.

The ANC membership grew to 100 000 and it truly became a mass-action organization. Mandela had first noticed Oliver Tambo's keen intellect already at Fort Hare, and the two had grown close, once they met again in Johannesburg, sharing many of the same passions. In 1951, Mandela had completed his articles and in 1952 Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo opened the first African legal practise in South Africa. Later that same year he became president of the Transvaal ANC, replacing the banned J.B. Marks (Sampson 2000:73; 78). Towards the end of 1952, the ANC congress voted for a more politically militant president, Chief Albert Luthuli, with Mandela as Youth League president duly elected as the First Deputy President. Sophiatown became the nexus of the ANC's activities in a long standing anti-removal campaign; throughout 1954 and into 1955 rallies were held twice a week, culminating in a standoff between the youth – who were willing to fight to the death – and 4000 police and army personnel. During this campaign Mandela delivered an impassioned speech advocating violence in the face of an increasingly repressive white regime prepared to go to any lengths to retain power. The ANC Executive felt that Mandela had overstepped the mark and he was reprimanded, and the youth were recalled as the ANC leadership saw a disaster looming – after this the removals started.

In 1953 the Nationalist government passed the Bantu Education Act. This Act transferred African education to the Native Affairs Department in a deliberate attempt to suppress the education standards for black South Africans. The ANC leadership suggested a week-long school boycott, but the annual conference delegates voted for an indefinite boycott, which was unsustainable, resulting in the campaign being only partially successful. In 1953 Mandela received a banning order severely restricting his movements. That same year Professor A K Matthews proposed that the ANC draw up a Freedom Charter, which was to be the basis for a new democratic constitution to be decided on by the people themselves. A Congress of the People was to ratify the suggestions that had come from far and wide, but on the second day, 26 June 1955, the congress was dispersed by the security police.

Mandela's ban expired in September 1955, allowing him to visit the Transkei where he tried in vein to dissuade his nephew Daliwonga from supporting the Bantu Authorities Act. From there he drove to Cape Town where he witnessed the raid on the New Age newspaper as part of the largest nationwide crackdown in South African history – the pretext being the Suppression of Communism Act – in which Mandela's offices were also searched. In the meantime, H.F. Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs devised a comprehensive consolidation of homelands for the black South Africans. In what became known as Grand Apartheid, 87% of the land was to be maintained for the white minority and the eight million Africans were to be relegated to 13% of the land. On 5 December 1956 Mandela was arrested along with 155 others and subsequently tried in what became known as the Treason Trial. The state sought to show that the Freedom Charter and its adherents were treasonable and communistic. After thirteen months the magistrate referred the trial to the Transvaal Supreme Court. During this interlude before the trial recommenced, Mandela met Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela in Tambo's office. Shortly after this meeting Mandela filed for divorce from his first wife, Evelyn. On 14 June 1958 Nelson Mandela married Winifred Madikizela, who carried the brunt of the financial burden while the trial was on.

On 3 August 1959 the trial reconvened in Pretoria. While Chief Luthuli was testifying, shattering news reached the courtroom. For while Cape Town had witnessed its biggest ever anti-pass demonstrations; at Sharpeville the people were slaughtered by a panicked police force. The PAC (Pan African Congress) had hijacked the idea from the ANC (scheduled for the 31 March 1960) and had staged their own campaign on 21 March. This set off a nationwide and international outcry against the state. Chief Luthuli of the ANC responded by calling for a nationwide stay-at-home and publicly burnt his pass, as did Duma Nokwe and Nelson Mandela. The government countered by announcing a State of Emergency, giving sweeping powers to the police and as a result, even with the trial underway, Mandela, Chief Luthuli and some two thousand others were detained. On the 8th April 1960 the ANC and the PAC were both declared illegal organizations, yet the verdict of the Treason Trial was not guilty with the state failing to prove that the ANC was communist based or that the Freedom Charter was a blueprint for a communist state.

As far back as 1952 Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela started the discussion of the need for an armed struggle. This discussion was renewed as Mandela went underground to coordinate the proposed national convention and 29 May 1961 stay-at-home. The National Executive now agreed on the formation of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation – MK), which would not fall directly under the ANC's control, but operated independently with Mandela as chairman. The strategy adopted was strategic sabotage and the day after Chief Luthuli returned from Oslo after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, the first series of

untimely bombs exploded. In February 1962 Mandela was asked to lead an ANC delegation to the Pan African Freedom Movement in Addis Ababa. Mandela put forward the case for the armed struggle and approached several African states for financial assistance. The whirlwind tour included Tunisia and Morocco (home to the Algerian Revolutionary Army headquarters). Mandela next travelled to London visiting Oliver Tambo and other friends. He then returned to Addis Ababa for his own military training.

While travelling back to Johannesburg after briefing Chief Luthuli in Durban upon his return, Mandela was arrested outside Howick. He was subsequently tried in Pretoria on the basis that he had left the country illegally and had incited the workers to strike in the May 1961 stay-at-home. Dressed in a traditional leopard skin kaross he used the trial as an opportunity for a political speech given in defence not of himself, but of the struggle at large. After receiving his sentence Mandela was subsequently moved to Robben Island. This first stay at Robben Island was relatively short, for Mandela was recalled to face charges of sabotage and was kept in solitary confinement in Pretoria Local while awaiting trial. In a raid on the farm that was part of Mandela's underground cover, the police had unearthed *Operation Mayibuye*, which set out a scheme for a guerrilla war in South Africa. This led to the capture of the whole of the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* High Command. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others decided that they would not try to deny the charges of sabotage, which were true, and instead informed counsel that they were prepared for the death sentence if need be. The result of the Rivonia trial was not however the death sentence, but life imprisonment, and Mandela ended up back at Robben Island.

After Rivonia, much of the ANC's leadership and infrastructure were destroyed, but elsewhere – in Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe – the struggle intensified in the middle to late 1960's. In Zimbabwe, Ian Smith's white minority rule received direct help from the South African Defence Forces and the ANC came to regard Zimbabwe as an extension of their own struggle. Meanwhile, life on the island was largely one of routine. Despite the isolated life on the island, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Nelson Mandela (joined later by Ahmed Kathrada) formed what was known as the ANC *High Organ*, which wisely did not try to advise the ANC on external policy but rather dealt with the daily matters arising out of prison life. Robben Island became known as *the University* where people studied academically and politically with Walter Sisulu and others lectured on the history of the ANC. It was in 1975 that Mandela was approached with the idea of writing his memoirs, and though some of the original manuscript was discovered and destroyed, it provided the conceptual outline for Mandela's autobiography much later.

On 16 June 1976, 15 000 schoolchildren protested in Soweto against the planned use of Afrikaans as the only medium of education. The killing of thirteen year old Hector Pieterse and 600 others within the next two weeks, sparked a national uprising. Winnie Mandela less than two months later was detained for her involvement with the Black Parents' Association. She later received a banning order, relocated her to the small Free State town of Brandfort, thereby isolating her from the movement in Soweto. In 1975, Mandela and his fellow prisoners learnt that the liberation struggle had been successful in Mozambique and Angola. Zimbabwe was next, gaining her independence in 1979. P.W. Botha succeeded John Vorster as State President in 1979 and placed Dr Niel Barnard as head of the National Intelligence Service. Not long after, South Africa began launching raids against neighbouring and frontline states, targeting ANC guerrillas and in the process killing many others. The security forces it seems, were prepared to go to any lengths:

In one raid at Matola in 1981, 13 ANC members were executed by South African soldiers in swastika-emblazoned helmets. The ears of the dead soldiers were cut off and given to their commanders. Under Barnard and those of his ilk in the military establishment, death squads emerged and South Africa's chemical and biological warfare programme was honed. ...Shortly before Mandela's release in 1990 they plotted to murder him with an untraceable compound that would destroy brain cells. It was with these people that Mandela would need to negotiate (Smith 1999:66).

Meanwhile in Lusaka, Oliver Tambo came up with a scheme to demand the release of the Robben Island prisoners by personalising this demand with the slogan – *Free Mandela!* This demand (Mandela himself was unaware of as although newspapers had been allowed onto the island by 1980, they were heavily censored) proved to be very effective and put the organisation quite literally “front page and centre” in peoples minds. At the end of March 1981 after receiving news that Winnie Mandela had been in a car accident, Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrew Mlangeni were transferred to Pollsmor Prison in Tokai, Cape Town. At Pollsmor they were more connected to the current events in South Africa. In December 1982, MK stepped up the armed struggle and set off explosions at the unfinished Koeberg nuclear power plant outside Cape Town as well as many military installations nationwide. In May 1983, as a retaliation for attacks by South African Security Forces on the ANC in Maseru and elsewhere, MK set off a car bomb outside the airforce headquarters in downtown Pretoria at rush-hour. This tragically killed 19 people and wounded 215 others, many of whom were civilians.

In an attempt to divide, Coloureds and Indians from the Africans, the government devised a tricameral parliament, which was merely cosmetic and did not allow for substantive power-sharing. Yet despite this, the ANC was enjoying a resurgence. Far-reaching movements such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) were formed naming Mandela as its patron, and rapidly became an umbrella organization to some 600 groups. On 31 January 1985 during a debate in parliament, P.W. Botha offered Mandela his freedom if he unconditionally rejected the use of violence. Mandela dramatically rejected the offer in a speech read by his daughter Zindzi, at a UDF rally held in part to honour Desmond Tutu, who had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. In a routine medical check-up, Mandela was diagnosed as having an enlarged prostate gland and taken to Volks Hospital to be operated on. Seemingly, *out of the blue*, he was visited by Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice. Upon his return he was given a new cell isolated from his prison friends. He recognized this as an opportunity for the government to discretely approach him.

However, instead of waiting for the government to start things he decided to initiate contact himself. The first few attempts, which included writing to Kobie Coetsee and a visit by General Obasanjo representing the Commonwealth, failed. The South African Defence Force had by then commenced raids on Front Line States and Oliver Tambo and the ANC called for South Africans to make the nation totally ungovernable. To counter this, the government imposed a State of Emergency. Next, Mandela requested a meeting with General Willemse, head of the prison services. This time he was successful in seeing both Coetsee and Willemse in what developed into an ongoing discussion with the Government for the conditions of a negotiated settlement. During these talks, Mandela more than once requested to see the state president, but this did not happen immediately. In December

1988 Mandela was relocated to Victor Verster in Paarl, situated in the wine lands northeast of Cape Town. He was placed at the back of the large prison property in a cottage. This placement greatly enhanced Mandela's opportunity to hold private discussions. In the meantime on the international front, Oliver Tambo held talks with officials from Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and in January 1987, the US secretary of state, George Shultz.

In January 1989 P.W. Botha suffered a stroke, which caused him to relinquish his position as head of the National Party, though he retained his position as state president. That year, the UDF in alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) formed the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which subsequently began organizing a nationwide defiance campaign. On 5 July 1989 Mandela finally got a visit to the state president at Tuynhuys (Cape Town's presidential office). This first meeting was a much subdued polite rather than political meeting in which Mandela barely managed to request the unconditional release of all political prisoners. His request was promptly denied. Just over a month later Botha resigned, unable in any real sense to *cross the Rubicon*. The ANC's exiled leaders were not fully aware of the extent of Mandela's talks, but had themselves been secretly conducting an ongoing series of meetings with a group of strategically placed Afrikaners. With F.W. de Klerk now fully in charge a new political climate prevailed and in August 1989, the ANC meeting in Zimbabwe issued the Harare Declaration. In it they stated that it may be possible to end apartheid through negotiation (Thompson 2001:246).

Already by 10 October 1989 De Klerk had announced the release of Walter Sisulu and seven others from Robben Island. The government of P.W. Botha had in substance asked for three things of the ANC – the renouncing of violence in the struggle, a break with the Communist Party and dispensing with the call for majority rule. Instead F.W. de Klerk just asked Mandela and the ANC for an *honest commitment to peace* which Mandela had already displayed by his willingness to negotiate. On 13 December Mandela was back at Tuynhuys, having sent a letter on ahead asking for the unbanning of all political organisations. By 2 February 1990 in De Klerk's opening address to parliament he took a bold step towards dismantling apartheid by unbanning the ANC and 33 other illegal organisations, releasing all political prisoners who were not being held for acts of violence, lifting a host of repressive legislation and announcing the immanent release of Mandela. De Klerk however pointedly endorsed the party's commitment to privatization and free trade, an important point as at the time the ANC had not yet dispensed with a policy of nationalization. On 11 February 1990, Mandela was released from Victor Verster.

Soon after his release, on 27 February 1990, Mandela flew to Lusaka to meet with the ANC National Executive Committee. This meeting was as much to show the ANC leadership that he had not been broken in all his years in prison as it was to inform them of the nature of the discussions thus far held with the South African government. In order to reintegrate him back into the direct ANC leadership, the Executive elected him as the ANC deputy president. Starting 2 May the government and the ANC met for three days in what became known as the *Groote Schuur Minute*, committing both sides to peaceful negotiations and the government to lifting the State of Emergency, which was subsequently lifted everywhere except Natal – due to ongoing violence. The Government and the ANC again met on 6 August for the *Pretoria Minute*, paving the way for the return of ANC exiles.

In December 1990, after being in exile for three decades, an ailing Oliver Tambo returned to South Africa. In July 1991, the ANC after thirty years held its first conference on South

African soil and Mandela was elected president with Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary-general. Natal quickly became a cauldron of political activism between Inkatha and the ANC. This overflowed into violent acts particularly by Inkatha supporters. By January 1991 Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi were discussing ways to gain peace in Natal but an official meeting was stalled by political intrigue on both sides. On 20 December 1991 the talks began in earnest for the first time between the government, the ANC and 18 other delegations in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). Mandela pointed towards the recent scandalous revelation that the Nationalists had secretly been funding Inkatha, effectively reversing De Klerk's suggestion that the ANC could not be trusted to honour any agreement. Six weeks after CODESA 1, the National Party loss in a Potchefstroom by-election prompted a nationwide white referendum on De Klerk's reform policies, receiving a 69% vote, strengthening their resolve in the negotiation process.

On 13 April 1992, Nelson Mandela announced his separation from Winnie, who was earlier implicated in the highly publicised killing of Stompie Seipei. Four years later they were divorced. Meanwhile, CODESA 2 started on 15 May 1992, but the chances of an agreement stalled over issues of majority rule. The ANC called for rolling mass action to begin on the 16 June and a settlement became increasingly unlikely as attacks by Inkatha on the ANC outside of Natal increased. These included the raid on the township of Boipatong, killing 46 people and for which the government was being charged with complicity. Mandela instructed Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary general to suspend all talks with the government. The rolling mass action culminated in four million workers staying at home – the largest political strike in South Africa's history. The ANC next marched on Bisho, the Ciskei homeland's capital, on 7 September 1992, which proved disastrous as homeland troops opened fire killing 29 and wounding over 200. Fortunately sanity prevailed and on 26 September Mandela and De Klerk signed a *Record of Understanding*. Joe Slovo's subsequent proposal (backed by Mandela) of a *sunset clause* – existing civil service contracts would be honoured, amnesty for all security force officers and the creation of a government of national unity – helped break the political impasse.

The extreme right wing predominantly in the guise of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), continuously tried to sabotage the negotiation process. Two events stand out: Chris Hani; the former leader of MK, was shot dead on the 10 April 1993 by a Polish immigrant and AWB member. Notably Mandela and not De Klerk addressed the nation asked for calm to prevail. By this stage it became apparent that he commanded more control over the nation than F.W. de Klerk did. Not long after which, Eugene TerreBlanche and AWB militants in an absurd attempt to disrupt negotiations drove armoured vehicles directly through the building's foyer hosting the multi-party talks. Only two weeks after Hani's assassination Oliver Tambo died of natural causes. These events merely strengthened Mandela's resolve in the negotiation process, Chief Buthelezi however withdrew, protesting the fact that an election date was set up before a constitution had been finalised. Despite all the political manoeuvring of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront (who somewhat ironically sought a white homeland), on 18 November an interim constitution was approved. For the first five years a government of national unity would govern the country. Buthelezi, who failed to register the IFP by the 12 February 1994 deadline, agreed to register if Mandela would concede to international mediation over conflicting constitutional issues, which Mandela consented to. Still violence in Natal increased, but neither Mandela nor De Klerk would be intimidated and both held fast to the election date, which Buthelezi was attempting to postpone.

The international mediation efforts led by Kissinger and Lord Carrington, failed, but on 19 April after the intervention of the little known Washington Okumu, Buthelezi accepted the constitutional safeguards for the Zulu monarchy and entered the electoral race at the *eleventh hour*, thus avoiding a Natal bloodbath and ensuing civil war (Coomes 2002:469-470). The way was paved for South Africa's first truly democratic elections which started on 26 April 1994 and on 2 May 1994 De Klerk conceded. The ANC registering 62.6% of the national vote and Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the first black state president on 10 May 1994 with Thabo Mbeki and F.W. de Klerk appointed as his two deputies.

In the following years Mandela increasingly won over the international community and carved out a niche in the international arena for South Africa as a model state with an advocacy role in peace-making. In the early period, Mandela chose not to chair his cabinet but left that to his two lieutenants who alternated the role. Already by December 1997 Mandela had stepped down as ANC party president and paved the way for his successor Thabo Mbeki. He also won over the local business community with his reasonable approach to a free market economy and by changing his take on nationalisation. His commitment to relinquishing power after only one term of office, was widely admired in Africa where leaders do not often willingly step down. On 19 July 1998 Mandela married Graca Machel, the widow of former Mozambican president, Samora Machel; on 26 March 1999 Mandela formally handed over the reins to Thabo Mbeki (Smith 1999:140-142).

Progress with particularly housing and job creation to alleviate unemployment were somewhat slow in the first five years. The new government was more successful in other areas including the supply of water and electricity – issues affecting mainly black South Africans and left almost untouched by the Nationalists. But what is important to remember is that the government of national unity's principle job was to create a new platform of trust and stability on which the country could be built. Mandela's role in particular was to help destroy apartheid and to create a new concept of nationhood based on reconciliation and a new ethic of inclusivity. Despite retiring from office, Madiba (his respectful clan name) has however chosen not to retire from civic life. He is still actively engaged in many charity fundraising events and in raising awareness for various causes, particularly that of HIV/Aids victims and his children's foundation.

Structures employed in Mandela's model of leadership

Mandela used many leadership structures in his rise to power, some of which were there by virtue of the state apparatus or the ANC's pre-existing structures, but an interesting aspect is how many new structures he devised. After looking at the Thembu traditional structures pertinent to Mandela, this thesis will focus primarily on these structures that Mandela devised and, will only briefly mention the other structures within which he operated.

Mandela's early years predisposed him to a tribal model of leadership, where the word of the chief was supreme, yet counterbalanced by the advice of the counsellors and people:

Because of the universal respect the regent enjoyed – from both black and white – and the seemingly untempered power that he wielded, I saw chieftaincy as being the very centre around which life revolved. My later notions of leadership were profoundly influenced by observing the regent and his court. I watched and learned from the tribal meetings that were regularly held at the Great Place.

These were called to discuss national matters such as drought, the culling of cattle, policies ordered by the magistrate, or new laws decreed by the government. All Thembus were free to come – and a great many did, on horseback or by foot.

On these occasions, the regent was surrounded by a group of councillors of high rank who functioned as parliament and judiciary. They were wise men who retained the knowledge of tribal history and custom in their heads and whose opinions carried great weight. Everyone who wanted to speak did so. It was democracy in its purest form. ...The foundation of self-government was that all men were free to voice their opinions and were equal as citizens. (Women I am afraid were deemed second class citizens.)

Only at the end of the meeting, as the sun was setting, would the regent speak. His purpose was to sum up what had been said and form some consensus among the diverse opinions. But no conclusion was forced on people who disagreed. If no agreement could be reached, another meeting would be held. At the end of the council, a praise-singer or poet would deliver a panegyric to the ancient kings (Mandela 1996:11, 14).

Early on in his time in Johannesburg Mandela was exposed to the ANC structures, and soon rose within them. He and Oliver Tambo were among the first members of the Youth League, which helped to inject new life into the ANC and provided many of the subsequent National Executive of the ANC (Mandela 1994:98-99). Here, although there was definitely a hierarchical command structure, once any particular level of leadership had been reached, where members were seen to be operating among peers, it was dominated by consensus seeking. This was especially true of its National Executive. Indeed the collective leadership revolted at the idea of elevating one person and his or her respective opinion to a position of grandeur in any shape or form (Smith 1999:152).

Mandela early on proved himself to be a master tactician in devising new structures to meet the needs of the political climate of the day. One such structure was formulated to sustain the struggle once forced underground and became known as the *Mandela Plan* or *M-Plan*. In 1952 the *M-Plan* was motivated by the belief of Mandela and others that as the South African Communist Party had been banned, a similar fate would soon befall all liberation movements. Fearing the inevitability of this Mandela approached the National Executive Committee, stating the importance of a *contingency plan* if they were to continue to lead. The Executive gave him a directive to devise such a plan, which would enable them to operate from underground:

The idea was to set up organizational machinery that would allow the ANC to make decisions at the highest level, which could then be swiftly transmitted to the organization as a whole without calling a meeting. In other words it would allow an illegal organization to continue to function and enable leaders who were banned to continue to lead. The M-Plan was designed to allow the organization to recruit new members, respond to local and national problems, and maintain regular contact between the membership and the underground leadership (Mandela 1994:145).

The *M-Plan* was based on the concept of cells comprising members who lived on a single street. Seven cells together formed a zone, with the zone steward reporting to the local branch or ward of the ANC, which was made up of four zones. It was only effectively implemented in the Eastern Cape, as elsewhere strong leaders, who did not believe that a ban was inevitable, resisted its implementation. Only after the ANC was banned in 1961, a modified form of the M-Plan was fully implemented (Sampson 2000:82-83).

Not only was this command/cell structure successfully used in the ANC's underground network in the cities through to the rural areas, but was also modified and used as the basis for making decisions in prison where general meetings were not easily achieved and extremely risky. Mandela, Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba constituted what was known on Robben Island as the *High Organ* of the ANC, under which operated a cell system, with each cell comprising of three members of the ANC (Mandela 1996:137).

While his M-Plan gave a workable structure and system of communication in which the ANC could carry on once underground, Mandela was also instrumental in the establishment of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK). Once the ANC Executive approved the formation of MK as essentially an independent wing of the ANC, Mandela immediately recruited Joe Slovo and Walter Sisulu onto the newly formed High Command, which unlike the ANC structures allowed for non-black leadership at the top. In most other respects the command structure of MK mirrored the parent body with the National High Command presiding at the top, followed by the Regional Commands and lastly the local commands and cells (Mandela 1994:274; 283).

By 1962 Mandela was already receiving military training with the Ethiopian Riot Battalion in Addis Ababa. His instructor was an experienced soldier who had *cut his teeth* with the underground fighting the Italians. He was not trained by the Algerians as Smith (1999:29) believed; he actually spent only "three days" or so being briefed by them (Mandela 1994:298; 304). Smith (1999:33), however, accurately describes the build up to the ANC's protracted decision to engage in the armed struggle, related by Mac Maharaj:

Whether to take up arms was a decision that took the ANC seven years to reach. Mac Maharaj, former Minister of Transport, recalls: "As far back as 1953 he [Mandela], together with comrade Walter Sisulu, began to explore the need for and the possibilities of the armed struggle. He expressed his view at a public meeting and was summoned to explain his actions before the National Executive Committee. He accepted the reprimand of his peers and his seniors. He never saw this dressing down as a personal affront. It helped hone his instincts for reading the moment and understanding the rules by which one strove to better shape the ANC to discharge its responsibilities". It was a difficult decision, and one that caused heated debate within the ANC's inner circles, but it was a decision that had popular approval.

Not only was Mandela instrumental in MK's formation, but he was also the one in 1990 who called the suspension to the armed struggle. He was at first not willing to make this decision but was persuaded to by Chris Hani, then commander of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Kramer 2003:96). Mandela's high value for unity allowed him to show his support for other more all-embracing structures such as coalition frameworks, where people of many different backgrounds/ideologies spoke with one voice, and where many different strategies

could simultaneously engage in the fight against apartheid. Mandela (1980:44-45) held this perspective even before 1980, as reflected in his speech then smuggled to Lusaka:

The first condition for victory is black unity. Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed. Our people – African, coloured, Indian and democratic whites – must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. ... Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule.

Mandela's call to a battle on more than one front, including international pressure and united mass action, inspired the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) of which he was named a patron. As mentioned in the first section this flourished into the largest legal anti-apartheid organization in South Africa (the UDF was later banned only to be replaced by the Mass Democratic Movement – the MDM) and became the leading voice of opposition to the apartheid machinery.

He carried this concept of coalition *solidarity partners* with him when the ANC partnered with many political groups once it came to power in a structure which could well be called a *coalition network*. This coalition network which carried at its heart certain ideals, created a solidarity that went beyond structures to that of a movement which was to become the solid platform of a coalition partnership that made up the ANC. From this platform the ANC was able to launch a government of national unity in the transition years – a government which included the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, all within its ranks.

Styles of leadership used by Mandela

Desmond Tutu (1999:39), commenting on Mandela's prison experience, perceives Nelson Mandela's leadership style as leadership for the sake of others:

Those twenty-seven years and all the suffering they entailed were the fires of the furnace that tempered his steel, that removed the dross. ... And that suffering on behalf of others gave him an authority and credibility that can be provided by nothing else in quite the same way. The true leader must at some point or other convince her or his followers that she or he is in this whole business not for self-aggrandizement but for the sake of others.

Yet this was not always the case: "Before prison Mandela was a gifted leader who tended to arrogance. Prison hardship taught him patience; the denial of rights – wisdom; the empathy of others less privileged than himself – compassion. Prison made him one of the greatest leaders of history" (Smith 1999:64). Later in her book Charlene Smith quotes ANC politician Ben Turok on the Mandela of the early days of the political struggle: "Turok says 'Mandela was fiery, a radical, although not an ideologue. But he was never the sort of man you would cuff on the back and say, hi'" (Smith 1999:154). Yet as Smith and Tutu mention, prison was to change all, a view held also by Allister Sparks who sees Madeba's "transparent and collegiate" leadership style, as being the; "... quintessential product of a long term prison experience. I did not know him before he went to Robben Island in 1962, but those who did say he was austere and dedicated, militant and

uncompromising. It was prison that moulded him into the personality the world so admires today” (Sparks 2003:254-255).

Though this transparency and collaboration could be seen in some of his fellow ANC comrades, Sparks points out that there were three vastly different cultures within the ANC camp. These three cultures produced essentially three styles of leadership. Firstly there is the militancy and suspicion of the exiled community, dominated by *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, and the fear of assassination or being spied on by the Pretoria Regime. Secondly there is the democracy in decision making employed by the UDF (United Democratic Front), in which no single individual governed because the UDF was an alliance made up of many partners. Lastly there is the comradeship of the Robben Islanders, which was consensus based and steeped in the art of negotiation (Sparks 2003:255-257).

Carlene Smith (1999:152) sees the three divergent leadership styles within the ANC as in reality only two, with the UDF modelling its style after the ANC prison leadership's:

...Robben Island prisoners developed a complex, but highly effective, network of consultation, negotiation, discussion and decision-making. This recognized the equity of all, and an aversion to “the cult of leadership”, that is one person having overriding leadership. That in turn influenced the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions when both were formed in the mid-1980s.

But whether it was two or three major styles of leadership that existed within the ANC camp, once Mandela was in office, it was this later collegiate, prison style that dominated:

Under the Mandela administration the prison culture was dominant, with its collegiate style and its emphasis on reconciliation. Mandela left his ministers to get on with their jobs, and except on a few issues in which he took a special interest he did not immerse himself in detail the way Mbeki does. He did not even chair Cabinet meetings, although he always attended them, preferring to let his deputies, at first De Klerk and Mbeki and later Mbeki alone, do so while he sat back and listened. As for political strategizing and the day-to-day management of administration, he left that to Mbeki too. Mandela was a hands off President, an inspirational figurehead like a charismatic chairman of the board rather than a company CEO (Sparks 2003:257).

This hands-off, listening, loyal and yet commanding style may, however have caused some of his problems early on in the presidency. While it allowed his ministers greater freedom to make decisions, it also allowed room for accusations and for errors of judgement made by Mandela himself. Not only was his cabinet accused of earning high salaries (a point made strongly by Archbishop Desmond Tutu), but between 1995 and 1997 some of the ministers were charged with fraud and corruption. Mandela did not always handle these accusations very well, out of loyalty wanting to defend his colleagues (Kramer 2003:101).

Mandela's collegiate prison style in which loyalty, listening and authority were vital was immediately evident upon his release and subsequent reunion even with the ANC in exile:

Mandela re-entered the ANC quietly but firmly. At his first meetings with the ANC in Lusaka shortly after his release, he stood with dignity towering over most of his comrades. He listened more than he spoke at those early meetings, but when he spoke it was with an unshakeable authority that deterred sceptics from questioning too strongly, and he remained a powerful force in every ANC meeting he would chair. He would not tolerate thoughtlessness, or rhetoric for the sake of cliché-ridden words: he wanted considered thinking, and if he heard thought-out views he would listen intently, his hands clasped in front of him, and comment only at the end of the discourse. Foolish, shallow thoughts, however, could expect a sharp rebuke. By these means he disciplined his followers to sharpen their focus, improve their information, work harder and strategize more carefully (Smith 1999:89).

Nelson Mandela's listening and waiting till the end of deliberations before he speaks, closely matches that of the chiefly role, in which he emulates the model of leadership he was raised with under the Thembu Regent. Beyond this however, and perhaps even stronger in its influence is Mandela's party, who "...believe deeply in consensus, in what they call 'receiving the mandate'. It is wonderful to behold when people are serious about a participatory way of operating when the views of the least are taken seriously into account" (Tutu 1999:40). Yet this collective style was not always the one that Mandela chose to use, even if it was the preferred style. For he has been known to exercise what some would call *non-traditional style(s) of leadership*: "Certainly he continues to be attracted to what he perceives to be traditional notions of leadership and community but, as his history demonstrates, in his later career he was to exercise a completely different style of leadership – one in which personal initiatives had to usurp the imperative for consensus" (Lodge 2002:2)

However both these elements are seen clearly in traditional African leadership. It can therefore be argued that Mandela was just using the proverbial *two-edged spear of leadership*. The autocratic dictatorship and Hegemony of Kings is definitely seen alongside the consensus seeking of the Nguni of Shaka's day, even if the former is less evident among the Xhosa (Knight 1994:26-27). These two styles are most clearly contrasted by the classic prototype models of Shaka and Moshoeshe, who were almost the antithesis of each other in their respective autocratic and consensus seeking leaderships (Thompson 1975:216). This concept however of two diametric opposites can detract from the perception that both styles are seen to varying degrees in both Moshoeshe and Shaka alike. This duality is also seen in Mandela, who himself alludes to a conflict in styles in his recollection of the negotiation process once separated from Sisulu and the other prisoners:

I chose to tell no one what I was about to do. Not my colleagues upstairs or those in Lusaka. The ANC is a collective, but the government had made collectivity impossible. I did not have the security or the time to discuss these issues with my organization. I knew that my colleagues upstairs would condemn my proposal, and that would kill my initiative even before it was born. There are times when a leader must move out ahead of the flock, go off in a new direction, confident that he is leading his people the right way (Mandela 1994:526).

Possibly the style of leadership he is best known for is his open art of diplomacy with other political party leaders or heads of state as seen in his ability to win by negotiation or to

even employ compromise. Indeed, “Mandela’s moral endorsement of political compromise is generally perceived to have been indispensable in the success of South Africa’s ‘pacted’ political transition” (Lodge 2002:15). His remarkable stature owes something to the years served as a political prisoner and the awe surrounding a *living legend* whose *iconic stature* seemed to grow with every passing year. Not everything can however be attributed to a mythical legend: “By the 1980s, Nelson Mandela could with justification claim to be ‘the world’s most famous political prisoner’. Some of this fame arose from popular attention which his own actions commanded. At the time of his well-publicised court appearances his story exemplified old-fashioned virtues: honour, courage and chivalry” (Lodge 2002:5).

Values of Mandela’s leadership

The value of unity

Mandela has an exceptionally high value for unity, which for Mandela was achieved through a policy (or value) of reconciliation:

No other twentieth century leader, except Mahatma Gandhi, whose life was also forged by South African racism and paternalism, has aroused such adoration from his people as Nelson Mandela. Only he and Gandhi have been able to unite bitter foes by setting personal examples of their own humility and efforts to reconcile a nation torn apart by bigotry and fear (Smith 1999:18).

The value of unity was seen markedly in the need for solidarity among the black activists, and indeed all South Africans supporting universal suffrage. It was needed to activate an unbreachable wall of solidarity to stand against the onslaught of apartheid. This need for solidarity caused Mandela to *applaud* Winnie’s decision to stand under the banner of the Black Consciousness Black Parents Convention, for which she was detained:

Mandela applauded Winnie’s decision to work with black organizations which had political ideologies different from the ANC. He indicated this in a speech smuggled to the ANC which took two years to reach Lusaka: “The first condition for victory is black unity. Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed. Our people – African, coloured, Indian and democratic whites – must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance ...” (Smith 1999:44).

Perhaps these words of Mandela were among the greatest cries for unity that he issued. In this same address highlighting the need to engage the apartheid regime on multiple levels in order for the struggle to succeed:

Our people ... must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. Our struggle is growing sharper. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity. At all levels and in every walk of life we must close ranks. Within the ranks of the people differences must be submerged to the achievement of a single goal – the complete overthrow of apartheid and racist domination.

...We salute all of you – the living, the injured and the dead. For you have dared to rise up against the tyrant’s might. Even as we bow at their graves we

remember this: the dead live on as martyrs in our hearts and minds, a reproach to our disunity and the host of shortcomings that accompany divisions among the oppressed, a spur to our efforts to close ranks, and a reminder that the freedom of our people is yet to be won. We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun. Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule. *Amandla ngawethu! Matla ke a rona!* (Mandela 1980:44-45)

After coming to power Mandela continued to emphasise the importance of unity in bringing together the disparate tribal and racial groups that constitute South Africa. He used the concept of a Rainbow Nation to show the interdependence and oneness of the many racial groups while at the same time recognising their uniqueness. In Mandela's 1995 Reconciliation Day address he states:

The rainbow has come to be the symbol of our nation. We are turning the variety of our languages and cultures, once used to divide us, into a source of strength and richness. But we do know that healing the wounds of the past and freeing ourselves of its burden will be a long and demanding task. This day of Reconciliation celebrates the progress we have made; it reaffirms our commitment.... Today we no longer vow our mutual destruction but solemnly acknowledge our interdependence as free and equal citizens of our common motherland. Today we reaffirm our solemn constitutional compact to live together on the basis of equality and mutual respect (Mandela 1995:137).

The value of reconciliation

Nelson Mandela, who had already been made into a national icon while imprisoned, rapidly became a role model of reconciliation after his release. Desmond Tutu (1999:10) sums up some of his actions and his role in modelling reconciliation to the nation:

He invited his white jailer to attend his inauguration as an honoured guest, the first of many gestures he would make in his spectacular way, showing his breathtaking magnanimity and willingness to forgive. He would be a potent agent for the reconciliation he would urge his compatriots to work for and which would form part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission he was going to appoint to deal with our country's past. This man, who had been vilified and hunted down as a dangerous fugitive and incarcerated for nearly three decades, would soon be transformed into the embodiment of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Considering that Mandela was truly among the oppressed who had now emerged as the democratic victors, these gestures displayed a depth of insight way beyond any typical retributive desires. He saw that in order for, a land *thick with bloodshed* to be avoided, and a *new day of peace* to dawn, reconciliation would be essential to build a *New South Africa*. In President Mandela's inaugural speech – 10 May 1994 – he called on all South Africans to “enter into a covenant” upholding values of peace, unity, justice and reconciliation:

We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without fear in their

hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity – a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. We are both humbled and elevated by the honour and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist government. We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all. ... Never, never, never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another, and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the earth (Mandela 1994B:69-70).

But for Mandela, this reconciliation was a two-way street, a fact that was not always so clearly seen by his white counterparts and those who held power in the business community and other sectors of society still largely dominated by white interests. This reciprocal ideal was an unshakable perspective inherent to Mandela's concept of reconciliation. While reconciliation was offered by the oppressed in South Africa, it involved action from both sides. White South Africans would have to show a willingness to deliver. There was a huge need shortly after 1994 for white South Africans to meet the challenge and sacrifice their privileged position or even a portion of it; for more than just good will to flow from the oppressor to the oppressed, or in the words of Madiba's quoted:

“But the national reconciliation for which we continue to struggle cannot be founded on the preservation and perpetuation of the old order of white privilege and black deprivation. True reconciliation does not consist in merely forgetting the past. It does not rest with black forgiveness, sensitivity to white fears and tolerance of an unjust status quo on one hand, and white gratitude and appreciation underlined by tenacious clinging to exclusive privilege on the other. It has to be based on the creation of a truly democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society. A serious challenge faces our white compatriots to grasp fully the importance of their role in the efforts to achieve national reconciliation. ... Vengeance is not our goal. The building of a new nation at peace with itself because it is reconciled with its past is our objective” (Smith 1999:143-144)

Robert Mugabe had some 15 years earlier himself offered reconciliation in his impressive inauguration speech, quoted by Alec Smith (son of the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia):

“Tomorrow”, he had said, “we are being born again; born again not as individuals, but collectively as a people, as a viable nation of Zimbabweans ... It's tomorrow then, not yesterday, which bears our destiny ... Henceforth you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to another by a bond of national comradeship ... The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten” (1984:120).

Not only was this reconciliation offered by Mugabe a political masterstroke, but he also managed to balance words with actions by keeping on the former Rhodesian Supreme

Commander, General Walls and by always having at least one white in his cabinet in the first few years of his presidency. Yet it was but a few years later that the massacre of the Ndebele at the hands of the notorious North Korean trained Fifth Brigade reminded the few who knew the real magnitude of these attacks, of the past. These echoes from the past still whispered of the mysterious deaths of Herbert Chitepo (Mugabe's predecessor) and Josiah Tongogara (the commander of the ZANLA forces), both of whom died at the dawning of Zimbabwe's independence, and proved that not all had been completely above board during the liberation struggle (Chan 2003:17-18; 24).

Mugabe's real intentions of power at any price were seen years later with his use of the land issue to retain his place at the helm after rigging the 2001 presidential elections. The land issue was to have disastrous consequences for the economy of Zimbabwe. Mugabe's apparent change of heart towards reconciliation, can possibly be explained by the fact that reconciliation never really existed as a value for him. In the early 1980's he saw immediate benefit from marrying a government dominated by the Shona with an economy dominated by white commercial enterprise and hence reconciliation suited the immediacy of the circumstances. Unfortunately people all too readily believe a seasoned politician's words at the expense of looking more closely at his actions. He was far more ruthless in his eradication of the rural Ndebele than he was with the removal of the white farmers in 2001. A commission set up by the Catholic Conference for Justice and Peace recorded an estimate of 20 000 people killed in the Ndebele massacre (Sparks 2003:318).

Zimbabwe could have used her own Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for the offer of reconciliation by Mugabe came too cheaply. And true reconciliation, according to Tutu (1999:270) is not cheap, for if offered superficially the *ghosts of the past* will most certainly come out to haunt you, and in Zimbabwe's case there were more than enough! In contrast to Mugabe's rollercoaster message of reconciliation, Mandela managed to enact a straight and consistent reconciliation message. Perhaps one of his saving graces was that he had the humility to realise his human limitations even while some of the ANC's faithful would have wanted him elevated in the political arena to the god-like mythical status he had acquired on Robben Island. By naming his successor he chose a single term of office without proclaiming the honours of a "Life President" or the equivalent, as some South-Central African neighbours had done. Once proclaimed, things in the African world seem impossible to rescind for fear of losing face. Here too Mandela has achieved the seemingly impossible of deference and promising the minimal, while delivering on the essentials.

The values of magnanimity and forgiveness

Without doubt, Nelson Mandela represents more than any living South African the role model *par excellence* of magnanimity and forgiveness. Desmond Tutu's foreword to the biography, *Mandela: In Celebration of a Great Life*, shows his boundless big heartedness:

“Who can easily forget the scenes at Ellis Park when he walked onto the turf wearing Francois Pienaar's No. 6 on his Springbok jersey on the day of the final for the Rugby World Cup in 1995, when an overwhelmingly white crowd, mostly Afrikaners, broke out in reverberating chants: 'Nelson, Nelson, Nelson'. He has the knack of doing the right thing, which with some political leaders would be contrived or gauche. With him it turns out to be exactly what touches responsive chords in the people. He has bowled South Africans and indeed the world over with his extraordinary magnanimity, his readiness and eagerness to

forgive. He invited the widows of former South African political leaders of all persuasions and races to a tea party at the Presidency and charmed them off their feet. He stole the hearts of many Afrikaners, whom he had already attracted by supporting the Springbok emblem for rugby, by going to visit the widow of Dr Verwoerd in her Afrikaner exclusivist stronghold – Orania. Here he was having tea, at some inconvenience to himself, with the widow of the architect and high priest of apartheid. Unbelievable! He later had a meal with Dr Percy Yutar, the man who had prosecuted in the Rivonia Trial and who many believed had gone well beyond the accepted conventions in passionately demanding the death sentence for the accused. His magnanimity knows no bounds....” Archbishop Desmond Tutu, 1998 (Smith 1999:8-9).

Cassidy (2005:10) relates a story Mandela told him which shows the true spirit of generosity and magnanimity he holds towards all white South Africans, which supports Tutu’s view:

I remember him telling me a very moving story about the *Dominee* who used to come to prison and whom he saw quite often and they began to strike up a bit of a friendship. And he said that one day he – when the *Dominee* was coming – he kept a piece of fruit that he had been given for his lunch, a guava, and he presented this guava to the *Dominee* to give to his wife. And the *Dominee* was just overwhelmed by this act of graciousness and generosity. And then Mandela said the prison authorities realised that he was building up a relationship with this *Dominee* and he never saw him again. That sort of thing just made you want to cry and made you realise, you know, what culpability we have to answer for – what we did to black people, and where would we be but for the spirit of forgiveness that is in blacks generally and in Mandela particularly.

This value of forgiveness was not just a nice gesture. And far from being an act of weakness from a destroyed man stepping out of prison, it was part of a political strategy from a position of strength. Both Mandela and Graca Machel saw reconciliation and forgiveness as a necessary antidote to bring about peace (Sampson 1999:515, 525). This aspect of Mandela’s strategy was seen as essential to saving the country from a tragic end. Graca, like her husband, refuted any doubters who might have thought otherwise:

“He symbolized a much broader forgiveness and understanding and reaching out. If he had come out of prison and sent a different message, I can tell you this country could be in flames. So his role is not to be underestimated too. He knew exactly the way he wanted to come out, but also the way he addressed the people from the beginning, sending the message of what he thought was the best way to save lives in this country, to bring reconciliation. ...Some people criticize that he went too far. There is no such thing as going too far if you are trying to save this country from this kind of tragedy” (Sampson 2000:525).

In addition to Mandela’s magnanimity and forgiveness and arising out of these values, he has always seemingly managed to stay above the fray in an even-handed manner and acting in a non-partisan way, especially in matters affecting the state. Michael Cassidy relates the impact of Chris Hani’s assassination and Mandela’s subsequent address to the nation from a white South African perspective:

They glimpsed the massive resolution in the black soul to take over the country and put to death the iniquitous system of apartheid which had so dehumanized them. And with no white leaders anywhere in sight on television, but only Mandela addressing the nation as the heir apparent to the presidency, they saw power moving imperceptibly from the *de jure* government of President de Klerk to the *de facto* government of the ANC. In seeking to calm people, Mandela, in statesmanlike fashion, reminded blacks that it was a white Afrikaner lady and neighbour of Chris Hanu who reported the registration number of the vehicle in which the killer had escaped. He noted that it was a twenty-year-old white Afrikaner policeman, only two years in the force, who some minutes later had arrested the assassin. As white South Africans stared into this awesome happening they saw with eyes of fire that an assassination such as this was really the work of weakness. Whites now saw, and many for the first time, where real strength and moral authority lay (Cassidy 1995:19).

The Value of Humility

An example of Nelson Mandela's remarkable capacity to remain humble and himself ask for forgiveness is recorded by Desmond Tutu. When Tutu, as the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, was not the first as a matter of correct procedure, to be informed of Dumisa Ntsebeza's innocence from the findings of Judge Goldstone's report – he was understandably upset. The President had broken with protocol by phoning Dumisa first, and Tutu told the President's secretary that this was unacceptable! Tutu records what happened next; "Within minutes of my call the President was on the line. He said, 'Mpilo [my African name], you're quite right. I am sorry, I should have told you first, but I was concerned for that young man. I apologize.' Wow! I don't know that there are many with that level of greatness measured by their readiness to be humble" (Tutu 1999:207).

In his younger days, Mandela was a rather more arrogant person, confident in his own leadership abilities beyond what was normal for the racist society of his day. This was a much needed stance, but the way in which he voiced this confidence, clearly betrayed an arrogant streak:

Mandela could be a rough agitator. At one meeting the African communist J.B. Marks delivered a clear and logical speech describing how white supremacy could be overthrown, to frequent applause. Mandela, who had been instructed by his Youth league bosses to break up the meeting, arrogantly went up to Marks and insisted on addressing the crowd. "There are two bulls in this *kraal*," he declaimed. "There is a black bull and a white bull. J.B. Marks says that the white bull must rule this *kraal*. I say that the black bull must rule. What do you say?" The same people who had been screaming for Marks a moment earlier now turned around and said, "The black bull, the black bull!" (Sampson 2000:63).

Sparks attributes the development of humility, which was somewhat absent in the youthful Mandela, to the hardship of his prison days. As has been mentioned earlier, amidst the trying circumstances of Robben Island's monotonous routine and malicious punishment the prisoners were "...steeled but also imbued with a humility and a depth of human

understanding. They learned how to negotiate with the racist warders and how in the end to humanize them” (Sparks 2003:255-256).

Humility for the Robben Islanders, may have been born out of necessity in order to get through the harsh reality of prison life. For Mandela it was not so much a sign of defeat: it was doubtlessly pragmatic, but more importantly it gave him a platform from which to speak with the authorities, and enabled both prison needs and greater political ends to be met. According to Mac Maharaj, it also gave him the ability to see further than most:

Mandela learnt in prison that the humblest people can sometimes have the greatest insights. Mac Maharaj, former Minister of Transport, says, “His genius was that he gave leadership to a disparate body of prisoners to act in concert to improve prison conditions. But he never made prison conditions the sole reason for any interaction as there was always a greater political purpose. Madiba also conducted himself in such a way that the authorities could never have the excuse to close the door on him” (Smith 1999:65).

The Value of Strategic Conciliation:

It is significant that Nelson Mandela was more prepared than any other person for negotiations with the Nationalist government – more so than his exiled counterparts and certainly more so than President P.W. Botha. Mandela sparked the initial negotiations while still imprisoned through deliberate and long term discussions with Kobie Coetsee, at the time the minister of Justice, and others from 1985 onwards (Mandela 1994:525). He was under no illusions, knowing full well that these negotiations would involve compromise. He was under no illusions that negotiation would be at all easy, but he employed a political policy of conciliation while firmly resolved to safeguarding the non-negotiable objectives of the ANC. When Joe Slovo suggested the sunset clause, which broke a deadlock in the negotiating process during the CODESA talks of 1992, Mandela did not hesitate to add his support to the idea (Mandela 1996:193).

Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert mentions the various other parties involved in the behind-the-scenes negotiations before Mandela’s release, and later describes Mandela’s long-term role in the process of negotiations. A process for which he attempted to gain support as a viable option and the culmination to all other efforts:

The very notion of a negotiated transition in South Africa was a highly controversial and contested issue. For the NP under Botha it was inconceivable that negotiations would even take place other than on their terms and with whom they chose. I had personal discussions with Ramaphosa, Hani, Slovo, Tambo and Mbeki on the likelihood of negotiations. Almost without exception there was deep scepticism about this coming about, and transition through attrition was seen, if not as the preferred route, then the most likely one.

...The process of negotiation and the process of reconciliation became flip sides of the same coin. ...Given the past that I have alluded to, how did South Africans, across the spectrum, reconcile themselves politically, with a liberal democratic state; socially, with the ideals of an open society; and economically, with a market-driven economy? Some clues to the process that made this possible can be found in extracts from speeches by Mandela following immediately after this introduction. An example: “Negotiations must be viewed

as the culmination of all our efforts on different levels, through the use of a variety of methods, under different conditions to achieve our strategic objective – the transfer of power from the minority to the majority” (3 September 1993). In the old South Africa, this position would have been a provocation for violence and repression. In the new South Africa, majority rule was a non-negotiable for reconciliation (Van Zyl Slabbert 2003:98-99).

Reasonably speaking, if it was not for the commitment of the ANC and Nelson Mandela in particular to strategic conciliation – being willing to compromise on non-essentials in order to achieve universal suffrage – a negotiated settlement would never have come about.

Mandela’s Christian and political beliefs

Mandela’s Christian belief was not always an essential part of his life: “At Qunu, the only time I had ever attended church was on the day that I was baptized. Religion was a ritual that I indulged in for my mother’s sake and to which I attached no meaning. But at Mqhekezweni, religion was a part of the fabric of life and I attended church each Sunday along with the regent and his wife” (Mandela 1996:11).

While as a student Mandela seems to have developed something of a personal faith, and as a high school student, he was a Sunday school teacher for a few years (Meiring 2003:117). He even joined the Student Christian Association at Fort Hare and taught Sunday bible classes in the nearby villages (Mandela 1996:18). Later on, in pursuing the nationalist cause and being exposed to the communists and their ideals, Mandela dispensed with his early Christian beliefs (Sampson 2000:66). In the long term the more accurate perspective of Mandela’s faith is probably a pragmatic synthesis of these two world views after he came through a dissenting phase. Sampson reflects on this latter phase: “But, he was later to reflect in jail, the true saints in the fight against cruelty and war were not necessarily those who had mastered the scriptures, or who wore clerical robes” (Sampson 2000:66).

The morning before his inauguration as President he shared in the devotions of Kobus Meiring (the former administrator of the Cape Province) and his family, which in a letter of thanks written to the Meiring’s afterwards, he made special reference to. They had read to him from Psalm 121, so that, as he embarked on the Presidency, he would in his hour of need know the answer to the question: “Where will I find help? It will come from the Lord” (Meiring 2003:117, 65). His deep personal faith which was rekindled in prison, may have done more than most realise to inspire his political positions on forgiveness and reconciliation. It was in prison that Mandela was reignited with the “Christian spirit”:

On that occasion there [pointing to a photograph of himself and Mandela] in March 1993 when that particular picture was taken, I had another time with him in 1996 ... but he told me at that time when he was in prison that he never missed a bible study or a service or – you know something that was happening in the prison. He read his bible, I believe, faithfully and there was some kind of infusion of the Christian spirit there (Cassidy 2005:9).

This is not just wishful thinking or pure conjecture on Michael Cassidy’s part, for at a meeting between Mandela and the *moderamen* of the Dutch Reformed Church’s

(*Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk*) General Synod, the *dominees* (ministers) raised the hitherto unanswered question as reported by the missiologist P.G.J. Meiring (2005:11-12):

“Sir, forgive me for asking, but we *do* want to know: Are you a committed Christian? Have you accepted Jesus Christ as [your] personal saviour?” I vividly remember the future president’s answer. With a quiet smile, he put down his knife and fork, looked the dominee in the eye and said that the answer was “Yes” – but that he had long ago in prison decided that he will never use his personal faith as a political argument. That has too often happened in the history of our country, with dire and often very painful results.”

The debate over Mandela’s faith can be understood by two factors: Firstly Mandela decided, within the confines of Robben Island, not to use his own faith to espouse a political conviction (later he stayed true to this course and chose not to use it for political leverage). Secondly flowing out of this, it is important to understand that his faith has been kept essentially a private matter. However, one must not underestimate the impact of his belief system on the resistance culture movement, and *visa versa*. The resistance culture went far beyond Mandela and his associates on Robben Island, even beyond those in exile and the ANC at large, to something inherent in the culture of all African peoples, a point Graca Machel herself makes: “She saw the South African forgiveness as widespread, and part of a pattern through Africa: ‘It is there in our culture. When we are faced with such a challenge we draw from that culture which is deep inside ourselves’” (Sampson 2000:524-525). This attribute of forgiveness, of a willingness to see the best in others is closely associated with the African concept of *ubuntu*.

Mandela was brought up with the African notion of human brotherhood, or *ubuntu*, which described a quality of mutual responsibility and compassion. He often quoted the proverb “*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*,” which he would translate as “A person is a person because of other people,” or “You can do nothing if you don’t get the support of other people.” This was a concept common to other rural communities around the world, but Africans would define it more sharply as a contrast to the individualism and restlessness of whites, and over the following decades *ubuntu* would loom large in black politics. ...Mandela regarded *ubuntu* as part of the general philosophy of serving one’s fellowman. From his adolescence, he recalled, he was viewed as being unusually ready to see the best in others. ...[I]t was to become a prevailing principle throughout his political career: “People are human beings, produced by the society in which they live. You encourage people by seeing good in them” (Sampson 2000:12).

These notions of *ubuntu* and even concepts such as political independence were no doubt reinforced by a culture more specific to the resistance movements of Southern Africa. Yet Nelson Mandela’s political views, even if later refined by the nationalist credo of the ANC, can more precisely be traced to his childhood years as part of the regent of Thembuland’s household. The emphasis Mandela himself places on his circumcision bears this out. The main speaker at Mandela’s circumcision was Chief Meligqili. After beginning by saying what a fine tradition they were an extension of, he startled his youthful audience when the tone of his speech suddenly shifted:

“There sit our sons,” he said, “the flower of the Xhosa tribe, the pride of our nation. We have just circumcised them in a ritual that promises them manhood, but it is a promise that can never be fulfilled. For we Xhosas, and all black South Africans, are a conquered people. We are slaves in our own country. We are tenants on our own soil. We have no strength, no power, no control over our own destiny in the land of our birth. ...The abilities, the intelligence, the promise of these young men will be squandered in their attempt to eke out a living doing the simplest, most mindless chores for the white men. These gifts today are naught, for we cannot give them the greatest gift of all, which is freedom and independence” (Mandela 1996:15-16).

As has been indicated, his childhood Christian and tribal political concepts were baptised and remoulded in the ANC nationalist movement. In Mandela’s early days in the Youth League, he was highly influenced by people such as Walter Sisulu, with whom he had many discussions, both deferential and heated debates. As late as 1950, as president of the Youth League, Mandela still had doubts about joining forces with the communists, coloureds and Indians. In 1951 he argued in favour of the ANC independently organising mass action campaigns, but Sisulu in the ANC’s Executive Committee vehemently opposed him (Mandela 1994:123).

Mandela later came round to the idea of joining forces with other revolutionary agents after he was confronted by the likes of Ismail Meer and J.N. Singh. Once he had changed his views he did not look back and used his influence to permanently change the outlook of the whole Youth League towards the Communist Party in particular. These early nationalist ideas too were remoulded on the anvil of Black Nationalist writings and fired in the kiln of other South African communist and other Marxist writers. Beyond these, the works of Indian passive resistance gurus such as Nehru and Gandhi and many Western philosophers gave him a unique breadth of perspective. In all these philosophical writings he often read the more pragmatic ones in contrast to the more intellectual Tambo (Sampson 2000:65).

This pragmatism and the significant global changes taking place at the time possibly explain his willingness, once he became President, to traverse the canyon from a policy of nationalisation to a market driven economy. Over and above these influences his own personal faith was resurrected, and somehow as only hardship can do, he was forced to reconsider his childhood beliefs. It is probably true to say that while in prison it was actually his political beliefs that had undergone a *baptism of fire* from his reawakened Christian beliefs: “Many of his friends were puzzled and sceptical”, and at times he was seen to be going too far by his fellow ANC colleagues, who “balked at his more extreme acts of forgiveness” – even his ex-Robben Island inmates! (Sampson 2000:513, 515).

For Madiba, his was not just a personal faith that appeared to the outside world, if ever they should catch a glimmer of it, to be safeguarded on an individualistic level and thus to be deeply personal, but it was experienced within the community of Robben Island where he regularly attended bible studies and other Christian meetings (Cassidy 2005:9). However, Robben Island had cut him off from normal means of Christian support and community, and once released his celebrity status and political intensity had not afforded him the space to become a part of any of the regular channels available outside the confines of prison. In a meeting with his presiding Methodist Bishop, Bishop Mvume Dandala, Mandela was told the importance of not just being a general member, but of being connected to a specific

church as a member who has their name recorded in that church. The subsequent dialogue between the two men is reported by Professor P.G.J. Meiring (2005:12) the missiologist:

“I am aware of that”, the president said. “Will you please see to it that it is done”. With a smile Bishop Dandala answered: “I have already done so”. “You have already recorded my name?”, Mandela reacted with surprise. “Of which congregation am I a member?” “Mr President, your name is recorded in the books of the Qunu Congregation in the Eastern Cape”. “That’s correct. That is how it should be”, was Mandela’s reaction. “That is where I grew up as a young boy. That is where my home is.”

The basis for Mandela’s ability to cross socio-political boundaries

Mandela’s ability to cross socio-political boundaries are rooted in his childhood training. In Thembuland he learned of all the African heroes, not only those of Thembu decent. He was influenced by a number of chiefs, one of whom was Chief Joyi, an authority in Thembu oral history. Mandela relates Joyi’s belief that the divisions in the African peoples were deliberately caused by the white man. The unity between the tribes, found in the African understanding of *ubuntu* had been shattered:

Once, he said, the Thembu, the Pondo, the Xhosa, and the Zulu were all children of one father, and lived as brothers. The white man shattered the *abantu* [*ubuntu*], the fellowship, of the various tribes. The white man was hungry and greedy for land, and the black man shared the land with him as they shared the air and water; land was not for man to possess. But the white man took the land as you might seize another man’s horse (Mandela 1994:23-24).

Yet, oral tradition and tribal beliefs did not supply him with much more than theory. When Mandela went to school the tribes were still deeply divided. His crossing of boundaries had a lot to do with his own unique personality and willingness to enter into the other man’s world, which he did time and again in various academic institutions (Mandela 1996:16; 32). The roots of his trans-tribal ability can be traced justifiably (as they are alluded to by Mandela himself) to his own father’s willingness to entertain two amaMfengu brothers, George and Ben Mbekela. It was no coincidence that both brothers were strong Christians, and through their influence Mandela was baptised into the Methodist Church. Quite obviously this relationship that crossed the barriers of both tribe and belief, must have presented the young Mandela with a powerful role model for the future. These early seeds of faith even if they were only truly realised later on by Mandela, were reinforced by the Regent of Thembuland’s own adherence to the Methodist Church, which was part and parcel of the way of life at the royal kraal. Mandela’s own personal convictions developed more fully by the time he started attending Fort Hare, where as mentioned earlier, he taught bible classes in neighbouring villages and became a member of the Student Christian Association (Mandela 1994:9-11; 18).

Mandela’s concepts of national unity and reconciliation go beyond those of just values for value’s sake, but are deeply motivated by a political vision for national unity. Mandela understood the urgent need in Southern Africa for a philosophy that “bridged the divide” between the races; which provided for a “national cultural identity” (Mandela 1993:290). It was possible in South Africa’s case to achieve this by building a new morality based on

reconciliation and mutual respect. This was exemplified by Mandela on a personal level, where it flowed directly out of his tribal understandings of dignity and *ubuntu*, the Christian concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation, and an inherent culture of tolerance within the liberation movement. The key concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation were necessary as a political strategy:

Mandela remained adamant about the necessity to conciliate Afrikaners, which he saw as an act of courage, not of weakness. “We don’t need to remind ourselves about past evil,” he told me when I argued the point. “Courageous people do not fear forgiving, for the sake of peace.” Reconciliation was certainly crucial to his political strategy. The more he reached out to individual Afrikaners, the more he could divide and disarm them. Forgiveness was an aspect of power, establishing moral supremacy which reminded everyone that the balance had shifted. “You never quite know,” said one of Mandela’s colleagues, “whether he’s a saint or a Machiavelli” (Sampson 2000:515).

This vision of a new national unity, was to have a long term effect on South Africa, for as

Trevor Lekota says, “Mandela had a vision of a united country which he developed with his policy of national reconciliation. He piloted that more than anyone among our ranks. He also considered it very important for stability that the supporters of minority parties should be protected. Nelson was able to assure the international community of our commitment to democracy. He won them over to give maximum support to this fledgling democracy” (Smith 1999:148).

The policy of *national reconciliation* with which he re-entered South African society, was forged for Mandela in the confines of prison, where he combined the elements of his early youthful Christian convictions with his Nationalist ideology and the long shadows that moral giants such as Gandhi had left across the veld of South Africa. Gandhi’s philosophy of *Satyagraha* made an impression early on in Mandela’s life while he was still in the ANC Youth League and exploring the possibilities of peaceful demonstration before this concept was replaced by a more aggressive military one for Mandela. The policy (of national reconciliation) was backed up by a personality of such dazzling brilliance that at times it quite simply overpowered the previous racial order. No one was quite ready for Mandela’s vision, not even within his own party, save perhaps the likes of Tutu. So powerful was his bearing that all and sundry, from radical young black activists to rugby crazed Afrikaners were quite literally swept up in its river of light. Who would have dreamt that the rays of reconciliation and forgiveness could break forth from a dark and gloomy prison cell (in the reverse sequence to the metaphor of sunlight which penetrates from the outside in) in a way that so closely echoed the Christian message of the empty tomb?

How Mandela’s political/Christian convictions effected lasting national change

The changes that Mandela brought about, quite apart from the changes that his legendary status inspired were multiple. Perhaps chief among them was establishing the basis on which negotiations with the National Party could take place and which ultimately brought democracy to South Africa:

Publicly the government said it would talk with the ANC only if it renounced violence; the ANC responded by saying government also had to renounce violence. Mac Maharaj muses: “We brought democracy to our country, but not within the textbook theory of revolution that we had cut our teeth on politically in the 1950s, as the world had fundamentally changed by the mid-1980s. But whatever changes are, history writes down as its leaders ... [those] who have both the ability to detect its shifts and the courage to act on it. This is a measure of the leadership of Nelson Mandela, who decided in the isolation of his prison cell to take the initiative and open dialogue with the hated apartheid regime.... History will record that Madiba ... read the moment correctly” (Smith 1999:71-72).

Mandela did not stop in helping to effect lasting national change once his work in negotiations was over or even once his term as president was complete. In his retirement he continues to forge the future by putting a great deal of effort into the next generation of South Africans. In a film done by BBC Worldwide, David Dimbleby captures on tape Mandela’s commitment to raising the next generation:

A crowd of children waits to give Mandela the kind of welcome reserved for pop-stars. He devotes most of his time to the needs of the next generation – better education, better health – his children’s charity has a thousand calls for help every month. [Zelda la Grange comments] “What drives him is the need to make a difference in people’s lives, and he knows he’s got the ability to do that. If there’s a worthy cause to support he’s happy to be used to support that cause.” [Mandela himself is recorded next] “I may be held in no position; no power; no influence, but I can contribute in questions of poverty, questions of disease and so on. I can mobilize funds to support children because no country can succeed if the future leaders are not educated” (Dimbleby 2004).

Mandela also played a historic role in helping to create the basis of a new society in South Africa, based on dispensing a new morality for a new national culture. The arduous task of recreating a new society and Mandela’s influential role in this was not without hardships. He had to overcome the past, including personal prejudice and a state infrastructure geared towards a minority and subjugating the majority. He also had to quell white and particularly Afrikaner fears of a black state, and instil instead hope in the plausibility of a new united nation, a nation in which the disparate peoples could be remoulded in their cultural assumptions and values into a united people. In forging a new culture, Mandela did not blindly assume an assimilation model in which a dominating black nationalist culture swept up the majority in its volcanic flow as Neville Alexander had once believed:

He accepted the image of the rainbow nation, embracing all the colours, which had been popularized by Tutu and others; but he had never believed in “colour-blind nonracialism,” as advocated by many left-wing theorists. He still recalled his long debates on Robben Island about the “nationalist question” with Neville Alexander.... Mandela saw unifying South Africa as a more gradual process than Alexander did, in the ANC tradition. As Albert Luthuli had put it: “From the beginning our history has been one of ascending unities, the breaking of tribal, racial and creedal barriers.” Mandela remained sensitive to the cultures of different races and tribes, and warned the ANC not to forget the minorities. “During the transition,” he said in March 1993, “minorities everywhere will say:

‘If the change comes, what is going to happen to me, to my spouse, to my children, to the national group to which I belong, to the values in which I believe, to my possessions?’” He hoped for a Government of National Unity under which everyone could say: “I am represented in that government”⁷ (Sampson 2000:512-513).

Though he never categorically stated it, he seemed to understand that in order for his vision of a new nation to succeed, both tribal-ethnic identity and a new national cultural paradigm were essential. Only if the various groups felt secure in the fact that their cultural identities would be preserved and their rights as a minority protected would they buy into the new vision. And once they felt assured about their position, a new macro-culture, or as he called it a *national cultural identity*, was necessary to establish a newly united nation. These ideas are evident in the following two extracts from the opening address of the ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party Summit on 29 January 1990, and then his opening address of the Cultural Development Congress on 25 April 1993:

The attempts to divide our people along ethnic lines, to turn their rich variety into a dagger with which to pierce their hearts, must be made to fail. There can be no salvation for our beleaguered country but the realisation by all and sundry that we are one people – black and white. Cast in a mould that can be different, but one interdependent people all the same – irrespective of the political and ideological creed that each one of us might hold dear (Mandela 1990:117).

We too will die but that which we collectively contribute to our national cultural identity will live forever beyond us. We say ... begin today! Bridge the chasm, use tolerance and compassion, be inclusive not exclusive, build dignity and pride, encourage freedom of expression to create a civil society for unity and peace. We remain confident that a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state will be established in South Africa sooner rather than later (Mandela 1993:290).

In trying to verbally appease the Afrikaners who had now lost power, he was not so foolhardy as to believe that mere talk or empty words could bring about a new “national cultural identity” or salvage a nation heading down a slippery slope of a conflict that many believed would escalate to genocidal proportions. His tolerance for the Afrikaner went beyond the norm of the day to an understanding that his associates in the ANC needed to be aware of the sensitivities of the minority groups, especially the Afrikaner.

He was particularly concerned with conciliating the most dangerous minority, the Afrikaners with whom he was sharing government. He could not forget that they included, as he put it, “all sorts of people whose hands are dripping with blood.” But he had to make peace with them and make them feel part of the new nation: “We have to be alive to the sensibilities of the other group that has now lost power.” And his jail years had paradoxically left him with a special tolerance of the Afrikaners, and a belief that they could reverse their loyalties: “Once they change,” he would say, “They move 180 degrees” (Sampson 2000:513).

⁷ Nelson Mandela Speaks, p. 229.

Mandela has done much in creating a positive atmosphere in which a new South Africa – *The Rainbow Nation* – can flourish and conquer its past. He was and still is a catalytic agent striving for social transformation that is much needed by a nation comprising many peoples historically at odds with each other. He endeavoured to forge a new patriotism as a basis for a new nationhood in the aftermath of civil disobedience, military suppression, forced removals and demonstrations in which schoolchildren sacrificed their education for the liberation cause. For this to happen he realised he would need to forge a political strategy of reconciliation based in no small part on his Christian beliefs. He also knew that as an overflow of this a new national ethic of tolerance, forgiveness and mutual respect, or in Mandela's words, a new "social morality", had to be established and accepted by the majority. This was achieved because Madiba's actions matched his words, and so when he spoke, his words carried with them integrity and moral authority:

Mandela led by example, speaking again and again of the "great importance to assert the primacy of social morality among our people". He said this morality needed to "form part of a new patriotism which should inspire and motivate the majority of our people". It [is] needed to combat lawlessness, corruption, terror, and disregard for the norms of a just and equitable society: "...[C]ontinue the struggle to give life to ...the Freedom Charter – that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people as a whole" (Smith 1999:142).

He did not expect to be able to produce this on his own, nor did he see this work as exclusive to the ANC, but he continuously included others of all parties, backgrounds and religious persuasion in the process. All the while he actively sought the advice of the faith communities beyond the Christians, though they constituted a minority within South Africa, ensuring that they were not left out in the cold (Meiring 2005:12). And in actively pursuing the advice of the Christian community, in particular, Madiba reached out to the erstwhile institution and foster-parent of apartheid, the *N.G. Kerk*. He challenged the church to move beyond their past involvement in and complicitous relationship with apartheid and invited them to play a role in the formation of the new South Africa. To this end Mandela had a series of liaison meetings with the Dutch Reformed Church's General Synod (Meiring 2005:11).

It is true that this new patriotism, founded on a social morality for all South Africans is still in the process of being forged in the lives of some South Africans; for others there is still a denial of the loss of a previous privileged exclusivist position. Despite the fact that some South Africans have taken so long to grasp his vision for a common identity and others are still actively pursuing racist interests associated with the past, his very articulation of such a vision is exceptional when one keeps in mind his being so deeply wounded by apartheid's injustices. In time to come this new national patriotism based on a common social morality may indeed be the seedbed for a future truly multicultural South Africa that inspires lasting national societal change, as is already the case with so many South Africans.

4.5 A Brief Comparison and Initial Implications of the Three Political Models for a Multicultural Leadership Model

Table 4.5.1: Framework of comparison of the three Southern African political leaders

	Moshoeshoe	Smuts	Mandela
Structures	(As young man – in <i>Matlama</i> circumcision class /tribal command/consensus). Later employed 3 tribal envelopes: 1 st direct rule of king; 2 nd kinsmen territorial chiefs; 3 rd other chiefs in allegiance = a confederation. Multicultural councillors & tribe. Beyond “kingdom” a network of tribute-giving and alliances.	(As young man–in commando /small units –hierarchical but hands-on command of guerrilla war). Conventional military pyramid. Political top down command leadership. United Party members both Afrikaners & English. Ancillary/collegiate with British Prime Minister. In Commonwealth/League of Nations & UN an equal partnership envisaged or “Round Table”.	(In youth – tribal hierarchical command /consensus with king & later collegiate in the Youth League) Consensus/collegiate/ command structure of ANC. M-Plan - <i>Command /cell structure</i> of MK and the ANC underground (7 cells formed a zone, 4 zones in a ward & ward leaders reported to Nat. Exec.) & in prison. Multicultural Executive of MK. Coalition networks.
Style(s) (as a young man)	(As young man – leadership by domination & fear/ autocratic)	(As young man – authoritarian yet fiercely loyal to superiors)	(As young man – arrogant / militant)
Dominant	Open-handed; mercy seeking consensus and restorative justice; concession making; deferential with superiors.	Versatile yet commanding; tactical; stubbornly tenacious; leading from front; visionary but pragmatic; tactful but firm; ruthless.	Collaborative / collegiate; negotiation; dual consensus / command; hands-off listening but no nonsense approach; pragmatic.
Secondary	At times autocratic top down.	Accommodative.	Executive decision-making.
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	S1 in youth & at times as Paramount chief. S2/S3 in <i>pitso</i> & <i>lekhotla</i> was persuasive & accommodating S4 in outer marches kingdom	S1 in his military & political leadership – style most used. S2 –appears not to display. S3 with Churchill & occasion - ally with Hofmeyr. S4 with Van der Byl.	S1 in his executive decision-making displayed in prison. S2 with Youth League leaders. S3 with prison/ANC colleagues S4 with Thabo Mbeki.
Situational Apprentice -ship Styles AS1-AS4	AS1/AS2 with Mohlomi. AS3 as chief’s son in <i>pitso</i> , using Mohlomi’s concepts. AS4 in pioneering new tribe.	AS1 with Khoi mentor-Adams? AS2 with De la Rey in early commando days. AS3 with Botha in South West campaign. AS4 as state attorney & later Botha’s deputy.	AS1 in early days of ANC. AS2 with ANC Executive while president Youth League. AS3 with Sisulu as a young man. AS4 in forming MK.
Values	Unity & restoration; forgiveness, magnanimity & reconciliation; peace, service & <i>ubuntu</i> ; calculated humility.	Trust & unity expressed in natural development; reconciliation; loyalty to friends & magnanimity.	Unity; reconciliation; magnanimity; forgiveness (even-handedness); humility; strategic conciliation (negotiation / compromise)
Transcultural Ability	Traditional wisdom; Christian teachings – reconciliation; familial model – grandfather son of Nguni; contact with many peoples of Lesotho highveld & Kingdom founded on this.	Contact with English in law studies at Cambridge, England; holism; Christian teachings - reconciliation; political pragmatism.	Thembu royal court. Role model of father /amaMfengu brothers; tribal concept of <i>ubuntu</i> ; Christian forgiveness/ reconciliation; liberation culture of tolerance; <i>Satyagraha</i> .
Political / Christian Conviction	African traditional religion / Christianity / Synthesis of the two.	Holism; love of nature; Christianity; evolutionary creationist.	Christianity; African nationalism; traditional concepts of brotherhood/solidarity – <i>ubuntu</i> .

The historical context of the three political leadership models

Each of these leaders assessment began with a section titled, *A brief commentary on the life and rise to leadership...*, which provided a perspective on each leader's life and the historical context of each. From these can be gleaned a contextual understanding but beyond this it may be helpful to add a few brief pertinent thoughts on the historical context.

Critical to understanding Moshoeshoe's context is an understanding that his new tribe was the antithesis of the raiding sectarianism of his day, which was exemplified by the *Mfekane* and violent raiding of the Ndebele and Zulu (the Nguni) warriors. What is striking is that, despite the necessity of adopting Sotho customs as a standard in his new tribe, there was a breadth of diversity incorporated into his new *tribe* that was never before seen on quite such a scale. In Moshoeshoe's new kingdom there was also a tolerance for those living in the outer marches, who were allowed to retain their own tribal customs. In order to build a new inter-tribal Kingdom, new concepts of nationhood and a new morality were employed by Moshoeshoe seen within the tribal framework of the *Nkosi* or the *Morena e Moholo* and consensus seeking, while all the time employing Christian concepts that reinforced the traditional wisdom.

In the case of Smuts, his early years were set in the divided and antagonistic context of Anglo-Boer relations. It is however important to remember his personal close associations with British Southern African roots before this in his studying law at Cambridge. In order to dispense with acrimony and bitterness towards the British overlords he sought to build a new nation based on a common white South African understanding. His failure, as has been clearly stated, was his inability to see beyond a coming together of the two white races to include his fellow black, Indian and coloured South Africans. This inability was inspired by a paternalistic outlook, an attitude that was not uncommon in his day, but was held by the Western powers towards all the indigenous peoples in their colonies.

With Mandela, the timing of his direct national leadership is more akin to present day Southern Africa. Particularly his emphasis on reconciliation and partnering in coalition can be seen as key ingredients in the ongoing development of a new national identity. The societal norms as Madiba came out of prison were such that the average South African did not perceive that such a national fusion was possible. The expectation was of an amorphous conglomerate, or worse still, an illegitimate child of no cultural distinction. Yet Mandela was able to recognise – beyond the bloodshed of the Zulu and Afrikaner, the ANC and PAC – a nation through whose veins flowed pride instead of hate; a nation who would achieve the hitherto impossible: peace in Madiba's time.

A brief comparative analysis and initial application of the three political models

In comparing and contrasting the three political leadership models of Moshoeshoe, Smuts and Mandela, there is a striking resemblance among the three. Firstly, each had a close association with a smaller group in their military and/or political activities. For Moshoeshoe his *Matlama* may have been of a moderate size, but still comprised of a smaller group of loyal followers from his circumcision class. Smuts' commando formed a small, mobile and loyal group of fighting men, and Mandela's was displayed in the cell structure of the MK and the ANC High Organ in the confines of Robben Island. Each leader developed new structures, even if for Smuts this was in the main true in the international arena, choosing to use traditional structures and/or adapting them at home.

Each of them showed that they could operate with more than one dominant style and each of them displayed the various situational leadership and apprenticeship styles (S1 to S4; AS1 to AS4 – see Figures 1.1 and 1.2 on page 11) required in different situations. Though a certain degree of conjecture has been applied, it appears Smuts jumped directly to AS2 in his situational apprenticeship style, possibly a function of his sheer brilliance and/or his early learning from his Khoi mentor – Outa Adams – in some regards. Smuts' shows a further gap with no record being found of his exercising an S2 style of leadership, which indicates a certain lack in his leadership arsenal due to his aversion for delegation, which neither Mandela nor Moshoeshoe suffered from.

Their values significantly overlap, with all three displaying national unity, reconciliation, magnanimity and forgiveness, while Moshoeshoe and Mandela both displayed a capacity for calculated humility or strategic conciliation that was part of their political strategy. Each had an ability beyond the norms of the day to cross the socio-political boundaries, which was motivated in part by their Christian convictions, even if Smuts was unable to cross the black/white divide. However beyond their Christian beliefs, the other bases to their transcultural abilities varied significantly apart from an overlap for Moshoeshoe and Madiba in tribal concepts of *ubuntu*. Yet on a pragmatic level each was impacted at a young age by the example of others and/or because of their contact with other tribes/ethnicities. For each man his Christian faith was very personal, even if Moshoeshoe's, Smuts' and Madiba's faith and/or conversion are thought to be hanging in the balance (a perspective this thesis has to some extent disproved, if not entirely in the case of Madiba).

Each sought a greater national unity based upon the concept of a synthesis of the tribes and/or ethnic groups represented. In Moshoeshoe's case this is perhaps seen most clearly, in part because of the time that has elapsed since his death, but also because of the success of the founding vision of the first King of Basutoland (now the Kingdom of Lesotho) to produce a kingdom identity within a highly disparate group of tribes and outcasts of society. The protégé of that vision, today would all call themselves singularly Basotho, even if their roots are still discernable. Beyond the fact that even Khoi-Khoi and perhaps a few whites were part of Moshoeshoe's kingdom, Mandela's vision of a new patriotism that will foster a new national identity is perhaps the most far-reaching of all three visions. Unlike Smuts he included all South African's in his and Tutu's dream of a Rainbow Nation who would in their values and conduct welcome all South Africans.

There are many useful implications, for today's Southern African city context, raised by this tabulated analysis of the three political models of leadership, such as the significance of a small group/cell structure and the coalition-networks/equal partnerships on the micro and macro-levels respectively, seen in each leader's life, as well as the need to develop new relevant structures to both counteract and cater for a progressively more individualistic Southern African postmodern society. From a brief survey of Table 4.5.1 it would appear that a highly versatile, yet at times executive leadership style is required. Values of reconciliation, forgiveness, and magnanimity may be as necessary to heal the internal wounds of this generation as they were the more external ones of Mandela's presidency.

With these brief thoughts, any initial inputs into a proposed multicultural model of leadership will be reviewed in more detail later, at the end of chapter 5; an initial synthesis of the model (tabulated format) will be delayed till chapter 6; and a detailed analysis and investigation into the implications of this multicultural model will be delayed till Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 5: LEADERSHIP MODELS OF THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CHRISTIAN LEADERS

5.1 Introduction

As chapters 4 and 5 are so closely aligned, the logical progression of the first three chapters will not be reiterated here but chapter 4 will be briefly commented on, for the benefit of the reader. In chapter 4 the thesis looked at the separate models of three political leaders. Their innate ability to serve as strategically transcultural leaders lay within each one's philosophical outlook or belief system expressed in and through their models of leadership. Their leadership models are analysed in chapter 4 in terms of their values, styles and structures, their ability to cross socio-political boundaries and their belief system used in their model of leadership. These political leadership models have a historical bearing on firstly the interpretation of the three Christian leadership models analysed here and secondly in synthesizing a multicultural leadership model relevant to Southern African cities for today.

Chapter 5 similarly looks at the leadership models of three 20th/21st century Christian leaders. As in chapter 4 the Christian convictions/belief systems of Mutendi's, Cassidy's and Tutu's, and the basis to the varying transcultural abilities of these leaders are examined. This thesis postulates that as was the case with chapter 4's political leaders, the ability to cross barriers was specifically motivated by an innate ability and understanding outside of mainstream thinking of their times. The chapter progresses as follows:

1. A brief commentary on the life and rise to leadership of the three Christian leaders including their various organisations and any relevant historical details – each in turn.
2. The model(s) of leadership employed by the three Christian leaders assessed in terms of their values, styles and structures used – each in turn.
3. The Christian beliefs/philosophies of each of the three models. Attention is given to Mutendi's belief system and the immediate transition of this after his death. Present leadership styles/structures employed are briefly reviewed – as this example of an African Initiated Church (AIC) provides the basis of *Antithesis* to this thesis.
4. The ability of each to traverse societal and racial boundaries – assessed individually.
5. The way each leader inspired national philosophical shifts, and/or tribal changes.
6. A tabulated framework of comparison of the three models, including a brief analysis, noting the historical contexts and initial implications of all six models of leadership (three political and three Christian) for a Southern African multicultural model relevant to today's Christian organisations within the cities of Southern African.

The thesis will further analyse the lives of the three transformational Christian leaders from the 20th century and the early 21st century in terms of the prophetic/visionary/strategic stances that each employed in bringing change to society at large. In looking at their leadership models consecutively, it is hoped that an understanding of continuity and discontinuity between each model will be evident. This analysis will contribute greatly to the *synthesis* stage in defining what a multicultural model of leadership should comprise of. The validity of the thesis proposal that *successful incarnation of the gospel into a multicultural context requires models of leadership that both enhance multiculturalism and also promote the underlying multiple cultures albeit from the platform of a common – but not exclusive – language and ethos* will be tested through this ongoing synthesis.

5.2 Samuel Mutendi

*A brief commentary on Mutendi's life and rise to leadership*⁸

Mutendi's birth is estimated to be around 1890. As there are no established records, he could possibly have been born as early as 1888. His son Nehemiah Mutendi, the current Bishop of the Zion Christian Church, of which Samuel Mutendi was the founder, believes that he was between the ages of 23 and 25 when he joined the British South African Police (BSAP - later called the Zimbabwe Republic Police) in 1910 (Mutendi 2005:13). Little is known of his early life before joining the BSAP, but: "He was interested in social activities like traditional music, he was good [on a traditional instrument] and he would lead his group ... and he would really perform. He was not known for anything else besides entertaining his people; you would say he was an artist" (Mutendi 2005:13).

It can be presumed that as the people who trained in the police force in those days were tough individuals, Samuel Mutendi, according to Nehemiah, must also have been very strong. Nehemiah relates that in 1913 (Daneel's date of 1919 amended to line up with Nehemiah Mutendi's interview), while working as a policeman in the BSAP, Samuel Mutendi was told by an angel that he would have his own church in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). In fact, according to his son it was one such visitation by a *man* (which has been taken to mean angel) whilst on parade and the ensuing speaking in tongues and swaying that caused his discharge from the police. Subsequent dreams were followed by the overwhelming presence of the Holy Spirit, accompanied by speaking in tongues. These dreams bore a great resemblance in visible expression and conduct to the seizures experienced in traditional *shavi* possession. Daneel himself calls these possessions "syncretic, yet felt to be truly Christian", but beyond even this, the label of "*shavi* possession" could just be a Western inability to discern and separate form from substance, as they were clearly seen by Samuel Mutendi and interpreted by his son Nehemiah Mutendi as being visitations from the Holy Spirit (Daneel 1971:289, 292; Mutendi 2005:13-14).

During one of these dreams an angel appeared to him and told him that the church he had been told about previously was the Zionist Church. Mutendi perceived his calling as being similar to that of Moses or Isaiah. Prior to this clear indication that he was indeed to join the *Zion* church, he had sought help from the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). His brother was a teacher with the Dutch Reformed. As Samuel sought help both spiritually and practically in learning to read and write, he was told by his brother that he would have to send one of his wives away (he had two at the time) if he was to be acceptable to God. He sent his wife away, but still the DRC did not accept his faith-expression, having asked Rev Malan in two letters as to whether his spirit possessions were acceptable, he never received a reply. Yet the DRC did provide him with a basic understanding of Christianity and indirectly through a brother (Daneel mentions an uncle) who taught for the church provided him with literacy skills (Daneel 1971:292; Daneel 1987:55; Mutendi 2005:13).

Not much is known of the foundations to his early beliefs provided by the DRC, nor of his employment after working as a policeman, except that Samuel Mutendi from Bikita and Andreas Shoko of Chibi are both listed by W.J. van der Merwe in his book, *From Mission Field to Autonomous Church in Zimbabwe* as having been members of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) and serving as assistant teachers in schools on mission station

⁸ This first section is taken by and large from Inus Daneel's work: Daneel (1971), Daneel (1973) and Daneel (1987). Wherever these works were supplemented or for clarity, the quotations have been clearly referenced.

outposts for the DRCM (Van der Merwe 1981:220). Morgenster Mission of the DRC opened a teachers' training school in 1911, and among other subjects taught Bible and Church History, however, the training was not academic, but was oriented towards character development (Zvobgo 1996:236-237). Thus it is entirely possible that as an assistant teacher, Samuel Mutendi would have received a foundational understanding in the two subjects mentioned above (whether in full or in part; directly or indirectly from the curriculum at Morgenster), even if it was non-academic and highlighted lifestyle issues. Yet it is not likely that Mutendi was ever a full member of the DRCM. As the DRC ministers prepared to baptise him, he rejected baptism by sprinkling and asked for baptism by full immersion in the river, which they refused to do (Mutendi 2005:13).

It would take ten years (from 1913 until 1923) of struggling with his convictions before Samuel Mutendi would gain clarity of direction in his calling. Mutendi and his younger friend, Andreas Shoko, became discontented with the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), sensing that conversion alone was insufficient in addressing the African needs. Mutendi and Shoko originally travelled to South Africa as migrant labourers, but once there, they soon became connected with the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM), which had previously broken away from the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa (ZAC in SA). The reason for seeking employment in South Africa, and not withstanding his religious convictions, was primarily a desire to obtain cattle. A Shona's wealth, particularly for rural men, is tied up with livestock and more particularly how many cattle he has. Yet even as he went he had a dream in which *the man* or angel, showed him a card on which was written *Zion*, revealing to him that this was the church that he sought (Mutendi 2005:14).

In 1923 the two Shona migrants, Samuel Mutendi and Andreas Shoko, having reached the Transvaal, were baptized into the ZAFM in the *Zionist Jordan*, a river just outside Pretoria. This was done not by the church's founder; a charismatic figure called Edward of Basutoland, but by a leader called Engenas Lekhanyane who baptized them. The fact that Lekhanyane, and not Edward, baptized them proved to be an important consideration as events unfolded. After Mutendi's baptism he sensed the Holy Spirit resting on him and he spoke as one anointed. However, he waited a year before this sense of the Spirit changed from one of resting on him to, "entering into me", as Mutendi himself referred to the change (Daneel 1971:292). Mutendi was appointed as the "Zionist emissary to Rhodesia". Andreas Shoko, having thrown his lot in with Mutendi, told others to vote for him: "You must all vote for Mutendi because he is my senior (*mukuru*) for whom I cooked food during the journey from Rhodesia" (Daneel 1971:293). Apart from Mutendi's seniority in age, he came from a superior Shona tribe, the *vaRosvi*, once a powerful Kingdom whose influence was extensive and Mutendi himself was of Royal lineage (Daneel 1971:291-293).

Two other Zionists, Mtisi and Masuka, who had returned to Zimbabwe some years earlier as part of Mhlangu's church, were found in a *backslidden* state by Mutendi upon his arrival back in that country. They had fallen prone to the pressures coming from three different directions – the Mission churches, the Government Administration and the indigenous chiefs, which had all but cancelled out the initial thrust. Masuka was reinvigorated and accompanied Mutendi on his preaching circuits. Even though they belonged to different factions of the Zionist church, the two leaders at the time also felt that their church was one and the same. Having been encouraged by Edward before leaving to preach on John the Baptist, Mutendi did this by using as his text Luke 3 and as his central theme the work of John the Baptist, which was accompanied by possession of the Spirit (Daneel 1971:294).

Daneel comments on baptism and the possession of the Spirit: “These two typically Zionist characteristics, in addition to faith healing through the laying-on of hands, at that time indicated the new ‘Church program’ on which this ‘man of God’ could be expected to elaborate in the future” (Daneel 1971:295).

It would appear that Mutendi at first preached only to his relatives and fellow Rozvi kinsmen in the predominantly Rozvi village and later beyond this to the Rozvi living in the Bikita district. In this initial drive it was mostly his close tribal relatives from his immediate nuclear family and on the maternal side of the extended family, as well as the more distantly related Rozvi from the immediate neighbourhood, who formed his campaigning team. In the next stage of growth it was also his first converts from among his relatives that formed the nucleus of his leadership when the church extended beyond the immediate vicinity of the Bikita district. The church, however, did not grow within one tribe only, for the Rozvi had long since lost their Kingdom and were spread out among various chiefdoms, as were others. Soon the message was spread from the scattered Rozvi within these chiefdoms and it was these chiefdoms whose inhabitants were preached to. Thus in its early stages the work represented tribal churches, with the leader and followers all living within the same chiefdom. However, this phase was soon outgrown as considerable numbers from further afield were added to these tribal churches. Foreigners were appointed in addition to the leader’s relatives due to their leadership qualities, and it became truly trans-tribal in its composition (Daneel 1971:295, 457-458).

Beyond the changing composition of his congregation(s), there was later on also a change in direction in campaigning and the movement to and of the sick. In the beginning Mutendi was constantly on the move, campaigning (*rwendo*) and covering a lot of ground just to visit and heal the sick. However, this was superseded by the circumstances surrounding Mutendi’s reputation being established as a faith-healer, as Daneel (1970:17) explains in his appraisal of *Zionism and Faith Healing in Zimbabwe*:

But the throngs of sick people, barren women and later even chiefs, restricted his mobility and forced him to concentrate on the extension [*sic*] of his settlement “Zion City” – also called Moriah or Jerusalem. Now the sick came to him. As the various tasks of Independent Church leaders came to be more clearly demarcated, he could increasingly depend on a number of reliable, resident prophets, while he personally treated the more critical cases. In the course of time Mutendi’s prophetic function, when it concerned the diagnoses of illnesses by the Holy Spirit, was transferred to junior delegates. More and more he concentrated on Church organization, the consolidation of an ever-expanding sphere of influence, interviews with church leaders of remote communities and sporadic visits to chiefs affiliated to his Church.

In 1925 Engenas Lekhanyane, who was a prominent leader in the ZAFM broke with Edward’s church and persuaded Mutendi to join him in forming the Zion Christian Church (ZCC). Lekhanyane’s own breach of the church rules by taking a second wife was the stated reason for leaving, but quite possibly his own leadership ambitions were the primary motivation. Though polygamy was considered a serious offence, subsequently the church became more lenient and later on even argued for it in Zimbabwe. Mutendi was encouraged by Lekhanyane’s insight into his dream that he, Mutendi, was the one who

would take the message of the *True God* to Nyasaland (now Malawi). This was the catalyst that caused him to change his loyalty.

Shoko, however, remained loyal to Edward and established the Shona branch of the ZAFM in 1931. But his group, being rent by schism in years to come, achieved nothing like the status of the ZCC under Mutendi, who was attributed as possessing something akin to mystical powers (Van der Merwe 1981:221). Immediately prior to the breach with Edward, Mutendi had been ordained as a minister, which meant he had the same rank as David Masuka. This was to serve him well in the future establishment of his own church, as he was now on equal terms with Masuka, the highest ranking Zionist in Rhodesia at that time.

It was the Zionist Christian Church that grew most rapidly into a national movement with Mutendi using to great advantage his past heritage as a Rozvi of royal lineage and his abilities in rainmaking and healing. These not only attracted ordinary villagers, but soon had the effect of drawing on the loyalty of the paramount chiefs. And like Lekhanyane in the Transvaal – whose church became the largest Zionist church in South Africa and boasting a massive *Zion City* near Polokwane, formerly Pietersburg (Sundkler 1976:66) – so Mutendi extended the ZCC. Mutendi did this in political conditions not entirely favourable and in some instances extremely hostile. The ZCC was changed into a “well-organized movement” comprising an extensive network of churches with its headquarters and centralised administration in *Zion City* (Daneel 1971:287; 1987:55).

During the early years, Mutendi made several trips to South Africa and modelled his church after Lekhanyane's. However, after Engenas Lekhanyane's death in 1948, the early ties were loosened. Several factors contributed to this change: Mutendi was refused permission to attend the funeral by the Rhodesian government; secondly the government applied greater control over the ZCC; and lastly the ties were finally undone when Edward (also known as Eduard) Lekhanyane having succeeded his father, paid Mutendi a visit. By that stage, the church in Zimbabwe had become fully autonomous – assisted unwittingly by the restrictive policies of the Rhodesian administration – and Mutendi himself had become a powerful leader. Thus as one of the original founders of the church he claimed superiority to the junior Lekhanyane and the separation was complete.

Not everything in this new Zimbabwean initiated church was plain sailing, for between 1929 and 1961 the Zion Christian Church of Bishop Samuel Mutendi was to suffer no less than thirteen schisms. However, despite the number of break-aways, Mutendi's church remained solidly in place. The faction leaders failed to gain a significant following, with none exceeding a following of some 200 members. This was largely due to the prominence of Mutendi (Daneel 1971:310). Mutendi was determined to build his *Zion* and established a *hospital* using prayer and faith-healing. He also made use of modern agricultural techniques, and established a school in association with the government.

One of the schisms occurred in 1929 when Manhiwa dissented with two sub-leaders, Jarnos Shuro and Munyengedzwa. The reason for this was mounting tension in the leadership of the ZCC due to Mutendi's stance on schools, which had been met with increasing pressure from both tribal and government authorities. Manhiwa broke with Mutendi after Mutendi unlawfully opened a non-authorized school in the Gutu district. Manhiwa herewith attempted to distance himself from Mutendi so as to not jeopardize his own position with the Government authorities and his chances of leadership in general. So in an action that

could be construed as opportunistic, these three cut ties with Mutendi and continued their activities with much smaller groups so as not to attract any undue attention. Yet over the course of time, Manhiwa and Shuro fell back on their African Traditional Religion and Manhiwa became a spirit medium (*svikiro*). Munyengedzwa and the remaining secessionists then joined Masuka, who was originally a leader in Mhlangu's church, the ZAC of SA, but whose own church was now called the Ndaza Zionists.

Mutendi originally established his headquarters in the Bikita district, which became a centre for healing to which people travelled from far and wide, and by the 1960s it comprised some 200 huts just for his hospital. However, due to government intervention the headquarters was moved shortly after the border dispute between Mukangangwi, the Duma chief, and the paramount chief of the Rozvi, Chief Jiri, to the Gokwe district. Mutendi aided Chief Jiri, but to no avail and his appeal to the Supreme Court concerning the border dispute was rejected. Central Intelligence people were monitoring the ongoing situation as the government was worried that his influence was already far too great, and tried to neutralise Mutendi by sending him and Chief Jiri to Gokwe. Even while this was happening, Mutendi provided leadership by doing a reconnaissance of the new Gokwe area that had been provided for Chief Jiri. He also helped in the coordination and financing of the Rozvi exodus from Bikita, for which the government in its dereliction of duty provided no assistance. After some of the Rozvi's original schools had burnt down, they had by 1965, just completed building a new school, which received high praise from the Catholic missionaries. So it was with great sadness that the Rozvi had moved, but on arrival in the Gokwe district, the first thing they did was to erect a new school. In all this relocation, it is doubtful whether such a large scale migration could even have been possible without Mutendi's intervention (Daneel 1987:125-127; Daneel 2005:19; Mutendi 2005:16-17).

The Zionist Christian Church under Mutendi had their own *Zion City* where there was only one religion, Zionism, and the whole village became the church headquarters where Mutendi performed the function of both religious leader and headman. These roles were seen in a far larger and celebrated manner as he gained prominence as the founder of a large and growing African Initiated Church. Communal worship when Mutendi was still alive happened daily and the city acted as a hospital for the sick who visited. The prophets prayed for the sick daily, and the day's work, whether physical or spiritual, were determined by Mutendi and his appointed officials. After 1965, once the Rozvi were resettled in Gokwe and after the inevitable rebuilding of community life both tribally and within the ZCC that this entails, not only did Mutendi re-establish a *hospital* using prayer and faith-healing, but he literally translocated his *Zion City* to the new district of Gokwe. Thus *Zion City* was in time reborn with all its facilities, providing in like manner as it had done in Bikita. A change in the white government's attitude towards Mutendi's church later on allowed for a greater leniency towards the ZCC by local government officials. This set the stage for a consolidation of the church and Mutendi's work and gave the space for Mutendi's national stature and the influence of Mutendi's ministry to extend in an ever increasing reach beyond Zimbabwe's borders (Daneel 1971:457; 1987:103-105).

Even as the ministry grew and Mutendi's role changed from one of prophet-healer to more of an administrator, the healing practices did not cease. After there had been fundamental changes in the leadership with younger men performing the prophetic functions at the hospital, Mutendi did not stop all his own activities and those of his ministers (*vafundisi*) beyond the hospital. There were still annual campaigns where the *vafundisi* and evangelists

were sent throughout the nation in their various capacities as prophets and healers. Mutendi himself at times prayed for healing when the three *Pasika* (Passover) Feasts happened at Moriah, which sustained and furthered Mutendi's reputation as faith-healer and the *Man of God*. The campaigns in which the ministers and evangelists were sent out had the twin-strategy of recruiting new members and visiting more remote communities and regions to inform them of the recent happenings at Moriah.

In the 1970s, after a season of being away, Daneel again went to visit Mutendi:

He was then old and frail, he was not embittered, he had actually grown in stature as a liberator, as a resistance figure in relation to the white administration. So even at that stage still hanging back from total support of *Chimurenga* – the liberation struggle – because in the 60's he was actually having the prophets detect the political cards of ZANU and ZAPU and they had to burn it to retain membership in the church. So it was also that conflict, on the one hand he was a total nationalist and appealed to the past, on the other hand he did not want too much political involvement, but I think he was already leaning a lot towards supporting a *Chimurenga* towards the end there (Daneel 2005:19).

Bishop Samuel Mutendi died in 1976, and after his death his sons Reuben and Nehemiah succeeded their father in running the church. However, at some point they had a quarrel and both left Gokwe, each forming his own church. Reuben moved to Bikita and Nehemiah to Mbungo Estates just outside Masvingo; the latter still maintained Zion City at Gokwe (Mackay & Motsi 1988:361-362). Both claimed authenticity by numerous prophetic visions and supernatural signs (Daneel 1988:280), but what had been the difference according to Nehemiah – though it was true that Reuben was favoured by some of the church leaders – was that his leadership had been firmly established over fifteen years prior to his father's death (Mutendi 2005:17). As an apparent result of this official sanctioning the ZCC under Nehemiah has prospered more than the section of the church under Reuben, mirroring the respective sizes of the two Zionist churches under Engenas' sons, Edward and Joseph (cf. Anderson 2000:71). Nehemiah's has initiated a number of development projects at Mbungo Estates, and though there has been a continuity of Samuel Mutendi's work, Nehemiah's strength is predominantly that of an administrator and pragmatic enabler. He has built on his father's legacy in providing a significant central administrative infrastructure for the church and the physical needs of the members through concerted efforts in development.

There has been significant progress or change in the church's policy towards the government. The ZCC is no longer seen as an institution resisting the harsh conditions laid out by a white government, nor is it seen as somewhat neutral – if at times more supportive in general of the chief's authority than the guerrillas in the liberation war years. The church is now more of a co-worker of the government of Robert Mugabe in the arena of development, though it would be true to say that this is not so much a change of policy but of attitude for even Samuel Mutendi participated with the Rhodesian government in the areas of agriculture and the development of education (Mackay & Motsi 1988:362-364).

Nehemiah has managed to sustain the resistance legacy of his father by maintaining a public pro-ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Council – Patriotic Front) image, but just how this relationship is played out beyond the public face with so many members

experiencing what has become known as the *economic tsunami* of the recent political climate is not known. Beyond development, Nehemiah has slackened the church's position on attendance of government clinics where Western medication is used. Whereas this practise, along with traditional measures used by *n`angas*, was previously condemned by his father, he has left purification rites (to be administered after going to a clinic), as a matter of individual choice rather than church policy. This stance may in part be because he has not inherited the gift of healing, but it may also be due to a desire to work with government policy on Public Health.

Nehemiah has further rather shrewdly seen his role in the area of synthesising the work of his father, with a greater appreciation for an orthodox position regarding the Gospel. He has thus furthered the church's Christological understanding and significantly reduced his role from the *Man of God* who intercedes with God on behalf of his church (in the mode of an Old Testament prophet), to more one of a denominational head who together with others seek God through Jesus the Son (Mutendi 2005:15; Mackay & Motsi 1988:367-368).

When looking back at the foundations of the ZCC in Zimbabwe, the early exploitation of Samuel Mutendi's Royal Rozvi lineage and his connections to both close and distant relatives of the Rozvi clan is intriguing. In the initial stages this no doubt helped in the early establishment of Zionism as a new religion among the chiefdoms. Later, as his reputation as a *Man of God* with Royal bearing grew, paramount chiefs came to visit, adding prestige and weight to his *faith-healing* and prayers for rain. It is debatable just how far this carried over into mission trips further afield and how much bearing this has on the present leadership of the late Mutendi's son, with tribal roots and royal heritage fast becoming less relevant in today's Zimbabwe. But one thing seems certain: within Shona society, chiefs and villagers alike could come to Zion City during Samuel Mutendi's days and experience great annual festivals, gaining a taste of the kingdom of the past whilst experiencing a foretaste of the Kingdom that is to come.

Structures employed in Mutendi's model of leadership

Mutendi, once he arrived back in Rhodesia, initially used traditional structures to establish his church. Not only did he seek to preach to and convert his close relatives and his more distant Rozvi kinsmen, but he also used these first converts to form the nucleus of his leadership when the church began to expand beyond the immediate vicinity of his home village, and in its early stages it had the composition of a strictly tribal church. What is striking, however, is that in many African Initiated Churches (AICs – also called African Independent Churches) leadership not only extended along kinship lines, but as the church grew foreigners were added to the leadership as and where they displayed natural leadership ability (Daneel 1971:457-459). In this manner, Mutendi transformed traditional structures of leadership by employing foreigners, while also providing for continuity of the traditional structures in the significant roles that his relatives played.

Beyond these two aspects, Samuel Mutendi even ultimately applied *leadership inversion* by promoting a younger son to take over the helm of the church over and above the second eldest son – Engenas (or Engenasi) favoured by the elders of the church. In this manner, Mutendi used the principle of “inversion of the traditional order” used in AICs (Daneel 1987:157), for his choice of a successor was not his firstborn son of his first house. In such cases of succession, leadership can be chosen on the basis of the relative spirituality of the

son, but in the choice of Nehemiah Mutendi over his older brothers, apart from his obedience to his father (which is seen as significant by Nehemiah), the father obviously chose the son who was more highly educated. Nehemiah was better gifted in administration (he was the superintendent of the school at the time) and was thus better able to lead the church in the times of transition it was facing as part of a developing nation within a modern world (Mutendi 2005:17; Daneel 2005:22).

In the case of Samuel Mutendi, what was more critical at first than his leadership skills and natural leadership charisma, was his initial contact with Lekhanyane and the fact that on his return to Southern Rhodesia he was the most senior ranking Zionist alongside Masuka. Establishing leadership status by substantiating a commissioning by an early prominent leader, whether Lekhanyane or Mhlangu, is often vital in Zionism. Not only is the leader's prominence established that way, but thereby a link is established to "American Zionism" and thus by inference to the "Primitive Christian Church" (cf. Sundkler 1961:202). In contrast to Sundkler's general interpretation however (which could be argued for Mutendi), Daneel (2004:188) mentions that Bishop Mutendi "...traced the roots of African Zionism not through classical or world Pentecostalism but through the Reformed and Catholic traditions, back to what he considered to be the original 'Zion Church.'" In general of the AICs, Daneel (2004:183) states: "Theirs was, and remains, a quest for an authentic African mythical charter establishing original closeness and ecclesial decent directly from Christ and the Bible without reference to the apostolic succession claimed by Western churches."

In addition to this, in AICs among the Shona: "There is no doubt that the dominant pattern of kinship influence in Church membership is that of persons naturally placed in positions of seniority and authority, through blood relationships or marital ties, exerting their influence over those subordinated to them" (Daneel 1974:170). If this had remained the case for Mutendi, the church would not have grown beyond those immediately subordinate to Rozvi leadership. Daneel however goes on to say that there is in fact often a reversal of traditional roles in the Independent Church (IC), and bears this out specifically in the case of the ZCC in table 37, category 6 and 4 of his second volume (Daneel 1974:182). This table indicates that at the time 48% of the people were primarily motivated to join because of healing, as opposed to 22% who joined via close kinship ties. Thus, Mutendi also went beyond the immediate traditional structures after the first phase to institute his church:

A less obvious but significant trend is the reversal of customary roles. In this kind of situation a subordinated individual with strong religious convictions or leadership capacities becomes the decision-making power who has a determining influence on the religious affiliation of his or her natural seniors. ...It is important to take note of this *reversal of roles* in the religious field because it indicates that the *Independent Churches were not merely introduced into Shona society as institutions adapted to the older order but also as communities with designs and codes essentially different from it*. A study of the IC leadership hierarchies, for instance, brings to light that the kinship principle of seniority is not necessarily taken as a guideline for the distribution of ecclesiastic authority in these movements (Daneel 1974:170).

Thus church membership and leadership structures followed kinship and tribal patterns initially and then in subsequent phases in addition also followed patterns that were not traditionally aligned. Beyond these facts however Mutendi's church's growth over and

above all the other Zionist churches, was made possible by its accommodating the various needs of the people such as healing, rain-making and fertility. With the long since collapsed Rozvi kingdom, the establishing of a new tribal focal point and associated tribal restructuring as Daneel (1987:104) alludes to, was key:

By contrast with the heterogeneous religious affiliation pattern of other rural villages, Mutendi's "village" developed a homogeneous religious pattern under one personality who was both headman and religious leader. In reality the village as a whole was transformed into a church headquarters. This inspired villagers with a strong communal motivation, namely to work together to construct their own "Jerusalem". It seldom happens that an entire community can be united and mobilized for such a long period by means of a common *Leitmotiv*.

In addition to the village transformation to one of church headquarters, which none-the-less operated largely along traditional lines, Mutendi's Zion City also used modern progressive ideas, as reflected in the agricultural methods employed. He further built a school, which was part of the infrastructure of the city and which was run in consultation with the government schools administration. Not only did Zion City boast a significant infrastructure and a convergence of ideas both old and new to create its own identity, but the regular visits from the paramount chiefs gave it the prestige that only the cult of Matonjeni near Bulawayo enjoyed. The through-traffic was such that Zion City was in daily contact with the happenings of the nation. Mutendi's headquarters therefore had a far more enlightened outward-looking ethos and was well informed on all educational, socio-political and religious changes occurring in the nation (Daneel 1987:56, 105-106).

Visitation, and therefore ongoing contact with the *Man of God* in his *Zion City* happened continuously as many of the ward headmen and chiefs of certain districts would send their messengers (now Zionist delegates) to Mutendi. Mutendi's not only provided a socio-religious centre and alternative to the cult of Matonjeni, but as his reputation grew as the religious head and descendant of Rozvi royalty, he began to represent at the very least a significant political influence. As this happened, he began to receive the gifts from the *vanyai* (messengers) once bound for Matonjeni: "He would then act as 'mediator' by asking the Christian God for rain" (Daneel 1987:231). As the messengers went out from the tribal areas to Zion City and the prophets and evangelists from Zion City to the tribal areas (especially after the Pasika feasts), Mutendi adapted the old structures that the Matonjeni cult once solely enjoyed. He adapted the religious information network and political structures to create a sphere of influence for himself that paralleled the cult: "In the same way that these messengers constituted a bond between the central religious authority and the tribal areas across the entire country, thus ensuring a perennial politico-religious influence from a central point, so the Zionist advisors enabled Mutendi to exercise a similar influence over a wide area" (Daneel 1987:123).

In Zion City, as stated, one could find a unique blending of old and new, where patients and pilgrims were fed in exchange for their own labour being employed in the fields. A mutual aid system developed where people helped on building projects in exchange for prophetic healing and pastoral counsel (Daneel 1987:105). The leadership structures within the church were largely traditional. Mutendi was assisted on a ministry level by the *vafundisi* (pastor or minister), who were high-ranking church officials and helped oversee the preaching circuits. Under these men were the evangelists, who performed a similar

function to the *vafundisi* but were lower in status. Alongside these men, particularly back at Zion City and as Mutendi's role changed with the passage of time, were junior prophets, left with the prophetic task of discerning of diseases. On first appearance it would seem that Mutendi made use of a very flat pyramid structure unwilling to share any of the limelight at the top. This is especially true when one takes into account the implications of a structure that allows for only the Bishop to celebrate the Eucharistic sacraments. Yet this is not an entirely accurate reflection, for indeed both Nehemiah Mutendi and Inus Daneel state that Mutendi had a *Minister in Charge* or *First Minister* complete with his own staff, who stood between Mutendi and his *vafundisi* in a leadership hierarchy included the offices of deacons and preachers (Mutendi 2005:16; Daneel 1970:17-18, 52).

This *First Minister* was a Rozvi, related through his father's sister and as such, because of the familial connection, was a *sekuru* to Nehemiah, though he was actually slightly younger than Nehemiah. The pyramid is flatter than most traditional church structures, but this may not entirely be a bad thing as contact between the Bishop and the ordinary members is then greater, unrestricted as it is by an elaborate hierarchical structure. Besides his *First Minister*, there were senior advisors to Mutendi, most of whom were Rozvi and some directly related to him. However, particularly outside of the immediate context of Zion City, some of them appear to have been from other tribes. He also complemented his church leadership and court structure by often obtaining advice from his sons and wives, for whom his *vahosi* (lead wife) was the senior advisor on practical matters and *Mia* Solomon the senior advisor for spiritual matters (Mutendi 2005:16; Daneel 2005:23).

Because Mutendi refused to have more than one minister per district, it meant that direct authority for individual ZCC congregations was often vested with the evangelist. A prophet could occupy any of the offices below the *mufundisi* (singular for *vafundisi*), but depending on the seniority he may occupy a position immediately below the *mufundisi* in any one district. Where the church grew or where there was more than one evangelist in a congregation, instead of promoting an evangelist in a district to the office of *mufundisi*, they were ranked by seniority, as first or second evangelist and so on (Daneel 1987:150).

The *vafundisi* in a court setting in Zion City acted as respected councillors, and within their circuit as village headmen. In the church court, these men were assisted by junior officials who acted as messengers, spokesmen and secondary facilitators. Meanwhile Mutendi's sons/sons-in-law conducted the proceedings and Mutendi, in the mode of a chief, would say very little while the court was in session, until such time as he delivered his verdict, which often reflected the will of the people, according to Daneel (1987:141) who states:

Like the Shona chief, the Independent Church leader is at the head of a trichotomous legal system. The council of each individual congregation corresponds to the village court; the circuit or regional court of the church reminds one of the ward court (court of the *dunhu*); and the supreme church council at headquarters is similar to the chief's court which has jurisdiction over the entire tribal territory. ...The court sessions and judicial system at Zion City was particularly reminiscent of those tribal courts.

It was also clear that the oppressive forces of the ancestors were cancelled out by Mutendi's curative powers and on the cerebral level by his theology, such that the prophet as the *Man of God* addressed both the need for societal stability as well as religious leadership. He

adopted some aspects of traditional life such as the chief's court, adapted others such as the village structures, and radically transformed still others such as the religious role which a chief might be expected to fulfil, with the *power of the shades* confronted rather than appeased. But in many ways his role extended way beyond these. He filled a vacuum, both ceremonially as a rain-maker who interceded directly with *Mwari*, and in providing for a greater sense of connectedness and focus in his Zion City. In doing so, Mutendi effectively reversed the roles of chief and *Man of God*, such that movement was primarily from tribal headquarters to the *City of Zion*. This role reversal is also seen in the case of Shembe – an IC leader in Zululand (Sundkler 1961:282; Daneel 1987:127), who filled a power-vacuum as the paramount chief's role declined – but more so in the case of Mutendi, reminding the paramount chiefs of a by-gone kingdom:

Mutendi, initially regarded with great suspicion, started gaining popularity. As his reputation as a "rain maker" grew the chiefs increasingly came to rely on him. In 1965 he counted fifteen paramount chiefs among the members of his church – a greater number of high-ranking traditional leaders than belonged to any other independent Church. Mutendi's royal descent from the Rozvi was a major factor in this connection, and the construction of a Zion City with a wide sphere of influence throughout the country made a great impression on tribal leaders who had not forgotten the glory of the once mighty Rozvi dynasty. This church with its impressive headquarters reminded chiefs and headmen of the organized pan-tribal unity which the Rozvi kings had achieved with their co-ordination of vassal states. Although Mutendi seldom referred to his Rozvi lineage, it was remarkable that at the annual church feasts the chiefs publicly honoured him as if he were royalty (Daneel 1987:122).

As the church has experienced the new leadership style of Nehemiah (Samuel Mutendi's son), so too the structures have had to be adapted for the growing urban needs of the church. With the passage of time and a more centralised administration – this had been there from his father's days, but significantly smaller – an elaborate administrative hierarchy that supports the districts in their various capacities of finance, publications, training (spiritual and educational), property management and agriculture was also built up with professionals and semi-professionals holding key administrative positions in management. Such is the infrastructure required for today's urban church and the diverse needs of even its rural communities (Mutendi 2005:16).

In all this expansion of ministry the church has managed to retain its rural focus; yet its urban constituency has grown significantly, such that it would not be remiss to call it a church with two foci. The sermons in the urban setting are orientated towards the urban needs of employment, good employee-employer relations, moral reinforcement against the use of alcohol in beer-halls and the associated vices of sex-workers (Daneel 1987:133). The conditions in the cities, however, changed substantially from the time of Daneel's last published volume on Shona Independent Churches in 1988 – in which he infers that the Shona urban congregations may sometimes be seen as extensions of a predominantly rural movement, using the example of the medium-sized town of Masvingo (Daneel 1988:19) – through to 1997 when Zimbabwe experienced her economic peak. Despite all the negative economic growth in recent years – particularly in the cases of Bulawayo and the twin city of Harare-Chitungweza – the larger cities have grown sufficiently in their urban populace

(less true of the larger towns such as Masvingo) such that the city work of the ZCC can truly be seen to be its own entity with its own city church council (Mutendi 2005:16).

Somewhat surprisingly, in his book *Quest for Belonging*, written a year earlier, Daneel supports the above concept of separate city and rural situations, possibly because the focus is in line with the larger city of Soweto (a more equitable size to the present day cities of Harare-Chitungweza or Bulawayo than is Masvingo). He comments favourably on the analysis of Martin West (1975:195) of the appeal in the city of the Independent Church:

Apart from estrangement from his family and restrictions on social mobility, there is the great disparity between a rural and an urban community. In the city a heterogeneous mass of people are concentrated in a limited area. The kinship structure that forms the basis of the social order in rural communities is lacking and new criteria for a satisfactory social structure are needed. This is where the Independent Churches make an important contribution; where they emerge as “reorientation centres”, and where the nature of their wide ranging activities can best be depicted as a *quest for belonging* (Daneel 1987:134).

The partial breakdown of the extended family due to urban life or alternatively the extended periods of time where spouses are left behind while particularly the husband seeks employment in the city (which has until recently when transport to rural areas has become far more sporadic and expensive proved to be less of an issue in Zimbabwe than was the case pre-1994 in South Africa) has been problematic. The Independent Churches have provided for a means of family, a means of connectedness, and a safe haven in uncertain circumstances. A lack of community has been experienced within new, large, impersonal subsections to high density suburbs where housing units, pre-1997, appeared to spring up over night. In the small intimate groups of the African Initiated Church where members have traditionally cared for each other’s wellbeing in a very tangible way, some sense of support is offered. More recently, a greater purpose of church growth has provided for a spiritual sense of relief in an otherwise senseless political environment in which squatter houses are being demolished, and street-vendors’ businesses destroyed in times of an exponential rate of inflation (cf Daneel 1987:80, 272; Mutendi 2005:17).

Furthermore, with the Zimbabwean diaspora now living throughout the world – a situation that has affected all the churches including the ZCC with its ranks of present day professionals ranging from nursing aids to chief executive officers – the ZCC has experienced a membership star-burst with members as far afield as New Zealand. There are now established congregations ranging from Messina in South Africa to London in the United Kingdom to Boston in Massachusetts (Mutendi 2005:18). The church has continued to grow considerably, particularly in its urban ministry under Nehemiah and is even in the process of building a new auditorium to accommodate the needs and aspirations of its city dwellers. Yet what has not changed since Samuel Mutendi’s day are the small Zionist groups meeting under the shade of large trees in both urban and rural areas.

Styles of leadership used by Mutendi

Mutendi, because of his *mystical powers* alongside his royal heritage and because of the African leadership model, had a large measure of direct control, in which Daneel claims he exercised an autocratic style almost as a bi-product of the chiefly hierarchical leadership

system (Daneel 1987:175). And yet within this system of governance Mutendi, according to interviews with Daneel and Nehemiah, was known to be a gentle and humble man, who hardly ever raised his voice; soft-spoken and yet resolute, and in a decision – once his mind was made up – unflinching (Daneel 2005:21; Mutendi 2005:15-16). Samuel Mutendi held his leadership lightly, was not given to dictatorial leadership, and used comic relief:

He was much more persuasive than domineering, he did not come across as a domineering figure at all, he seldom raised his voice, but he was very serious. But he also knew when he could see people were getting restless, how to use comic relief – throw in a joke, you know! And he would for example say if something is predictable and bound to happen he would say that is as certain as a man going and taking a pee after sex, for example. That would draw roars of laughter because it would be abrupt and sudden, and one could say in a sense in bad taste, but it is so true to life that I think even the Lord would smile sometimes at some of those things. And then he would, after having brought in a little bit of humour, carry on again, and he could carry on for a long time without raising his voice very much. And then he was a good background figure that he allowed his key figures in the court to talk. He patterned his leadership on the chiefly [model], in other words the chief that does not talk all that much. He is sitting there, allowing the councillors to give their opinion and then he would summarise towards the end and be the wise one, and in doing that endeared himself to his own people (Daneel 2005:21).

He was not a man given to boasting about his own exploits, but rather allowed honour to be given him by his senior leaders, who would recall his exploits particularly at the time of the great Pasika feasts. He was cautious not to cut off his leaders, but allowed them ample time to speak in the *dare* (court or church council meetings) extolling his feats, but also to express their views in any matter under discussion. In talking about important matters, such as his exploits in rain-making, he used a comprehensive approach exploiting every channel available to him: individually with people he persuaded with conviction; in the *dare*; from the pulpit; and using the chiefs as witnesses. In all these ways he exuded the best traits of a quiet, determined, and courageous leader full of charisma; as an overflow of this his prominence grew almost naturally (Daneel 2005:21), but also in relation to his royal heritage, and his image as an early resistance figure as Daneel (1987:55-56) states:

Of all the Zionist churches Bishop Mutendi's ZCC attracted most attention at a national level. Mutendi gained publicity as a sort of resistance hero who effectively dodged the oppressive measures of the administration. A descendant of the royal house of the Rozvi, he invoked the bygone glory of this dynasty and as a result many more Shona chiefs were baptized in his church than in any of the other Independent Churches in Rhodesia. In Mutendi's "holy city" chiefs and ordinary ZCC members could attend the great feasts ...free from white domination and subject only to a venerated authority. Because of Mutendi's fame as a miracle-worker, benefactor and resistance figure his leadership eventually developed overtones of what one could call "Messianism".

His royal claim went beyond some obscure relationship to the Rozvi lineage to a direct claim on the whole genealogy of the Rozvi *Mambos* from Dombo Dhlembewu, one of the best known Rozvi kings, and Chirisamuru to Gumboremvura, Ngweremweze, Mutinhima,

and finally Chief Jiri Zihumbwa (Daneel 2005:20, cf. Daneel 1971:287). This claim was never proven explicitly by Daneel, but it held good for ZCC members and established a proud link with the past. Such was his prominence that "... he had more than 15 Paramount Chiefs in his church and they would roll in the dust at his feet, recognising him as a Rozvi Mambo, so Mutendi was appealing to the dynasty of the Rozvi in earlier centuries and which has a very politically strong unifying effect" (Daneel 2005:19).

He dealt decisively with detractors and those wanting to secede from his leadership. Warnings to secessionists were normally given by equating those who claimed such unfounded leadership to Jeroboam, or Simon the Sorcerer in Acts 8. Sometimes they were simply ignored, if it was judged wiser not to draw attention to an upstart. One such dissenter was confronted in a meeting, at the end of which Mutendi – the *Man of God* – said God would strike him (the dissenter) with lightning if God was with Mutendi. It rained immediately after the meeting and lightning struck so hard that the dissenter begged Mutendi's intervention, to which he pronounced an "Amen", and at that point the storm calmed. He possessed, it was believed by his followers, mystical powers and in their eyes held the esteem of someone who was equated to a black Messiah (Daneel 1971:310).

Mutendi, as Daneel relates, is referred to by Paramount Chief Samu from Gonakudzingwa as "The man of God" (Daneel 1970:52). Beyond this his First Minister also gives him praise titles, which indicate his Messianic qualities:

Great One, you who love us with the love with which Christ prayed to his Father when he said: 'I pray not for the world, but for them who have given Thee to me'. Through you, reverend One, we behold God. ...All illnesses are cured. Therefore we say *that he [Mutendi] is a treasured gift to us, Africans*. Your lordship, we are powerless and do not understand all your teachings. We are naked in your presence (Daneel 1970:51-52).

Yet Daneel points out that caution should be used in any talk of *Messianism* which relates Mutendi's role to that of a *black Messiah*. Sundkler, in reinterpreting Shembe's role toward the Zulus, sees him rather as the living "*eikon* or the mask" of Christ; and Martin in her reinterpretation of the Kimbanguist movement, calls Kimbangu, in a softer approach than she uses previously, the "instrument of Christ", through whom the Son is revealed to the Congolese (Sundkler 1976:193, 310; Martin 1975:64; cf. Daneel 1987:187-188). Samuel Mutendi and "[t]hose who do develop messianic traits are more appropriately characterised as 'iconic leaders' insofar as their leadership positively mirrors and concretizes the person of Christ in the African context for their followers" (Daneel 2004:182). In line with this thinking Nehemiah Mutendi sees his father as the founder and prophetic witness to the one who indeed is the Christ – Jesus, the Son (Mutendi 2005:16).

It would be more accurate to classify Mutendi as possessing the ideal founding leadership model of prototype status, who, because of his royal descent and early resistance to white domination, exhibited the classic chief-type style of leadership. At the same time because of his reputation as a rain-maker and healing-figure with direct access to the divine placed him in the classic prophet-type role to such an extent that Daneel claims that the distinction between the two types made by Sundkler ceases to be relevant (Daneel 1988:10-13; Sundkler 1961:109). In contrast Nehemiah is the classic chief-type leader who fulfils the presidential role of an established independent church. Without doubt links for many from

the poorer sectors of the church with the rural areas have remained sufficiently strong even in the cities such that Nehemiah continues to fulfil a chiefly role. Nehemiah's role as a chiefly but modern leader justifies Daneel's contention with Martin West's critique that the classifications of chiefly and prophetic leaders in the city (with specific reference to Soweto) have fallen away, is unjustified (Daneel 1988:19; West 1975:49).

His father was a shrewd forward planner, as can be seen in the story that Nehemiah relates about how he was chosen to succeed his father. Nehemiah tells how his father's official title was superintendent of the church and then goes on to relate the following:

So when it came to opening the new school, the Minister of Education wanted to know once they opened it who would be their superintendent of schools? So Nehemiah was given the title, but no-one at the time realised the significance of this! Years later when he called his elders together to choose a successor, and they were focused on Engenas (the number two son), he pointed out that Nehemiah's title was already superintendent and that they were the ones who had agreed to put his name forward a long time back, so they had already agreed as to who should succeed Samuel Mutendi, saying to them: "That's what you have [already] agreed!" This meeting occurred in 1962 and Nehemiah took over the church in 1977, fifteen years later, and in this manner Nehemiah showed how his father was a shrewd leader who could use long term foresight in planning and cunning negotiating to bring about the desired result! (Mutendi 2005:17).

Samuel Mutendi was a leader who would not take any nonsense; he was persuasive and would not mince his words with his leadership figures, telling them exactly what was expected of them. A strong, courageous leader, he insisted on his own authority and did not buckle in the face of united opposition, whether from the *n`angas* or the white Rhodesian administration. Mutendi was a capable and shrewd leader, one who had integrity in his dealings with others, who understood the needs of his people and set out to address these, whether in a gentle, loving and pragmatic manner, which paralleled his softly spoken nature, or by confronting the *n`angas* and taking a stand against witchcraft and alternate gods. He was resolute in the latter; true to his kingly posture and his absolute belief in his own authority and spiritual convictions (Daneel 2005:18-19).

Daneel relates how Mutendi's training largely took place in-service. Mutendi and Lekhanyane were responsible for establishing a specific mode of conduct, in which the leader models and discusses with a group of senior leaders the methodology of their belief system and the biblical interpretation for a particular scenario. In this way the training was highly praxis oriented. Mutendi, was probably mentored by Lekhanyane in the early phase, but very shortly made his own contribution, especially once he had left as a missionary bound for Southern Rhodesia. In many ways he was Lekhanyane's junior, but he was also considered a co-founder of the ZCC and the ZCC in Zimbabwe is still considered a legitimate branch, not an off-shoot, of the ZCC in South Africa. Over the course of time, with the logistical difficulties and changes in Rhodesia's political climate, Mutendi's church gained full independence. However, in the beginning Mutendi's church operated in submission to Engenas Lekhanyane's, with a lot of interaction between the two men. But once Edward Lekhanyane took over, Samuel Mutendi as the co-founder of the ZCC established his rightful and superior claim to Edward's (Daneel 1971:299; 2005:22).

Samuel's sons also received in-service training. Nehemiah would on long weekends often be at home from his teaching and would participate in the *dare*. After that he would have experienced a far more comprehensive and on-going apprenticeship once he was the superintendent of the ZCC schools, especially in the area of administration. Nehemiah by his own admission is an impatient, less compassionate man who does not have his father's humble, less vocal, less demanding style (Nehemiah 2005:17). Yet possibly a second generation leader with a greater degree of control and without the prophetic flare, was what was needed to administer the church beyond the pioneering stages into becoming one of the largest, if not the largest AIC in Zimbabwe. It has an administrative staffing reminiscent of any Zimbabwean denominational church founded by missionaries and now also fully independent. On the other hand, Reuben's training was possibly far more that of an evangelist's or prophet's. Already from his in-service training, when he established churches in the Gutu area, he was a "Bishop in the making", and after his father died he founded his own branch of the ZCC (Daneel 2005:22).

Values of Mutendi's leadership

The value of love:

Nehemiah Mutendi relates how each of the sons and daughters thought that Samuel Mutendi loved them more than the others; even his church elders would relate that he loved each of them as ministers more than he did everyone else. The wives, according to Nehemiah, loved each other like sisters, a clear reflection of how he treated all his wives. Samuel Mutendi was known for his love and his big heart that seemed to love all people equally (Mutendi 2005:17). Daneel also relates the extent of Samuel Mutendi's love:

But the fact is that he loved his children a great deal and was very caring of them. And because I became adopted into his household myself, I was often invited for breakfast, and then his *vahosi* which is the lead woman, she would bring in the food, and she would do something that African women would never do in a white man's presence, she would sit on his lap for a while and you could see that they were totally in love and it was good to see! It was private but I was allowed to see it. It was not a game, it was something very natural and when some of the other women came in, she would take their feelings into consideration and stand up and stand to the side and allow them to address him. So I would say there was a lot of compassion. I think ... I would say compassionate, caring and really loving his family and taking good care of them. Where he lived he had two nice huts built for each of his women, where the one was a cooking hut and the other for her and the children to live. Also the inter-relations were well organised, with a common plan as to who sleeps where and when and so forth (Daneel 2005:22).

The values of unity and reconciliation:

From his love flowed a value for tribal unity: "The chiefs in Gutu or Bikita did not interact, but then they finally came, all of them. 'What is the use of going to Matopos to ask for rain when we can do that here?' They all came together. My brother used to make a joke and say that when you want to practice love, don't behave like chiefs!" (Mutendi 2005:14).

Reconciliation as a concept in the Zionist church goes far beyond the mending of estrangement, enmity and a breach of trust between two individuals, as it is often regarded

in purely Western circles. Once a person has been exposed as a sorcerer or witch (someone who prescribes curses of death, disease and destruction), the Zionist prophetic practice is to accept the convicted party into the life of the church "... as proof of the hope and the grace extended to the socially unacceptable. This practise ... contrasts dramatically with the traditional approach, which could go as far as the death penalty" (Daneel 1987:241).

Infact reconciliation with the dead is even envisaged. Taylor points to the role of the descended Christ, who descended to the dead in order to "...show Himself to the living ones" before being raised into the heavens (1 Pt 3:19; Eph 4:8-10 and Rm 10:7), in support of this vital concept for African Initiated Churches (Taylor 2001:111). "Communion with the shades can now mean fellowship with essentially living persons, with whom we look forward to a more intense life than we can imagine, to which the resurrection of Jesus has already opened the road" (Taylor 2001:112). Daneel (1987:277-278) ascribes an incorrect page number to this concept of Taylor's, but clearly sees the theological concept of Christ's deliverance in the "realm of the shades" as being directly applicable to the Shona Spirit-type churches, which for Daneel includes all Shona Zionists and Apostles.

The value of peace:

Nehemiah relates: "My father was 'cool' [sober-minded] and was a man of peacefulness, who hardly ever raised his voice" (Mutendi 2005:17). This quality of peace is expressed in the dilemma of the liberation (or civil) war in Zimbabwe. Out of loyalty to the chiefs Mutendi forbade his followers to hold political party cards. But even the chiefs' authority was ultimately tied to the state, which is why he did not recognise anything beyond the "police and the prophets", as he would say. However, this could also be interpreted as a desire for peace with the civil authorities, which is probably why he took so long to show more clearly his support of the *Chimurenga*. This value of peace is also reflected in how members of Independent churches are often found in the communal areas working alongside those of traditional and other beliefs, and how in desiring peace the Zionist prophets will even prescribe to the unbelieving parents of the deceased a means of appeasing the ancestors (Daneel 2005:19; Daneel 1987:107; Daneel 1970:41-42).

The value of justice:

Mutendi was also seen to be a man of justice and fair-play. This was born out on an inter-personal level where he was even-handed with his wives and treated them all with fairness. On an institutional level it was evident in how he actively pursued a course of action that allowed him to build schools, and on a tribal level when he fought for justice for Chief Jiri in particular in the boundary dispute (Mutendi 2005:17; Daneel 2005:22). This quality of justice and fair-play showed in his fight for schools, a hospital and a church that his people could call their own. His people often faced prejudice from the mission schools, but he relentlessly pursued justice for his people according to Daneel (2005:23):

I would say for his own context he was marked by courage, regardless of opposition. He was determined, so it's perseverance, courage, and he was determined to have his own educational facility. He collaborated for some time with the Dutch Reformed superintendents, who supervised him for some time, that was the condition, but he kept going and at an early stage was repeatedly put in prison. ...He was determined like all the missions to have his own autonomy, his own church, his own hospital – he had two hundred huts where all the patients came and the prophets working with them, and his own school.

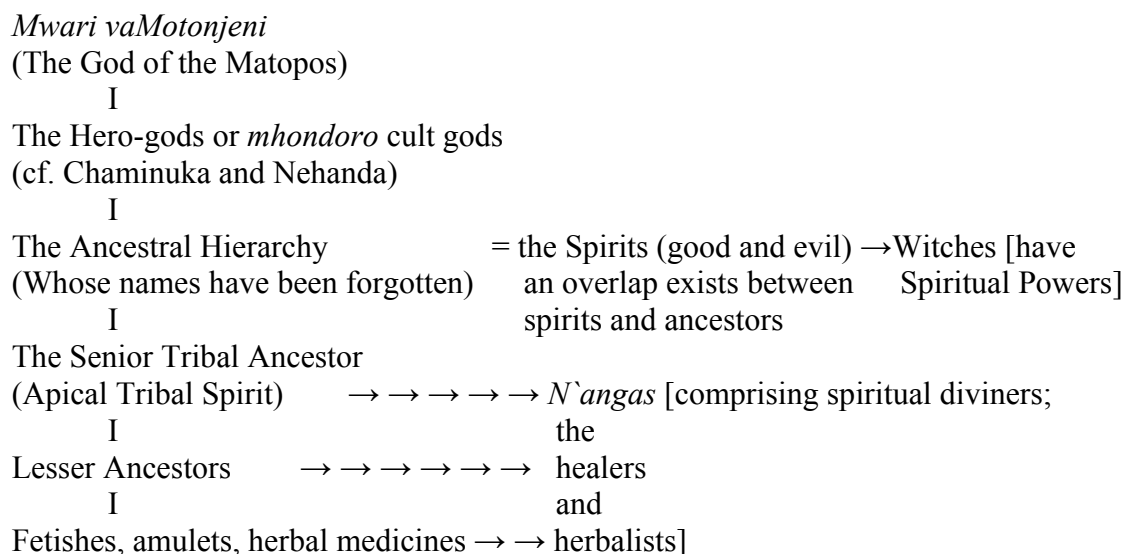
Mutendi's belief system underpinning his model of leadership

It is important to note a few fundamental aspects of the belief system of the tribes in the vicinity of Mutendi's campaigning before discussing Mutendi's personal Belief System. For the purposes of this thesis it is accepted that there is still some semblance (even if limited) of truth in the fusion of the *mhondoro* cult (the appeasement of senior tribal spirits or "hero-gods") and the *Mwari* cult, which later became known as *Mwari vaMatonjeni* (God of the Matopos hills). The principal *mhondoro* at Great Zimbabwe was Chaminuka's and although this Shona hero-god had no connection with *Mwari* originally, by a process of integration he became known as the "son of *Mwari*". These two cults were associated with the two dynasties of the Mutapa kings (*mhondoro* cult), and the Rozvi kings (*Mwari*) and came respectively with the associated spirit mediums or *svikiro* and the associated mediums who acted as the voice of God. Historically speaking the *Mwari* cult grew stronger in the South, especially among the Karanga with the final location of the shrines once they had moved from Great Zimbabwe to the Matopos. The *mhondoro* cult was more prevalent in the north. Yet because of the original fusion it is still possible to speak of a total system incorporating both (Daneel 1970b:24-26).

In a Southern tribal setting in Zimbabwe, *Mwari vaMatonjeni* is predominantly associated with rain-making and fertility. Under him is a hierarchy of ancestors whose names have been forgotten over time, but who are requested to intercede with *Mwari vaMatonjeni*, in times of crisis or rain-making. They are in turn approached by the senior tribal spirit. However, with the fusion of the *mhondoro* cult, this hierarchy has another level directly below *Mwari* himself. If the *mhondoro* cult is strongest in a certain region *Mwari* is in times of crisis or if it is deemed necessary to bypass the lineage ancestors, such as in a drought, approached through his *son* Chaminuka, or more recently through another hero-god, Nehanda. However, in places such as the Matopos where the *Mwari* cult is stronger, *Mwari vaMatonjeni* may be approached directly (Daneel 1970b:18, 25-26).

An integration of the two cults can be schematically displayed as in figure 5.1.1. This representation was, depending on the tribe, to a greater or lesser extent relevant in Mutendi's day, even if it may be less true for today's rural folk.

Figure 5.1.1: *The Simplified Shona Africa Cosmological Structure*



This follows the same classic pattern that Taylor, quoting Edwin Smith, notes in his studies of the West African tribes (Taylor 2001:49; Smith 1959:18). It is clear that once Mutendi was back in Zimbabwe, he accommodated the various needs of the people such as healing and as an alternative intermediary who could pray for rain and fertility:

Mutendi thus replaces one of the *nganga's* most important ritual functions. Instead of the fertilizing powers originating from Mwari waMatonjeni being transferred through the manipulations of the traditional diviner to the seed and other objects, Mutendi conveys these blessings (also conceived of as fertility-power) directly from the “one from Heaven”.... But more important still is Mutendi's modelling of the ceremonial request for rain at Moriah on the familiar procedures adopted in the past (Daneel 1974:105).

His role became closely aligned with the role of the *n`anga* (or *nganga*) or super-*n`anga*. All Zionist prophet condiments were an adaptation of the *n`anga's*:

In rejecting medicines the Zionists bring about a remarkable adaptation and fusion of the prophetic treatment with the traditional pattern. The burning of paper, the smoke of which must be inhaled, the manipulation of the sanctified staff, the purified water and the wearing of sanctified linen cloths, which the prophet almost always, prescribe, show a direct parallel with the medicinal practices of the *nganga*. The use of these “instruments” form the substance of the charge by the Mission Church members that Mutendi is nothing but a “*big nganga*” (Daneel 1970:44).

What is possibly more striking than his adaptation of the *n`anga's* role is Mutendi's choice to confront the ancestral powers, the *mhondoro* cultic beliefs and even the Matonjeni cult, which he did by cancelling out the *power of the shades* and the cults – the ancestor's oppressive forces and the hero-gods dominating influence. He was so radical that he not only equated the oppressive ancestral spirits to evil (*shave*) spirits, but *Mwari vaMatonjeni* to Satan himself as Daneel (1974:104) relates:

In 1965, for instance, during the final sermon before the administration of the sacraments, he launched the following attack on Matonjeni and the ancestors: “A family under Satan's guidance [referring to Mwari waMatonjeni] has no peace. You must therefore cast away all that was practised by your forebears. They believed in and worshipped their *midzimu*. This kind of worship is the same as believing in demons, and such *shave* spirits as the Madanda, majukwa and Zvipuna. Cast away all these things and believe in Him who is in heaven.”

Thus the negative impact of the ancestral spirits (*midzimu*) and even the high-god is disposed of. They are not only negated, leaving a cultural vacuum, but are replaced by the prophet and his Christian God. He spoke out openly against the *mhondoro* cult of Chaminuka and the *Mwari* cult of Matonjeni, challenging all dissenters to go to them asking for rain, having to make sacrifices and brew beer, when Mutendi asked for nothing of the sort. It was known in Zion City, and the message was passed to the *n`angas* and chiefs, that ““There is someone who can pray with his stick-rod, his staff and the rain falls”” (Mutendi 2005:12). The *midzimu* and their powers are diametrically opposed by the Holy Spirit's power. In this way, the *power of the shades* is confronted rather than

accommodated. On a pragmatic level, but also the level of *power encounter*, he would burn all the fetishes and cursed objects brought to him, given to the people by the *n`angas* and the spirit mediums (Daneel 1987:261; Mutendi 2005:14-15).

Samuel Mutendi was known as a man who had great mystical and healing powers, and many joined his church because of the healing and relief from curses that it offered. Nehemiah Mutendi tells how the first woman who was healed was baptised with the aid of a baptismal pole as she was crippled, but when she got out she was cured. (Mutendi 2005:14) Nehemiah then relates a story of a chief's daughter who had died and was brought back to life after Samuel Mutendi prayed for her, despite great opposition and threats to his physical wellbeing if he should fail. This event is confirmed by Inus Daneel, who relates how Chief Rukuni's daughter had died, and Samuel Mutendi himself went inside, and even under the threat of death he went ahead and prayed for her. She miraculously came back to life. The people gathered outside, Zionists and traditionalists alike, thanked *Mwari* – the Lord God (Daneel 1971:296-297; Mutendi 2005:14).

Mutendi was uncompromising towards fetishes and the powers they represent: in his mystical powers, his imprisonments and stand against the authorities, and in his simple but culturally relevant message of the *Christian God*, healing and baptism, his life closely parallels that of William Wade Harris (who died in 1929, near the beginning of Mutendi's ministry). However, Harris' work was in West Africa and in particular Liberia and the Ivory Coast, where he was responsible for an indigenous revival. This gave birth to a church, even though only after his death (Shank 1994:155, 162). Perhaps the most significant way Mutendi both opposed and transformed the cultic beliefs and rituals was to call for rain directly from the *Holy City*. Thus instead of the going to Matopos, the chiefs could come to him, seen clearly in a power confrontation that Nehemiah relates:

There were two powerful forces, fighting against each other, it was not like the other one was useless, or had no power, and there was power in it. ...Joel the prophet said, 'I your God, you must know, I caused the drought, I caused the pestilence to eat your crops, and I can stop it!' So this is what he was proving. But some of the chiefs said, if this is what you say, what you are doing and there is drought then we will go to Matopos. But they go to Matopos, nothing happens there and the Man of God says; 'this year is a drought, it is the plan of God, but if you want to prove that God is there it can rain, but it won't help your crops.' And it rained – proof that God controls everything! No other medium, no other spirits could work while the Kingdom of Heaven was in operation, which is depressing every other Kingdom (Mutendi 2005:15).

Yet in all this confrontation of cultic beliefs by Mutendi, it should be noted that *Mwari*, "The Lord of Heaven", pre-existed in Shona culture. The belief drew its origins from the Mbire tribe, who emigrated from the regions surrounding Lake Tanganyika where *Mwali*, god of fertility, still exists in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro (Daneel 1970b:15-16). So the *power of the shades*, hero-gods and even the high-god of Matonjeni have been circumnavigated and *Mwari*, the Most High, is placed where he always has been, on the top of the apex, with all other powers negated and ascribed to Satan and his demon minions.

In a similar way to Mutendi's rain-making replacing the role of the cult spirit mediums, trances involving messages from ancestors were for Mutendi and other Zionist prophets

replaced by dreams and visions of angels. Although these came in a familiar way, they bore no relationship to the ancestors. As opposed to the hierarchical position of the spirits, angels are either seen as a great army or as individuals with specific names such as Michael or Gabriel. The angels are not a direct replacement for the ancestors or a new name for them, but rather the diametrical opposite of the ancestors who are not at peace. For example, Michael is he who leads the army of angels against the forces of Satan. Ancestors, specifically the departed spirits of Zionist members, are now instead honoured and God is beseeched on behalf of the dead. There is indeed the expectation that the dead should intercede for the living. However, it is important to note that Mutendi and his leaders rejected *kupira midzimu* – the worship of ancestors – and made worship exclusive to the Christian God (Daneel 1971:322-328; Jules-Rosette 1975:194; Daneel 1987:276).

One of the most significant aspects of Mutendi's transformation of the traditional religious rites was replacing the *kugadzira* (the traditional rite of the veneration and communion with the deceased) with the *runyaradzo* (a ceremony of consolation), which instead commemorates and honours the role played by and the character of the departed. The *runyaradzo*, rather than looking to the distant past and the world of bygone ancestors, focuses on the immediate past and to some extent is also future oriented. This future orientation is brought about by the challenge to non-Zionist relatives of the deceased of their need to seek God – for as death is inevitable they should nevertheless one day *die in Christ*; in the church's role in accompanying the deceased to the heavenly gates; and also in the comfort that this understanding brings to the Zionists. By emphasising the church's role in escorting the deceased to heaven instead of the traditional emphasis of the departing spirit being initiated into the hierarchy of ancestors, the whole realm of the *midzimu* is avoided (Daneel 1987:236-237, 268, 277 cf. Sundkler 1961:289-293).

What Mutendi's ZCC and other Zionist and Apostolic churches did was to provide a total system of belief: "By means of real adaptation and by offering alternatives to rain-making rites, the ancestor cult, healing practices and the belief in magic – that is by offering a new, comprehensible and relevant spiritual infrastructure for rural community life – these churches achieve their greatest impact..." (Daneel 1987:102). So comprehensive was the system of belief Mutendi promoted that it replaced everything from the traditional high-god cult, the hero-gods (*mhondoro*) and the ancestors (*midzimu*), to the role of the *n'anga* and the use of culturally relevant symbols in countering magic and the *n'anga's* use of fetishes and the like. The role of the ancestors and the world of the spirits were replaced by the Holy Spirit and the messengers of God – the angels. To counteract magic and to provide relief, healing and security, Mutendi used biblical or contextually relevant temporal objects that became conveyors of the supernatural, such as his consecrated staff, holy water, and even newspaper, which was burnt and inhaled (cf. Daneel 1987:241; Daneel 1970:44).

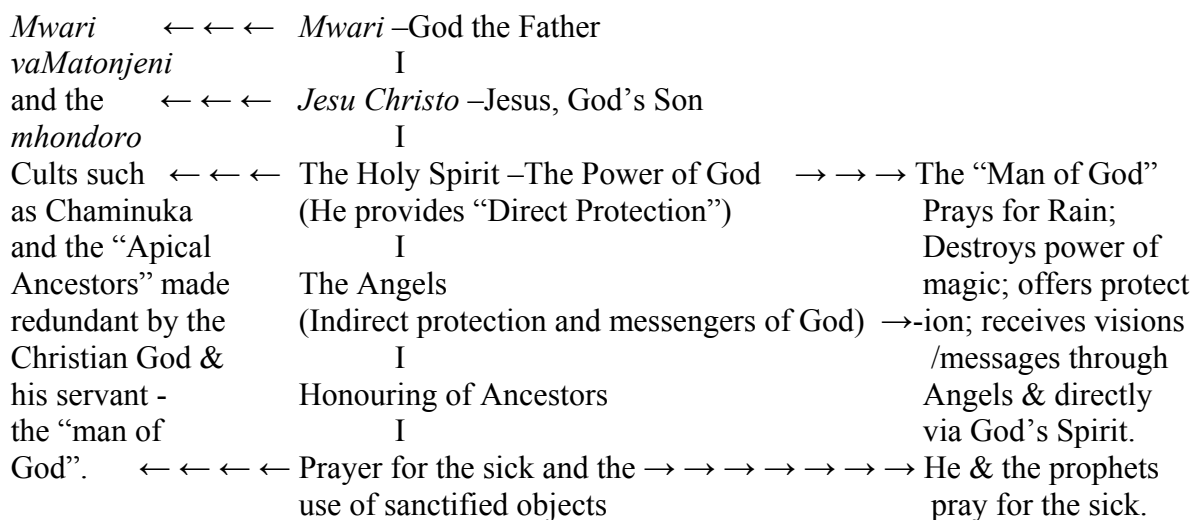
He would rebuke his followers who likened him to Christ; and while Zionist's talk of "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob", his and Engenas Lekhanyane roles as co-founders of the ZCC are acknowledged in the Zionist's statement of faith, where Jesus is described as "the Christ of Engenas and Samuel" (Mutendi 2005:18). It is difficult to differentiate between the reverence given to someone who claimed a Royal Mambo lineage of the Rozvi's and to the Son of God Himself, save for the titles of respect given, and even these could at times be confusing. Though it is true that he played the role of a prophet in the guise of Moses or Elijah, he had a deep and sincere love for the Lord Jesus as the Son of God. Nehemiah would often hear his father singing to Jesus, even if a full understanding of

Christ's Divinity, as one standing alongside the Father, was only later appreciated by Nehemiah (Mutendi 2005:18). God the Son was seen by Samuel Mutendi in the mode of the King's son, yet his theology should not be viewed so much as stilted, but as one seen through a tribal paradigm. If honour is due on earth to the King's heir apparent, how much more so to the Son of the Great King of Heaven, the one who gave his life for us?

Though the Christology (the work of Christ) and Pneumatology (the work of the Holy Spirit) was somewhat weaker in the ZCC than in some of the mainline or Pentecostal churches (who could also even in Mutendi's day often be criticised for a weakness in one or the other), Mutendi had a strong personal faith in the Lord Jesus. He believed that kingdoms and all other cultic powers were replaced by the Kingdom of Heaven and the work of the Holy Spirit (Mutendi 2005:15). *Zion City* is for the Zionist like the *Kingdom of Heaven*, and *Jerusalem* for them really does refer to their *Holy City*. In *Zion City* the work of the Kingdom is of a very pragmatic and physical nature. Not only are sick people prayed for and given prophetic release from their sicknesses and problems, but widows and orphans are housed and fed and food is redistributed to areas where rains were insufficient to produce a good crop. In this manner the *Man of God* performs a much needed temporal intermediary role between God and the people, and himself personifies Christ to them (Daneel 2005:23).

With this brief commentary on Samuel Mutendi's beliefs and spiritual practice in mind, figure 5.1.2 displays these diagrammatically.

Figure 5.1.2: Mutendi's Belief System



It is true that the prophetic emulation and the adaptation of certain practices of the *n`angas* by Mutendi and his leaders, may seem like syncretism to those who do not look at the beliefs that support the practices and methods used. However, in the prophetic therapy used, whether in the diagnosis of illness, exorcism or societal discomfort:

...[O]ne must bear in mind that the prophetic churches consistently reject traditional divination as unbiblical, that the prophets interpret their extraperception as deriving from the Holy Spirit and *not* from the ancestral

spirits, and that despite similarities in the diagnosis of illness, prophetic therapy always remains Christian in orientation and centres on God's saving power, as opposed to the traditional n'anga's activities to placate the spirits (through ancestor worship) (Daneel 1987:148-149).

Even though ancestors are not worshipped in theory, in practice a compromise is reached when there are non-Christian relatives involved. At the prophet's suggestion, in a conflicting situation involving for example traditionalist parents of a deceased church member, the parents must perform something meaningful to appease the evil spirits, and in the case of a married woman her husband must provide for this (i.e. a cow required for sacrifice). In this manner the traditional relatives appease the ancestral spirits, which are nevertheless still referred to as *shavi* (evil) spirits. The Zionists therefore in reality approach ancestral worship with a far greater degree of understanding than what their wholesale rejection of the ancestors suggest at face-value (Daneel 1970:41-44).

What is particularly apparent in the AICs (in stark contrast to the mainline churches) is that in the case of both the living and the recently deceased, all the needs of the community are met, be this their spiritual wellbeing, their physical health, their societal welfare, or their psychological sense of being and purpose. This fits well with the African concept that God is active in the created order, even in human affairs, and "...in effect human history is cosmic history seen anthropocentrically or microcosmically" (Mbiti 1969:47). If it were not for Samuel Mutendi breaking with the mission-church and addressing the whole cosmological structure of the Shona then this may well have been impossible, for in the African worldview all domains of life are interconnected, are one (Daneel 1987:79), such that once the directly spiritual is addressed, then the groundwork for every other need is laid. He addressed the whole structure so completely that everything was attended to, from rainmaking to amulets for protection; from a direct voice on behalf of the people with *Mwari*, Lord of all, to the personal healing of an individual.

Soon after Bishop Samuel Mutendi died, Daneel (2005:19-20) in visiting the two sons, Reuben and Nehemiah, he witnessed an interesting development in the belief system of the Zion Christian Church and the mediatory role of the founder:

But going there was interesting because they were then in the phase of monitoring what Mutendi's influence was in his state of death, through prophets dreaming about him, in visions about his directives to the church. So there is something of the old again, like spirit mediums, but they were prophets and the guidance they were getting was not that of tribal politics but how to run the church. [Their guidance came direct] from Mutendi, having passed away but sort of mediating the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In other words his directives were aligned – they were very concrete things that they had to do – but aligned to the work of the Holy Spirit. And of course it is very similar to ancestor veneration, but in a Christianized manner I would say. Mutendi junior himself said that they go up every year to charge their batteries, meaning establishing through these prophets direct contact with the deceased and gaining a lot of inspiration from it for their outreach. Because Samuel Mutendi was a great missionary, he was sending out – after each of the three big meetings they call Pasika – he would send out these missionaries all over the country, so for them to maintain that momentum, that's why they went up to ... their new church headquarters.

The basis for Mutendi's ability to cross the tribal boundaries

Before venturing into Mutendi's ability to cross the tribal boundaries, it is important to gain a minimal understanding of the conditions he returned to in the central-eastern parts of Zimbabwe. Historically speaking the *vaShona* is an intertribal grouping comprising at least six dominant tribes, with their roots imbedded in more than one regional tribal grouping. The tribal situation in the village around 1900 often comprised of more than one of these original tribes. One of these tribes was the Rozvi, once a powerful kingdom dominating over the Shona sub-tribes before the arrival of the Ndebele (Daneel 1971:28, 287).

Daneel mentions how he was adopted into Mutendi's household as a part of the family (Daneel 2005:22), which was a substantial act by Mutendi of crossing the socio-political boundaries in an age when there was not much social contact between the races. This is in line with Nehemiah's description of his father:

The DC [District Commissioner] was such an important man in the area, but he would come to his home and eat. It was strange to see a white man eat in a black man's home [in those days], some of the missionaries would come and sit with him, and the priests from the Catholic Church, and from the DRC [Dutch Reformed Church] would also come. It was those early days when a white person and the race relations between the whites and blacks were better than between the Matabele and the *vaShona*. His church spread to Matabeleland, but then the Shona people would see all these Ndebele preaching and ask, 'Why do you get all these Ndebele people, they have taken all our cattle.' He said no, 'They are worshipping God now, it does not matter', so they would worship together (Mutendi 2005:14-15).

Mutendi was more able than most religious leaders to bring together the various tribal leaders. Indeed, with more than 15 paramount chiefs under him he was able to recreate something of a physical kingdom on earth, apart from the Spiritual one he proclaimed. In a time when the Ndebele had only recently stopped raiding Shona cattle, his role in uniting the two tribes in his churches should not be underestimated, even allowing the Ndebele to lead! Mutendi managed to create a church with a "multi-tribal character" (Daneel 1971:295) – in part due to the importance of tribal lineage and thus his role as a royal Rozvi with a claim to the Rozvi Mambos of old (Daneel 2005:20, 23). The numerous clans and various Shona tribes' greater need for a central focal point and a sense of a common identity that traversed the tribal boundaries were critical; one that spanned the Shona-Ndebele divide was even more significant. In a rapidly modernising era where nothing was secure, a sense of the old where the physical needs of rain and healing were still met was a much needed relief to an often spiritual and physical drought. In this modern era, there was no linkage as there once had been, between the spiritual work of the cults and the need for a sense of macro-tribal identity; a sense of Kingdom – which Mutendi could supply.

Yet as Daneel explains, he did not retain leadership positions purely for the Rozvi, but crossed the boundaries by appointing some leaders who were from the other tribes. Daneel describes this ability to cross boundaries as being due in part to an inherent ability to accommodate others within the African peoples and in part to pragmatic considerations, even the ambitious need to expand. And then there was his Christian conviction that the "...message of Christianity is for all peoples. ...[T]hat Christianity is about Christ and that crosses boundaries" (Daneel 2005:23).

How Mutendi's Zionist convictions affected lasting tribal and national change

Perhaps one of the most significant things he did was to provide a sense of connectedness for the disparate tribes – a corporate sense of identity – and a sense of *Kingdom* which gave the paramount chiefs a focal point, religiously and politically, which would later contribute in its own way in the building of a national identity in Zimbabwe. “His Zion City symbolized not only the Christian kingdom but also the ancient Rozvi dynasty, evoking the by-gone glory of Shona nationhood. Thus his popular title, ‘man of God,’ had both religious and political connections”, and Daneel (2004:198) continues: “Aware of the conflicts chiefs and headmen had to face – torn between the disparate demands of colonial administration and local tribespeople – the ‘man of God’ sought to provide frustrated tribal elders with a spiritual anchorage which could help them function optimally....”

One of the most critical areas where Mutendi helped affect lasting national change was in the arena of self esteem. According to Daneel: “He was a resistance figure, he was a Moses figure ...” and someone who “... built his image as a resistance figure against white dominion” (Daneel 2005:19, 21). In his pursuit of justice for his people he was prepared to go to extended lengths. He did not back away from confrontations with whites, who did not threaten him. “And he was imprisoned a number of times and that boosted his image, he was courageous, he was not afraid of the whites, and there is a certain consistency and integrity in that! That was his image and he lived according to that” (Daneel 2005:23). Perhaps his Rozvi connections enabled him more than most to stand up to the white administration and sustain a fearless approach to whites in general. Nor did he stop with himself or his Rozvi relatives, but was, “... also very serious when he was talking about the people’s relations to the whites, that they should not be docile, that they shouldn’t sit down and cringe, that they should stand up for themselves, which of course was important in the white-black relations in Zimbabwe” (Daneel 2005:20).

In this context the Zionist message of liberation evolved. It did not promise easy solutions or revolutionary changes that could bring sudden freedom from bondage. Instead the Zionist support system enabled the chiefs and headmen to cope by liberating them from the fears and anxiety that often beset them. As Christ did not constitute a Messianic order which would satisfy the Jewish nationalistic aspirations, Mutendi did not promise another Rozvi confederation or Zionist empire which would overthrow white rule. But he did set an example to the chiefs of how to realistically co-operate with the rulers without loss of dignity, and how to resist unjust legislation or actions even if such resistance rarely brought about the desired results (Daneel 2004:198).

The Suppression of Witchcraft Act was passed by Parliament in Southern Rhodesia sometime after 1923, and Nehemiah likes to attribute this in part to his father, who worked tirelessly to expose the *n`angas* and their acts of witchcraft. This was in stark contrast to the Catholic and Dutch Reformed Churches who did not approve of the witchcraft but did nothing to stop it either. He did not tolerate the traditional rites associated with the burial of the dead and the cultic practices of praying to the *Mhondoro* cult of Chaminuka or the high-god cult of Matonjeni for rain. In this way he substantially changed the belief systems of thousands of present day Zimbabweans and paved the way for lasting national change in the domain of belief systems. In this manner he brought relief from both *shavi* oppressive and cultic practices by providing another avenue to rain, healing and relief. He did this in a culturally sensitive way, realising that he was attempting to transform the people’s roots.

Though at times it brought about conflict and a *power encounter*, he always provided a culturally relevant substitute (cf. Mutendi 2005:17-18).

In the areas of education and development, Samuel Mutendi brought about significant changes in the rural practices once used. Firstly, in the area of schooling, he assisted his people's education by providing schools. These were quite possibly some of the first indigenously owned and run schools in the whole of Zimbabwe. Secondly, in the whole arena of development, particularly within agriculture, he introduced modern techniques such as contour ploughing, which the government had advocated, but which were previously not used in the rural subsistence farming that was practiced in his earlier days. Samuel Mutendi also established cooperative farming long before the current Zimbabwean government's cooperative schemes (Mutendi 2005:18).

By bringing in modern agricultural methods and cooperative means, Mutendi was able to significantly advance the livelihood of particularly the rural subsistence farmer. In providing schooling to the less fortunate, who were usually his people; he provided other means of income in a rapidly modernising Rhodesian economy and paved the way for larger scale black leadership and empowerment. This, along with many other tributaries, contributed to the creation of a truly independent Zimbabwe, whose economy has never been so strong, even in the earliest of Smith's Rhodesian Front days when the costs of maintaining a white minority rule had not yet taken its toll, up until 1997.

5.3 Michael Cassidy

*A brief commentary on Cassidy's life and rise to leadership*⁹

Michael Cassidy was born in Johannesburg on 24 September 1936, the firstborn of Charles Michael and Mary Cassidy, and from the start he had a healthy appetite. In 1939 the Cassidy family moved to Maseru in Basutoland (now Lesotho). Maseru was the capital of Basutoland and Charles Cassidy worked as an electrical engineer for the British colonial administration. He had a deep personal faith in Christ and taught Michael how to pray. From his mother Michael gained appreciation for the honest doubters as she was sceptical of traditional Christian beliefs. When Michael was four his younger sister Olave was born. Michael gradually gained a reputation as the “naughtiest boy in all Basutoland” for his many and varied pranks.

He attended the Maseru Preparatory School with about 60 other pupils. His high spirited pranks were to eventually have a negative effect, as was proven by the bruises incurred by his younger sister, who had by that stage been joined by another sister, Judy. In September 1946 he was sent off to a boarding school, Parktown (or PTS) at the age of nine. In PTS, Michael met more than his match and experienced the negative effects of bullying first hand. In his studies, Michael achieved some distinction and as a sportsman he made the first team in both cricket and soccer and passionately took to boxing and at home during the holidays, Michael became an expert rider. In Maseru, Michael struck up a friendship with the much older Pat Duncan, son of the last Governor General to South Africa. Duncan influenced the young Michael with his liberal white political outlook and his disposition to always fight for the underdog. It was from Pat Duncan (who together with Peter Brown and Alan Paton helped found the South African Liberal Party) that he acquired his fervour for justice and his hatred of apartheid. He also began to sense spiritual things, and had a good relationship with the local Anglican vicar who faithfully sent him ten shillings a term. This had the effect of God being seen by Michael as a heavenly benefactor whom one could always count on.

In January 1950, at the age of 14, Michael was sent to Michaelhouse, a boy's school with a reputation for being one of the best in the country. Most of his earlier years at Michaelhouse were unhappy due to his being teased and bullied (he developed late). His loneliness made him turn to his childhood faith for solace and strength and he even formed a little prayer meeting with a few other boys. However, life at Michaelhouse was not always hard and in his post-matric year he was made a Senior Prefect of the School and House Captain of Pascoe House. In this capacity he resolved to clean up his boarding house with a prescription for justice and fair play. He also started thinking about politics and social justice on a national level. These were times in which Urban Africa was changing rapidly; South Africa showed the worst manifestation yet of its inner fractured nature with British settler and Boer hardly speaking and discrimination against blacks built into a series of laws as the nation entered apartheid. After Michaelhouse, Cassidy taught for nine months at his old school PTS before sailing to England to attend Cambridge.

At Cambridge he soon joined the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU), but not before meeting Robert Footner, who challenged him about his faith and where he stood with regards to Jesus Christ. After a church service one morning, Michael knelt

⁹ This section draws largely on the work of Anne Coomes: (Coomes 2002), and where Coomes has been substantially supplemented, these sources have been clearly shown.

down in his room to “invite Jesus in”, in line with Rev. 3:20. Michael was at first the overzealous evangelist, and yet at times he was struck with an extreme sense of self-doubt as to his own abilities. He was, however, to gain wisdom along the way. At Cambridge he met Father Huddleston and a friend called Michael Nuttall (later the Anglican Bishop of Natal), both of whom influenced him greatly and helped Michael start to integrate his faith with his political instincts. On the academic side he managed to change his degree from law and instead study in Modern and Mediaeval Languages. One day Robert Footner excitedly burst into Michael’s room to announce to a clueless Cassidy that Billy Graham was coming. Graham later would have a profound impact on the young Cassidy, who began to look to Christ rather than well meaning liberal politics for solutions:

Now that he had discovered the transforming love and power of God, “at once my perception of the South African problem changed. It was Jesus who could enable people to love each other. Surely then, no final political solutions could come, unless out of the matrix of spiritual awakening and renewal. But people would have to be won to Christ – in their hundreds and thousands. That meant evangelism” (Coomes 2002:66)

This was to become Michael’s personal clarion call in his future role as an evangelist not just in South Africa but also in Africa at large. He was convinced (as he endeavoured to listen to God) that his mission would be to evangelise the cities of Africa. In June of 1957 he received an invitation to go to New York, which coincided with Billy Graham’s Madison Square Garden Crusade. Martin Luther King’s impassioned speeches based on a social gospel were at the time being televised, and both King and Graham greatly impacted him. In the middle of 1958 Michael completed his studies at Cambridge; a little over a year later he began a theology degree at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena just outside Los Angeles, having been told about it by one of Graham’s crusade staff.

Within a week of arriving at Fuller from South Africa he was thrust into leadership, and for the first time ever Fuller Seminary Student Mission Fellowship (FMF) asked a first year to become the new Chairman of the missions minded group. It was not long before Michael was formulating his vision to evangelise Africa and to faithfully pray for the 31 cities he had chosen to target. With the help of friends and encouraged by a prayer meeting, Michael embarked on the formation of a mission, to be called African Enterprise (AE), a name spotted on a ship that sailed between Africa and the United States. Michael soon started travelling, and with Ed Gregory he began a circular tour of about 20 cities in Africa: starting with Tripoli in North African, passing through West African cities such as Accra and Lagos, on through the Southern African cities of Johannesburg and Salisbury (now Harare) and then through East Africa to Addis Ababa and Cairo in the North. This experience was to be an eye-opener because time and again the political leaders with whom they met said that any mission enterprise needed to focus on the cities, whereas missions had traditionally focused on the rural areas. Michael started to further formulate his plans for Africa, but where to begin? The answer came to him in prayer on 1 August 1961: Pietermaritzburg in South Africa, where he did indeed start the very next year.

Michael returned to Pasadena and spent the next two years busily building the financial and administrative support base necessary to start such an enterprise. He began preparing the mission, starting by gathering around him a group of very competent like-minded men, each with their own expertise. Dr Charles Fuller, the founder of Fuller Seminary,

constituted a board for the fledgling ministry and lent the newly formed African Enterprise (AE) his secretary. He also helped kick it off with a small financial contribution. Their first call to do a mission came from Dr Calvin Cook (a Presbyterian minister) on behalf of the churches of Pietermaritzburg. The Pietermaritzburg Mission was held from 11-25 August 1962. The city hall was filled to capacity every night as Michael and his team of five evangelists ministered in what proved to be an early landmark in Michael's evangelistic campaigns. After returning to Pasadena, the team completed their studies in 1963 and embarked on two campaigns with Dr Leighton Ford and Dr Billy Graham. In 1964 the team returned to Africa as numerous ministry doors opened to them.

A great number of missions followed, most of which took place in South Africa or nearby in the early days of African Enterprise. In 1966, the team conducted a nationwide six month mission to Basutoland as she readied herself for independence. A positive feature of this campaign, after a highly segregated one in Ladysmith, was that the team took on their first black evangelist, Abiel Thipanyane. "Spearhead" was directed towards the youth of the southern suburbs of Cape Town and ran in 1967. The strategy was to meet in some 30 different homes to which the youth of the churches invited their friends to a fun filled, non-threatening environment where the gospel could be simply laid out. This was followed by AE's first University Mission of many – in this case to the University of Cape Town. Michael attended the Berlin Congress in Evangelism in 1968 where he was asked to speak on *Political Nationalism as an Obstacle to Evangelism*. He took the opportunity to speak about African Enterprise's commitment to non-racialism as a foundation to mission.

That same year, Michael flew to Nigeria where he attended the West African Congress on Evangelisation. Festo Kivengere, himself a product of the East African 1930s/1940s revival, was also one of the speakers. The two men had first met in 1961 when Festo visited Fuller. Michael had a revelation: why not join forces with Festo and build a team around him? Festo was by this stage already a celebrated international evangelist and speaker and as the older of the two, he was cautious about accepting an offer to join AE, but agreed to preach with Michael at the upcoming Nairobi Mission. Around this time Michael ran two successful missions, one to his old school, Michaelhouse, and another to its chief private school rival, Hilton. After these the Crossroads United Christian Mission took place in Nairobi in March 1969. During the afternoon rallies, Festo preached in Swahili – interpreted into English, and the next day Michael preaching in English – interpreted into Swahili. The combination was a powerful one-two punch and Riddel, a missionary from the Congo, is reported as having said: "This kind of city evangelism, not the hit-and-miss stuff, is what the whole of Africa needs" (Coomes 2002:153).

Next, Michael went to Kampala on the invitation of Festo and experienced Ugandan style evangelism, which involved a far greater grassroots participation and church enthusiasm. These were features not strongly present in the Nairobi mission, which being more cosmopolitan and not as strongly indigenous, had far less participation from non-professionals and relied more on its speakers. This was a revelation to Michael, who realised that the African Enterprise team would have to be completely revamped for effective ministry in the cities of Africa. Up to this point AE had largely been a white affair with a vast majority of North American professionals on the staff. With John Tooke (a white South African) and Abiel Thipanyane already firmly on board, Michael next asked Ebenezer Sikakane – the Zulu translator from Union Bible Institute and one of the finest

Zulu preachers in the nation – to join AE, even as some of the team's North Americans started to think of returning home.

In 1969 Michael and his team conducted a mission to the University of Cape Town (UCT), with the team acting as in-house missionaries in the men's residences for the duration of the mission. The mission committee picked the lady missionaries to be placed in the women's residences. One missionary developed malaria and Carol Bam was chosen by Mick Milligan (director of Student YMCA) and his wife Christian to be the substitute. As luck, or rather, as God would providentially have it, Carol and Michael went on a date after the formal part of the mission was over, during which Michael proposed to her! Michael had sensed God say the night before that this was the lady the Lord had for him. Fortunately she felt the same and knew (she had an inner assurance from the Lord) that it was right to go ahead, and so on the 16 December 1969, Michael married Carol Bam.

In 1970 Festo and Michael teamed up for their joint USA ministry tour. Speaking in tandem, their theme was "God has reconciled us to himself and given us the ministry of reconciliation", 2 Cor 5:18. This made for a powerful statement with a white South African, speaking alongside the gifted and internationally respected, Festo Kivengere. There were many other East Africans who joined Michael, among them John Wilson of Uganda and Grace Kalambo of Tanzania, but Festo remains the most outstanding. While he was alive theirs was strictly a partnership in AE and neither of them held rank over the other. During the next year the East African team for AE was launched with Festo as team leader, but he was also elected Bishop of Kigezi in 1972. This was the real birth of AE's sustained ministry to Africa beyond South Africa's borders and from where many other teams were to be launched in the years that followed. Back in South Africa AE launched, "The Durban Congress on Mission and Evangelism" in 1973 with nearly 800 South African delegates attending and about 50 000 people coming together for the closing event – a Billy Graham rally at King's Park in Durban.

In 1975, AE put on its first year long mission campaign to Pietermaritzburg. In 1976 AE helped behind the scenes to host the Pan African Leadership Assembly (PACLA) in Nairobi, where 800 leaders from almost all the nations of Africa met. This had a ripple effect in South Africa, where in 1979 the South African Christian Leadership Assembly (SACLA) was launched, which AE hosted directly and had a direct impact on the nation. A significant number of Dutch Reformed pastors attended this, many of whom trace their change of heart and change of theological stance on apartheid to SACLA 1979. In the years that followed AE's missions and influence grew with Michael often filling the slot of the keynote evangelist. These were often weeklong rallies preceded by months of preparation in prayer, meeting with pastors and arranging for counsellor training as well as the planning of venues and the follow-up process after the event.

One such rally took place in 1982 in Mutare, Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands border town, and was called *Mutare for Jesus*. African Enterprise had launched a Zimbabwean team in 1978 and David Richardson and Chris Sewell had reached out consistently to the city's church leaders. At *Mutare for Jesus* they used a stratified evangelism approach developed by Michael Cassidy and John Tooke. Every sector of society, particularly in the workplace, was reached out to in over 600 meetings that occurred before Michael arrived. For the *official* mission, seven large venues were simultaneously used city-wide with all AE's leading evangelists, including Michael, in the evenings ministering at one of these venues

for the duration of the main week. By the time of *Mutare for Jesus*, what had in the past been a ministry upheld by the two *big stakes players* regarding evangelism, Festo and Michael, had transformed into an Africa wide team of evangelists.

In 1980, AE acquired a property on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg, which was developed into the Christian Leadership Training Centre and also became Michael's headquarters. It was opened in 1984 with courses on mission and evangelism. AE's training of young people in evangelism was also launched that year. In 1983, Michael and AE embarked on a highly successful *Blantyre for Jesus* mission. They again used the concept of multiple venues throughout the city with a team of 26 people operating alongside Michael. In the evening rallies and elsewhere the team literally saw "thousands of people surging forward to receive Christ" (Coomes 2002:255). With the increase in polarisation in the South African society, in September 1985 Michael and the AE team and 70 South African church leaders held a conference in Pietermaritzburg, called the National Initiative for Reconciliation. Out of this *Initiative* grew the task of nationwide reconciliation, fleshed out by multiple small teams drawn from many denominations and races and that traversed the length and breadth of South Africa with the message of reconciliation.

In 1986, Michael again teamed up with the East Africans for a major mission to Kampala. He also held missions in both urban and rural areas (Pinelands, Cape and KwaMakhutha and Zama Zama), demonstrating the diversity with which Michael and the AE teams worked. In 1988 the AE ministry suffered a great loss when Festo Kivengere, Michael's East African counterpart, passed away from leukaemia. He was succeeded by Gresford Chitemo of Tanzania but Festo proved to be irreplaceable, both as someone who more than matched Michael as a speaker and as co-leader of AE. That same year Michael wrote his first book and perhaps the one he is best known for, namely *The Passing Summer: A South African pilgrimage in the Politics of Love*.

Another initiative from AE Zimbabwe was a strategy called "Operation Foxfire", which was launched in 1981. The idea of this was to send two or more "foxes" (often recently graduated Bible college students) out into the rural areas to establish churches for the people who had recently been converted by their ministry. By 1984 these foxfires were ministering in the Mozambique refugee camps on the borders of Zimbabwe; by 1987, they were ministering to 8 500 refugees. In 1992, "Operation Foxfire" was refocused toward the urban context and targeted the Mbare hostels where over 200 000 people lived in a high density slum of the most extreme kind. The model was transposed to South Africa in 1994.

In 1992, AE celebrated the 30th year of ministry to the cities of Africa with *Harambee*, which is Swahili for pulling together. Because of the political climate change in South Africa, for the first time the AE colleagues from East and Central Africa could join their South African counterparts in that country. The highlight of the *Harambee* celebrations was a dedication dinner that 1 100 people of all racial, national and denominational backgrounds attended. For Michael this represented a picture of the New South Africa and indeed the African continent and the world. Out of this experience flowed a ministry to South Africa called "From Africa With Love", which comprised seven teams with 33 of the East and Central African team members and a significant number of South African team members. The teams set out to minister to 17 cities, during which they met and prayed with the key political figures in the nation. These meetings included among other noteworthy leaders Oliver Tambo (African National Council - ANC), President FW de

Klerk (National Party), Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Inkatha Freedom Party) as well as others from the extreme right wing Afrikaner Volksunie (who advocated a separate homeland) and the Pan African Congress (whose slogan was “One Settler One Bullet”).

The surprising spin-off from this was that a number of leaders from the different parties proved to have similar ideas of what a new South Africa should look like, and Michael decided to get the leaders of all the parties together for dialogue weekends. So over the course of a year, from the end of 1992 to the end of 1993, six separate weekend dialogues were planned at Kolobe Lodge. These were to impact the political second tier leadership in many of the political parties and significantly influenced the elections for a new South African dispensation in April 1994.

However, just prior to the elections the clash between Inkatha and the ANC heightened and threatened to drag the whole nation into civil war. The situation was grave and the three leaders, De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi called for international mediation by most notably Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington. At Michael’s instigation Washington Okumu was also invited. As it transpired, once the international mediation came to naught it was Okumu, working behind the scenes, who brokered a deal agreeable to all parties. By Sunday, 17 April, Michael had called for a Jesus Prayer Rally in King’s Park Stadium in Durban, to which about 30 000 people attended. As the prayer of the faithful gathered momentum in the stadium below, Buthelezi was in the VIP lounge above, sharing the Okumu proposals with Jacob Zuma of the ANC and Minister Danie Schutte from De Klerk’s cabinet.

Much happened before and after this event in the ministry of Michael and AE, but things did slow down substantially on the *home front* particularly in the political arena, after 1994 as South Africa found her feet in the new dispensation. However, by 2003, some nine years later, it was apparent that all was not well in South Africa, with issues of HIV/Aids, violent crime and unemployment among others had been added to the age-old racism. So the second South African Leadership Assembly (SACLA II) was held in Pretoria, with over 4 500 delegates from a wide denominational; formal/informal leadership spectrum attending. SACLA II was championed by Mark Manley, AE’s new team leader for South Africa with Donald Graham assisting, and with Michael and Mvume Dandala (Methodist Bishop and Chair of the South African Council of Churches) acting as co-conveners.

Mark Manley was to bring a new wave of activity to African Enterprise, resurrecting the *Ministry of Reconciliation* and involving numerous young people participating in outreach projects. Unfortunately his style clashed with Michael’s (as so often happens when founding leaders are involved), and with the parting of ways, the new ministry generated and the increase in finances that came with it tailed off (Manley 2005:33). Michael and the AE board have fortunately not been altogether unaware of the issues surrounding an aging founding leader and have recently made a far-reaching decision, which Michael’s circular letter dated 15 August 2005, reflects: “It is also now my privilege to announce that our brother Stephen Lungu, our Team Leader in Malawi, has been elected ... and will take over from me as CEO of African Enterprise internationally in one year from now. So I will surrender that executive headship of the ministry in a year's time, even while continuing as International Team Leader for one further year” (Cassidy 2005B:1). However it remains to be seen how this arrangement will work with the founder always hovering in the background as retirement for Michael does not seem to be a preferred option.

Structures employed in Cassidy's model of leadership

It is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of the leadership structures in an organization like African Enterprise that has been around for some time solely through a literary research, as a lot changed over the course of AE's ministry. Yet it is probably true to say that there will always be a reflection of the founding leader's personality and style in the structures employed, even if these structures have been adapted to changing times and personalities.

In the early years his team from Fuller knew each other at college and the accent and structure was one of *team*. Michael's team of three Americans and one Canadian had all attended Fuller Theological Seminary with him. They were men of high academic calibre and skilled at their tasks. One had graduated *cum laude* in electrical engineering, another was an accomplished pianist, another had gone through extensive training in running crusades with the Billy Graham team and still another was a former Aero-space engineer. Michael has this to say in a letter about his team, documented by Coomes:

“You ask whether AE will be ‘just another’ Christian organisation ... we are fairly unique in the personnel on the team. All are not only highly qualified men, but also independent thinkers who are constantly willing to evaluate and adapt. The team members will always ensure that the message of Christ be presented in a way which is calculated to earn the serious consideration of thinking people. The team, as I see it, is dedicated both to scholarly principles and to simple piety, a combination which I believe is entirely biblical and proper. In the third place, AE has some degree of uniqueness in its attitudes of openness, sanity, unconditional acceptance of others, and in its strong desire to unite rather than divide God's people” (Coomes 2002:107-108).

In its early years the team was all white, male and North American (apart from Michael), making it hard to sell the need for financial support in South Africa as many thought they were funded by North America. With so many strong leaders on one team it is little wonder that AE devoted enormous amounts of energy at certain periods of its lifespan to sorting out differences, particularly in those foundational years. Michael says that after the emotional trauma, a bond developed, and out of this new-found team unity, ministry into Africa's brokenness became more, not less possible (Coomes 2002:125-126).

However, there was a significant defect: the team was still all-white, which prevented effective ministry into the cities of Africa. And so around March 1966 the first indigenous African, Abiel Thipanyane was brought on board. Yet if they were to minister effectively to the 31 key African cities as was their goal, they did not possess “... sufficient breadth in gifts, language, and cultural understanding to minister effectively in all sections of the African community and continent” (Coomes 2003:144). Such was their lack that they needed not just a revamping but the creation of a new inter-racially founded, South African based team. This happened as early as January 1969, and in 1971 another new team was directed out of East Africa. During Michael's visit to Nigeria in 1968, Michael envisioned an East African team, fuelled in part by a strong desire to work alongside Festo Kivengere, the charismatic Ugandan soon-to-be Bishop. It was with this understanding that Michael approached Festo Kivengere to head up a second team for AE (Coomes 2002:147-151).

Michael honestly mentions that, although in some ways an ideal ministry partnership was created with Festo and the two became equal directors (this was considered a somewhat

unique set-up structurally speaking around the world in Christian ministries), it did provide difficulties. It was a very innovative partnership structurally with both being co-leaders, but administratively it was at times very difficult and pushed relationships almost to the point of breaking. After Festo passed away, he was for a time a co-leader with Festo's successor, Graceford Chitema, but after a while Michael asked his board to move him either up a peg or down. Thus in more recent years AE trans-continently has been more aligned to a direct hierarchical structure with Michael clearly at the helm (Cassidy 2005:27-28).

Michael in many ways uses a traditional top down approach to leadership, and this is perhaps most noticeable in the office in Pietermaritzburg. Mark Manley (2005:34), ex-Team Leader of AE South Africa, has this analysis to offer of AE's leadership structures:

And so you had this very top heavy situation where many people were called funny things which amounted to being managers and had a voice on the "Exco" [Executive Committee]. So it was a bit like a sky-scraper as opposed to a pyramid, which is a very unhealthy situation. But now what that should have allowed for was greater expression because now everyone's got a say. But we all know it does not work like that because it did not have a formalised matrix approach. It was still hierarchical, very hierarchical. More disturbing was the unofficial hierarchy, the one that operated in parallel to the hierarchy that was in the formalised structure and this had to do with access to the power, and the power in this instance was Michael and those who could influence Michael and the old click – the old boys club. Those who could influence, these people, although they might have had no structural power, were the people with the power.

This analysis is supported by Jamie Morrison, who although he states the case of Michael's leadership in a far more complimentary manner than Manley, still mentions that Michael, as International Team Leader for AE has 10 teams operating in Africa, each with a team leader reporting directly to Michael and also to a board of directors. Furthermore, there are six international countries that host support offices for AE, each with their own administrator or leader reporting directly to Michael. There are also about three Pan African Executive Officers running ministries such as the *Training and Leadership Ministry*, the *Reconciliation Ministry*, and *Aid and Development in Africa* (run by the leader of the Australian office). So beyond the local level in South Africa, internationally there are around 18 people reporting directly to Michael. Jamie Morrison (2005:31) continues: "I don't know what all the management and leadership literature says but I think that's quite a large number of people reporting directly to him as head of the ministry."

Perhaps Manley is actually being polite. If on a local level Michael's management structure resembles a *sky-scraper*, then surely trans-nationally it resembles an upside down pyramid, or more accurately a flat topped mountain with one structural adjustment, for though from a distance it appears to be more-or-less flat on top, there is still a very definite summit. Michael perhaps unwittingly had, in seeking a comfort zone, produced a top-heavy structure. The AE's relative size combined with Michael's loyal, predominantly older white South African colleagues had cut out any other voice – the voice of youth; the voice of black Africans; the voice of dissent. Manley believes that this occurred because there was a prevailing culture of *non-confrontation* emanating from the founding leader, which transpired in a top-heavy leadership and resultant inefficiency (Manley 2005:34). Or possibly more generously, these leaders had – because of their own relative energy levels

and the paradigm shifts that the world has experienced in the 40 years of AE's ministry (and particularly more recently in South Africa) – become disconnected with the outside world while still operating in an evangelistic ministry that requires high levels of output.

Mark Manley had tried to institute a much flatter organisational structure and had just about succeeded in reducing the multi-levelled structure that AE had become to just three tiers. In Manley's structure the younger South Africans because of a shift in culture brought about by the sheer numbers, vitality and the voice that Manley gave them, for the first time in many years, had a say in AE (Manley 2005:33). Unfortunately Michael Cassidy and Mark Manley's styles clashed and with the departure of Manley, the structures were reverted. This was not the first time Cassidy had struggled with a younger aspiring leader, or as was the case with Manley, an ex-Mayor of Randburg and coordinator of the support structures that played midwife to the Interim Government, a leader in his own right:

Well in the nature of things it has been a very much Michael Cassidy lead organisation, and he has had his team surrounding him. The big challenge as I understand it, and I know they have been wrestling with it themselves is what is going to happen when Michael Cassidy moves on or out? And they are talking about it as a second generation leadership. And my perception, frankly for what it is worth, I am not in on the inside of the workings of AE ... looking on from the outside as it were, is that they are having difficulty working on that one. There have been quite a few fairly strong characters who have come in, second generation leadership, the most recent being Mark Manley. But there was an Anglican priest actually from Singapore, whom I got to know quite well as I had to relate to him as one of our clergy in Natal, who came a 'cropper' for whatever reason – I'm not quite sure. His particular style, what he had to contribute was not acceptable, so he had to move out! (Nuttall 2005:36).

To be fair to Cassidy, the problem of a second generation leader waiting in the wings to succeed Cassidy has not entirely been dismissed out of hand. More recently Michael has made efforts to find a replacement and has chosen Stephen Lungu, the current team leader for AE in Malawi, as heir-apparent. Lungu will become the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of AE International in late 2006, and "International Team Leader" in 2007, thereby relieving Michael Cassidy of his formal positions. Yet even then Michael Cassidy will retain the functional role of "Leader Emeritus" (Nuttall 2005:36; Cassidy 2005B:1).

However, beyond the office, his secondary style of leadership (a hands-off approach to the miniature detail of evangelistic campaigns) and very diverse ministry requires him to operate from the basis of a *team* structure (Morrison 2005:31). This is in large part due to his own variety in ministry and that of the overall organisation, which comprises not just evangelistic crusades but entails leadership training, social action, reconciliation, political leadership dialogue, city-wide discipleship and ecumenism. There was one arena that called for variety that AE was weak in from the start: their leadership did not fully reflect the people they were trying to reach on the African continent. In the arena of racial conflict they needed to preach reconciliation from the basis of a racially diverse team, making their call visible and tangible, which they tried early on with some degree of success to achieve.

But on one issue the team were no longer fumbling. They had decided to make their public stand on racism clearer, more overt and more specific. "Repentance

from racist attitudes seemed to us to belong equally clearly with repentance from immorality or drunkenness. And we preached it, disconcerting though it was to many of our white leaders,” remembered Michael. As if to practise what they preached, African Enterprise went further that summer and made plans to take on a new team member, Abiel Thipanyane. Abiel was a Sesotho-speaking South African from the Orange Free State and had been one of the main interpreters and preachers in the six-month endeavour. It was an extremely important Rubicon for the team to cross and the integration process thereafter would continue as other black evangelists and staff workers joined AE. ...At the great closing rally with 10,000 or more present, Abiel interpreted again for Michael. It was the beginning of a great partnership and friendship that is still in place today, almost four decades later (Coomes 2002:128-129).

While this is true of their evangelists in the field, Michael and AE have never really got over the obstacle of a very white administrative team with a top down approach to leadership, which may have been an element in his losing so early on all of his founding team. Today his highest, most trusted staff members tend to be white South Africans from his own generation. Indeed, this may be part of his colonial legacy where he is most comfortable and secure with organisation taking place from the basis of a known cultural grouping – his own English speaking, white South African *laager*. Michael’s need for security extends to his being unable to cope with the younger high fliers from generations below him, even from the same core grouping as his. Many able young men and women have come and gone from the ranks of AE, and at a glance the South Africa AE leadership team shows a distinct lack of black, Indian and coloured South Africans.

On a more positive note, African Enterprise has been surprisingly versatile beyond its central administration in its ministry approach, particularly in ministry to various sectors of society. Not only are they well known for their stratified evangelistic appeal where they attempt to reach all levels of society both in the business and political spheres, but they have used various approaches when working in conjunction with churches in different cities and situations. For example, they worked with a mission called *Spearhead* – birthed out of the Wynberg Ministers’ Fraternal – to reach the youth and young adults of all races in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Because security personnel incorrectly linked the concept of a spear with *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation – the armed wing of the ANC), they tried in vain to block this multi-racial mission. The mission strategy was for small groups to meet in some 30 different houses over the course of several months. Christian youth invited friends and classmates to the CHUM groups (Christian Home Unit Method), where they could have fun, sing, eat and see skits (short dramatic presentations), which offered them a taste of the gospel in a non-threatening home environment.

However, beyond even their multicultural local ministry, AE trans-continentially has appeared far healthier. Particularly in their Pan African campaigns, they surprisingly resembled the polar opposite of their white management in South Africa. Michael himself enumerates, speaking of AE’s trans-cultural flavour:

And of course our team here we saw very, very early – we started full time in ‘64 and within months we had our first black person. That became our commitment, so we became a non-racial or interracial ministry as well as interdenominational. The very fact that AE is together today as a team and a

ministry after 44 years, is a testimony to that commitment. Because Africa over those years has had massive fragmenting forces at work within it, and if you bring people in from every background, from East Africa, from West Africa, from South Africa, you bring in whites from South Africa, you bring in old time white Rhodesians, you know, and the developing black Zimbabweans from those early years. And then you bring in a couple of tough Aussies and some rather sensitive gentle Englishmen and a few rash Americans and you really stir the pot to almost impossible levels of requirement. And I need to be absolutely honest, it was not all plain sailing (Cassidy 2005:27).

What is a glaring contradiction, though unrealised it seems by Michael, is the perception of the achievement of *an interracial commitment* by a token black South African or two within AE's South African based ministry. But beyond this neo-colonial blind-spot, African Enterprise over the years has led many different missions with many different strategies and structures. Apart from the CHUM groups of Cape Town's mission, they have also used concepts such as a Festival of Faith (a combination of a country fair and an evangelistic campaign) born from a conversation that Michael had with Ralph Winter, a missionary strategist in Altadena, California. Already by 1981, not only had the ministry in the major missions AE conducted stretched beyond the scope of Michael and Festo, even when they were present, but so had AE's vision for pioneering new modes of evangelism.

In Zimbabwe, having taken their cue from a ministry called New Life for All – a ministry linked to Campus Crusade and whose head-office was in Harare; AE developed and extended the idea of a Lay Witness Mission. This was often an internal mission whereby a small team of *lay-witnesses* trained in how to share their faith reached out to friends and church members and the outer fringes of the congregation. By 1981, the idea had been transplanted to Natal in South Africa, where AE Zimbabwe joined forces with AE South Africa to train over 100 lay witnesses, conducting between them an average of 10 to 12 missions a year. The previous year, 1980, African Enterprise took over the administration of the ministry, which was directed by David Richardson for several years. Foxfire – a new ministry was also born in the AE offices in Harare, and entailed indigenous witnesses' being trained and going out into rural areas and later cities to share their faith. Foxfire's witnesses often worked in pairs and sometimes had to travel to their various destinations by bus or bicycle which was also successfully transposed to Natal.

In 1988 Michael and AE South Africa launched a new form of mission, *ERA*, which was shorter in duration and more modest in its formulation. ERA (Evangelism, Reconciliation and Action), sought to be relevant to the racially polarised South African context and ran with the churches that were willing to work with AE. AE therefore did not have to wait for almost every church to get on board, as had been their previous mandate for mission. These church-based and other authentic market-place evangelistic endeavours in the streets of Africa were some of the many methods and structures AE has employed.

Styles of leadership used by Cassidy

Michael operates with a strong sense of leadership and calling, but in many organizational matters he prefers to operate from behind the scenes. Other more able administrators are regularly allowed to deal with the day to day tasks and the multitude of options often set before an evangelistic endeavour. Once in his up front "preaching and leadership mode" he

appears more directive and assertive, but Michael is most comfortable when working from the foundation of a multi-gifted team, with *team* almost being a definition of style and structure at one and the same time. If Michael initiates a leadership or missions conference, he very soon finds co-conveners so that even on the highest leadership level it operates from the basis of *team*. This was not only evident most recently in SACLA II, held in 2003, where he insisted on being joined up front by Mvume Dandala before he would even start preliminary organisation, but also from the early foundations of AE.

From the beginning AE was comprised of a group of young postgraduates from Fuller Theological seminary who joined him to start African Enterprise. It has always been an entirely different kind of *Evangelistic Agency*, consisting of fresh, young and talented team members, a refreshing approach to evangelism that included a strong social component to its message, with an Anglican non-ordained leader. Manley explains:

So Michael comes in as this fresh faced youngster and brings in this new paradigm – this brings in this breath of fresh air. And starts doing things ‘busking’ to a different tune to a large extent because no one has done it before. So he comes in with this new way of doing things and it’s great and people respond and people get behind it and it’s wonderful and Michael has an anointing and he is an evangelist and nobody can ever take that [an anointing] away from anybody, even though they might want to. He is a very effective evangelist. And so his ministry if seen in terms of Ephesians 4 would fall on the evangelism side, he is not a very good administrator (Manley 2005:34).

Michael’s management style, while falling somewhat short administratively, led by surrounding himself with capable and very able men. Anne Coomes mentions that in the primary area of evangelism, the founding team of AE’s strong individually gifted strengths shone through, but with a participatory spirit:

All were high-fliers and independent-minded men. They saw themselves not as going to work for Michael in any way, but as a group who had been called by God to come alongside Michael to do a specific job and share in the task. They would soon discover that they were, in fact, a team with complementary gifts, and with a good deal of interdependence (Coomes 2002:93).

Unfortunately, (or fortunately from black Africa’s perspective) this team of high-fliers did not last. Michael points to tension in the team but one is left to surmise what this was essentially about, even if in endeavouring to meet the needs of black Africa in the 1970s, a team more conversant with the dynamics of Africa and more representative of its populace was required. By 1971 AE underwent an almost complete turnover of its original founding team of North Americans which was no doubt home sick (Coomes 1971:151). Yet perhaps the explanation of these events went beyond these emotions and the stresses facing every team that works, campaigns and lives its dreams in close proximity to one another and their own “felt” deficiencies in understanding Africa above the Limpopo? A change in leadership style, from the early entrepreneurial one to one that Michael could comfortably maintain, might well have been the real reason for the split, as Manley (2005:35) explains:

The change in the initial style, from the style that has sustained AE over the last 45 years or so, it has been a damping up and impounding of those initial heady

days, where there was an entrepreneurial-pioneering style, now there is a style that “maintains”. This was explained by looking to Michael’s roots and his Lesotho childhood culture: “In terms of his world-view it’s essentially colonial – ‘we have to do the right thing on the basis of what is right’ as opposed to a more contemporary view – ‘you have to do that which works.’”

Possibly this colonial legacy meant not only a *maintenance* style of management, but also a style of leadership that sought to be in charge, arising from a cultural trait of that white South Africans – and in this case particularly the English speaking white South African – had been used to for so long. Even Michael freely admits the tension experienced between Festo and himself. This is explained as largely a logistical issue with Festo’s being a bishop in the Ugandan hinterland in Kigezi without easy access to reliable telecommunications, and the people’s perception of Michael as being the CEO due to his founding leader status. It is true that it would be almost impossible for any leader to handle a co-leader status without some form of clash along the way, and yet even as Michael handled his “junior-partner” status in ministry with the grace that an apprentice tandem speaker needs, it is unfortunately likely that in administrative issues Michael sought to subconsciously reverse the positional status.

People would go to Michael and complain *off the record* about the team dynamics, staffing issues and issues concerning distribution of finances. Michael got involved rather than challenging the people concerned to direct their concerns to Festo, which in theory would have been preferable, though easier said than done when Festo was largely inaccessible. Even Cassidy states that the perceived interference appeared to the outsider and to Festo to be intended in part: “Then that of course became difficult for Festo, because it almost looked like I was stepping into his bailiwick and trying to almost take over his turf, none of which was ever my intention or desire” (Cassidy 2005:28).

In line with the above, Manley (2005:35) perceives Michael as an extremely well mannered but entirely dictatorial leader:

Michael’s style is now autocratic or directive. I was in disbelief – here’s Michael, the champion of democracy and he’s behaving like a dictator – this cannot be, and yet you scratch the surface and there it is, and it is done in the nicest way and I think that fools everybody. ...So here we have SACLA [II] and it is all the “old toppies”, speaking and hogging the show, nobody young with a new idea or paradigm. And so that’s the juxtaposition, that it is done in such a nice way, but it is still dictatorial. Even in SACLA [I] ... Caesar Molebatsi had to do the keynote address at the end of SACLA I – now, he is now older than me, but he was then this black young buck.... He told me that when he was given the platform for this keynote address, wrapping up SACLA, Michael sat down with him and tried to influence Caesar in what he had to say. “No, you can’t say that ...” and so on, it was like a censorship sort of thing, a one man censorship. So Michael is a control freak, but he’s so nice about doing it, because he has a desperate desire to be liked. He has a fragile ego.

This perspective is supported by Michael Nuttall (2005:36), in case the above should be put down to a highly disgruntled previous South African team leader of AE:

So I think they are having some difficulty. I said to Michael at one point: ‘How is it, Michael, that you are on the SACLA executive representing AE and Mark Manley isn’t. Because my understanding is that you are ‘International Team Leader’ now, not the South African leader. Michael just looked at me. I know nothing about what happened, Mark Manley as far as I am concerned just disappeared off the AE map and I don’t know why, and it was never made public, perhaps it couldn’t be. Naturally one drew one’s own conclusions – there had been a clash of some sort. I think AE and Michael personally are finding it difficult to let go of the Mike Cassidy *imprimatur* – imprint, style in relation to AE. And it is going to be an enormous challenge for AE to continue and to survive, particularly in its South African face when Mike moves out.

Michael does have the ability to operate with more than one style, and a more complete understanding of Michael’s leadership style should indeed include the style he uses in the office with his more trusted close associates, also the one that is clearly seen in the organisational phases of an evangelistic campaign, even if not in the final stages. Jamie Morrison, Michael’s personal assistant puts this point forward: “I think he’s quite an informal, relational, hands-off kind of leader. His way of operating is that he’s a very motivated self-starting sort of person. And I think he sort of expects other people to be that” (Morrison 2005:31). And in speaking about AE’s Pan African Missions, run in nations that do not have a host AE team present, Jamie Morrison (2005:31) says this:

Some missions are Pan-African where we call on members of quite a number of AE teams across Africa and some missions are more a national mission where one country will do a mission. In either situation really Michael does not get too intimately involved in the preparation for the mission. That’s the job of the Pan-African Missions Department or that’s the job of the national office in the country that they are doing the national mission. Mostly his role in a mission is to be there – to preach.... The top leadership is who he normally speaks to. Normally in our missions they try to end it with a big stadium type rally and normally Michael is the one to give the main message at that stadium event.

Michael Nuttall elaborates on Michael’s *imprimatur* – his imprint, or his “water mark”. He then goes on to explain the flip side of the coin of Michael Cassidy’s style:

Michael has had this extraordinary mission, and he has persisted with that vision and that has been a very positive thing and has lead to the expansion of AE, essentially, as we’ve seen it. But it has had its negative side, in that it has brought with it such a strong Cassidy mark – water mark as it were – into the organisation that the challenge for the organisation and indeed for Michael himself, I think, is to move on without him.

I don’t want to give the wrong impression; he likes to work with colleagues, very definitely. Colleagues who are congenial, they need to be congenial theologically, there is an interesting co-patronage with Cardinal Winfred Napier, the leading Roman Catholic in South Africa at the moment, and with a Cardinal, no less. They are co-patrons of this marriage alliance and they are fighting these contentious issues through to the constitutional court to try to safeguard the traditional understanding of marriage in South African society. And he’s got his

co-hosts of SACLA and all of that – so Michael likes to work with colleagues, but he plays a very definite prominent role in that he himself is almost the leader number one in those working relationships. My perception is that the situation Michael is involved in with Cardinal Napier and others is very much Michael's main arena with others in support (Nuttall 2005:36).

In terms of Michael's own apprenticeship role under Festo, it is obvious that he learnt fast. His talents had been sought after by the "Billy Graham Evangelistic Association" even before he joined Festo, with Leighton Ford attempting to get him on-board – an offer to Michael's credit, which he refused. He first saw Festo deliver a message while still a student studying at Fuller. After meeting up with him much later in Nigeria, he successfully spoke alongside Festo in the Nairobi mission of March 1969. In the 1970s he was a regular second part to the "Festo-Michael Reconciliation road show", which they took all over the world. Before this, however, and despite the fact that people immediately said that the "...Festo-Michael combination is powerful" (Coomes 2002:153), Michael still had a sharp learning curve to go through. He learnt how to do evangelism from an African "grassroots" perspective. At the end of March Michael was shown the ropes by Festo as he watched the Ugandan style of doing a mission in Kampala, a totally different ball-game to the more urbanised Nairobi setting (Coomes 2002:154). Though he had always been a speaker, Michael became more skilled at it with the passage of time and after Festo's death.

In his own mentoring of those below him, Michael prefers to do this by story-telling – relating incidents in his own life – while he is prepared to some extent to share the lime-light with other evangelists. The latter is achieved by running multiple large scale gatherings concurrently or *stratified evangelism* approaches whereby different sectors of the community are met in familiar grounds. However, within this framework, Michael often retains the keynote address to the nation's Christian, business or political leaders.

Values of Cassidy's leadership

The value of Christian fellowship (ecumenism)

Michael Cassidy was significantly impacted by his early interactions with Festo Kivengere, his counterpart in East Africa, with whom he toured on several occasions to evangelistic crusades. Indeed, because of this ministry partnership with Festo and because AE crossed the denominational divides in its Para-church ministry, Michael shows an unusually high value for ecumenism and Christian fellowship. This is perhaps no better emphasized than by the extent to which Michael and his organization went to be inclusive in both the Pan African Leadership Assembly and subsequent South African Leadership Assemblies. It was the close ministry fellowship that he shared with his counterpart that brought Michael to believe so strongly in Christian fellowship across racial boundaries and ecumenism across the denominational divides, as Michael himself says:

In many places that we go, people say 'How can a black Ugandan and a white South African preach together?' Our reply? Because we have found the Lord Jesus and we have found each other. ...In fact, never was it more important for this kind of experience to take place than in Africa at this hour. For as brethren from different backgrounds, races, denominations, and cultures find each other, we are able to remind our divided continent that Jesus unites our hearts in a unique and glorious experience of one-ness. In Jesus – the barriers come down, –

middle walls of partition crumble, – the broken bridges are repaired and fellowship established. Indeed, to rediscover this, to declare this and to manifest this, is PART (and a big part) of what PACLA is all about. We want to see Africa criss-crossed from Cape to Cairo by a great new network of relationship based on our one-ness and fellowship together in Christ (Cassidy & Verlinden 1978:73).

Michael has possibly worked harder than any other evangelical leader of his generation in the area of ecumenism. This concept of inter-church fellowship (ecumenism) flows naturally out of reconciliation, as the previous quote (from Cassidy & Verlinden) illustrated. He moves with ease between Catholic, Baptist and Pentecostal and his own hand in SACLA II, held in 2003 and in which leaders from all over the Christian spectrum joined arms, is a testimony to this. Part of what makes this possible is that AE's being a Para-church movement makes it non-threatening and the ideal banner under which to combine efforts in city-wide crusades and leadership congresses. With AE all local loyalties can be put aside for the sake of a larger city-wide, national or regional vision based on the fundamentals of the faith and a united cause. Jamie Morrison contends that Michael's gift of being able to call all the churches together to the degree of success that Michael has had over the years, is quite unique in Africa. Michael's assistant states:

...Michael has the apostolic gift and he's able to call the church together. You see that all the way from '73 and the 'South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism' in Durban when he got the church together there and from all across the spectrum – from Pentecostals to the real conservative evangelicals to the main-line churches and everything; to PACLA in '76; SACLA I in '79; 'The National Initiative for Reconciliation' in '85; PACLA II in '94 and then SACLA II in 2003. It seems like in Africa and in South Africa – I may be wrong – but I don't think there has been anyone-else who has been able to call the church together as fruitfully and as successfully as Michael has (Morrison 2005:32).

The values of reconciliation, love and forgiveness

Also of significance was the first Pan African Leadership Assembly (PACLA), where Michael was part of the visionary inspiration behind it and shared in its organization. It was in the build-up to and the leadership of the event that stories out of the East African revival significantly inspired Michael, as Gottfried Osei-Mensah (1978:20), Chairman of PACLA mentions:

The Revival Movement in Kenya, for example, under tremendous pressure in the 1950's, demonstrated the superior power of love, forgiveness, righteousness and prayer, and thus safe-guarded the integrity of the prophetic ministry, and brought healing and reconciliation to this nation. We pray God inspire us with such worthy examples of faithfulness, courage and self-sacrifice.

The stories of the East African Revival and the conveyors of those stories such as Gottfried filled Michael with the sense that another way other than that of war, segregation and racism did indeed exist; a way of reconciliation, forgiveness and inter-dependence. It is not too hard to see that through his contact with men such as Gottfried Osei-Mensah and Festo Kivengere and in the experience of and build-up to PACLA in 1976, Michael got a new, more refined understanding of the values of reconciliation, love and forgiveness. He was

not only dealing with the theory from black Africans, which at the time was significant in itself, but as a white South African colonial he saw reconciliation, love and forgiveness being lived out in men of astounding leadership calibre, the likes of which white South Africans gathered in their respective Afrikaans and English *laagers*, normally only dreamt about. During a press conference in the build-up to PACLA, Michael had this to say about Gottfried Osei-Mensah (Chairman of PACLA) and John Wilson (Executive Coordinator of PACLA): “In such situations neither Gottfried nor John ever let me feel anything other than a total sense of solidarity with them not only in Christ, but in our African-ness as brethren from different parts of our tumultuous Continent” (Cassidy & Osei-Mensah 1978:111).

Again commenting on the PACLA conference, but this time in his book *The Passing Summer*, Michael says these words about Festo Kivengere and one Simone Ibrahim of Nigeria, in relation to reconciliation and Christian love:

Before my own address to the PACLA conference on the theme of “Fellowship and Unity within the Body of Christ”, I was introduced by Festo Kivengere, who ... led our African Enterprise East African teams. Festo shared how we had ministered as miracle brothers – a black Ugandan and a white South African – and how this had come about through the reconciling love of Christ. Then he launched me with a great public embrace of love. Sitting in the Assembly, Simone Ibrahim of Nigeria was touched to the heart by this demonstration of Christian brotherhood. “In fact in that moment”, he testified later, “the Holy Spirit worked in my heart and I began to feel that perhaps after all violence was not the way in Southern Africa. Maybe God really could bring an answer by the power of Calvary love” (Cassidy 1989:269).

Michael again relates his ministry relationship with Festo in a recent interview:

You mention Festo, 1968-69 we were preaching in Nairobi and it was logical for the two of us to preach together. Then when we went off to do our first ministry tour in the States, the theme that the Spirit of God seemed to give us was the one from 2 Corinthians 5: ‘God has given to us the ministry of Reconciliation’. And we did not plan that to be the theme song of our first tour, but it just happened everywhere we preached. And it was a big thing may I say for Festo, to take me into his life, much bigger than for me to take him. Because I was a white man, I was young, a lay person. I came from the pole-cat country of the world and he now already had a world ministry, but he saw that if he had come to Jesus and I had come to Jesus then we had to come to each other. Then out from there that ministry began and the Lord prospered it wherever we went (Cassidy 2005:27).

This deep rooted belief in the value of reconciliation, forgiveness and love for one’s fellow human beings did not start in East Africa however, but was birthed by his mother’s scathing temper and by stories from his grandparents. He comments thus on the effect of his mother’s temper:

“As I grew up, I decided that I hated having people fighting. I craved relational peace around me.” His craving gave him a rare skill in facilitating good relations around him: “When Mum blew up, I always desperately wanted people to calm down, and for there to be no hostility.” Thus Michael desired reconciliation rather than confrontation

from his earliest years. He was later to speculate: “Perhaps in the strange, sovereign ways of God, it let me have the temperament of a reconciler and a peacemaker. On the other hand I often wished I had the skills and abilities to be more creatively confrontational!” (Coomes 2002:40).

One significant experience of reconciliation occurred when Michael Cassidy and Festo Kivengere visited the historic Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch in November 1980. The unusual sight of a black-white ministry combination attracted considerable interest on campus. Warned of an expected low attendance, the hall where they met was filled with some 1 300 students! Michael Cassidy, in his book “The Passing Summer”, relates how one of the Afrikaans theology students was highly impacted by the encounter and came to Michael afterwards and said “I am training for ministry. But I have been full of race prejudice. Today this brother has completely freed me” (Cassidy 1989:324). More than likely he spoke for many others. The key was that “the Spirit of the Lord” had been upon Festo – that made all the difference (Cassidy 1989:324).

In 1996, AE embarked on one of its most complex missions to Kigali, Rwanda, some eighteen months after the catastrophic genocide that had taken place there. At one stage Michael and his team were desperately ministering at a prison setting where thousands and thousands of Rwandans, many of them still awaiting trial, were crammed into a congested courtyard, a legacy of the massacre. In this setting, which was a visible reminder to the broken inhumane inheritance of Rwanda, Michael decided a visible picture was needed. He relates how he got the team comprising a black Malawian, a brown South African Indian, a black Rwandese, a yellow Chinaman and himself as an old white colonial South African to stand on the bench and link arms to demonstrate their unity as brothers in Christ:

“I then cried out to one and all (some 10 000 people in that prison with maybe 3000 or 4000 able to hear us), that here in Steve was a black man who hated and wanted to kill whites, but now in Christ had the capacity to forgive and love me a representative white. Then there was David who likewise as an Indian had hated white people and had been caught up once in violent Indian politics. I added that in South Africa many blacks hated Indians even more than they hated white people. ...This is what the gospel is all about. So too here in Rwanda it requires the power of Jesus for Hutu to bond themselves to Tutsi and Tutsi to Hutu and both of them to the Twa and the Twa to both of them. The Spirit was moving. The place was riveted. For a throng of humanity such as we had it was a gospel marvel that you could have heard a pin drop. The Spirit seemed to take the point home with almost tangible impact all around us” (Coomes 2002:316).

Yet for Michael, Reconciliation is not an all-consuming passion, but flows quite naturally out of evangelism. His concerns for a socially relevant gospel meant that in a Southern African context this is where the emphasis of his message often lay. However, this same concern for a socially relevant gospel in Africa and the world at large, takes him beyond reconciliation to what the needs on the ground are, beyond all sorts of relational enmities to where the crisis actually is. Michael sees the gospel speaking into crises of poverty, of crime, of sexism, and even into the family and sexuality issues – though broadly speaking the whole arena of sexism, sexuality and the family could also be included within the work of reconciliation (Cassidy 2005:25; Morrison 2005:32).

The value of faith expressed in evangelism and holistic ministry

As an evangelist Michael has obviously had a particularly high regard for evangelism and sharing the message of Jesus Christ with others. This emanated from his own faith and an understanding inherent in his political thinking that if Africa, and particularly South Africa, was to be spared a societal meltdown, only Christian love could provide the answer because politics by itself obviously did not. To achieve this he needed people to believe in the Christian faith, and lots of people. To this end he early on sought an evangelistic city-wide strategy, which was at the heart of Michael's vision for Africa Enterprise:

Evangelise the cities of Africa. That had been at the core of Michael Cassidy's vision for African Enterprise since 1961. In the following 40 years, the vision came true in city after city after city. Dozens of them, hundreds of them, from Cairo to the Cape. Little regional cities, elegant national capitals, sprawling metropolises. *How the cities responded! Crowds of hundreds, of thousands at any one time and, once, over a quarter of a million, would gather to hear the team as they joyfully proclaimed the good news of Christ's love for that city* (Coomes 2002:233).

The idea was to first receive an invitation from the churches of a certain city; once invited they would send someone like David Richardson to help establish the logistical groundwork and inter-church cooperation necessary to conduct a city-wide mission. Next, the various church leaders and their volunteers had to be trained in effective evangelism. These eventually developed into pre-mission discipleship courses. During this pre-mission stage, prayer meetings would often be organized. The mission would typically follow some months later, and might be aimed at different sectors of society in various small venues during the day. Testimonies were often shared by people who worked within that or a similar sector in society. A mass rally would take place in the evening or on weekends. In due time prayer for healing was included as an important aspect apart from the gospel message. Lastly there would be prayer for conversion and the subsequent follow-up by the churches. All the time African Enterprise did not seek to establish a new church, but instead fed back these newly converted into the existing churches in the city.

This became the standard city-wide model for an AE mission, but other new models were also created. Even this basic, adaptable structure evolved over an extended period of time. In its evangelism, AE was unique in that it did not shy away from a gospel of reconciliation and one where repentance from racism, apartheid and violence, particularly in the South African context, was a necessary component. In this respect Michael was surprisingly different for an evangelist as highly influenced as he was by the likes of Billy Graham. Beyond the East African influences in Michael's life and the early admiration for Martin Luther King, and the influence of Fuller Seminary which gave him a greater appreciation than most of his contemporaries for a more *Holistic ministry* there was the influence of men like Michael Nuttall and Trevor Huddleston early on, and David Bosch and Desmond Tutu later, who were all deeply committed to their faith and seeing South Africa resolve its racial issues. There were also internationally respected British church leaders like Stephen Neill and John Stott who personally mentored him, men with a heart for Africa. He thus came to regard evangelism devoid of socio-political concerns to be out of place on the African continent, but equally, if not more so, that socio-political concerns without evangelism was misleading. Michael comments on his views in his address to PACLA:

The evangelism of the evangelist must be holistic, incarnational, and rounded. His concern is not just for souls but for people and all their needs. Mere telling and proclaiming does not exhaust the responsibility of the evangelist. And he who is concerned for education or famine relief, literacy, or socio-political action must not think his job complete until each person has heard the Gospel of Jesus and found Him – lest having clothed, fed, educated and politically liberated the man, you simply leave him in a more comfortable, sophisticated hell where his soul still cries out for meaning and reality and eternal life. May God lead PACLA so that we will not rupture fellowship over different views of priorities and different views of service but find a holistic type of evangelism that is not personal or social but both personal and social (Cassidy & Verlinden 1978).

Of course in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, this has become the staple diet of charismatic organizations such as Youth With A Mission, Rhema, His People and others, but in 1978, few others would have espoused a mixing of two totally separate hands of cards. The *liberal/mainline hand* was defined by the *Kings, Queens and Jacks* of politics, community development and humanitarian aid, and the discarded *joker* of evangelism. The other *evangelical/charismatic hand* was defined by the lone *Ace of Hearts* – only the personal Jesus who ministers to your soul and his gospel of repentance. As Michael Cassidy (1974:56) himself said in Durban, 1973, at the South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism, in which Christians from opposite polarities came together: “As the South African Congress met, it was against this sort of polarised theological background where activists and pietists, horizontalists and verticalists, ‘Ecumenicals’ and ‘Evangelicals’ were suspiciously viewing each other across a deep divide.”

In this comment of Michael’s about the diversity of the Durban Congress of 1973, it is clear that his two passions of ecumenism and a gospel that is holistic came together in the range of people he managed to attract. Michael explains the paradox (to some liberal and conservative Christians) of his perspective on evangelism, which emanates jointly from two leading personalities who greatly influenced his style of evangelism:

In South Africa there were a lot of Christians that professed to be converted people, committed Christians and yet they were supportive of apartheid, they were supportive of racism, they had segregation.... And that led me into a struggle with the issue of the relationship between the vertical and the horizontal. The relationship between the personal faith and a socio-political expression of him. I was much influenced at the time by two leaders. ...In 1957 I was in New York and Billy Graham was preaching night after night in Madison Square Garden and I was inspired and at the same Martin Luther King was preaching ... and it was all on television. It was at the time that Eisenhower was sending troops into Arkansas.... And I thought – what do I make of this, Billy Graham on the one hand and Martin Luther King on the other, who was going up and down the streets of Montgomery, Alabama, and other cities of the South calling for racial justice.

The penny sort of dropped for me in those years between 1957, I suppose, and about 1958 /59, when I was a seminary student, that these were two sides of the same coin. That became a very powerful value, a powerful commitment in me, in my life. The gospel spoke in both directions. It spoke of a vertical

relationship with the Lord and the importance of calling people into that vertical relationship. And secondly it spoke horizontally into the contextual issues that were around us. In terms of race; in terms of justice and all that kind of thing. I saw, to put it differently, that on the one hand we were called to love the Lord, and we were called to love other people. And that love of other people was not just at a personal level but at a structural level. And that justice was love built into structures. And in a way from that time on... the coming together of the personal and socio-political, it was almost second nature... (Cassidy 2005:24).

The Value of Trust expressed through Dialogue and Influence:

Michael, in realizing the importance of opening up a dialogue between members of different parties just prior to the 1994 elections put together six weekend experiences at Kolobe Lodge. This eventually led to the building of trust between people from often vastly different political persuasions. Michael Cassidy (1995:86) comments on the value of trust-building through dialogue arising out of the Kolobe Lodge weekend experiences:

For us in AE, one Kolobe serendipity was the formal request from PAC leadership to facilitate communication between political and armed wings of the movement in winding down the armed struggle and the terminating of the “one settler, one bullet” slogan. ...Most significant of all was what came forth in March and April 1994 in terms of the electoral process. Our new-found depth of relationships and trust emerging from Kolobe with Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and IFP National Chairman Frank Mdlalose bore specific fruit.

Michael, in quoting a participant in the Kolobe dialogues, goes on to explain the importance of a world view and the sharing of that world view(s):

“...That meant accepting every person and believing that every person was equal before God. Looking back on my experiences, I can see that many committed Christians are still locked into this schism of two separate worlds. Even though the Afrikaner community is so deeply rooted in the Church and the Bible, the ordinary person has not yet started taking the Bible into every part of his life. But once the Lord has led someone to grasp that necessity – and I have seen this during the election period with Afrikaners – their whole world changes and, ironically, they feel a lot more secure. They begin to realise that there is more to life than politics and power.” Andries went on to note that Afrikaners now have to find their primary identity in terms of their faith and the Kingdom of God. ...“You see the whole world of many Afrikaner people is falling apart and, if you don’t have spiritual security and a world view that makes sense, you are in trouble. This is a lesson of life for all, not just Afrikaners” (Cassidy 1995:87).

Michael understands the value of trust between leaders as he sees that a key to evangelism is inherent in the influence that leaders wield and the effective mobilizing and networking of this influence. This perspective was gained early on as a young white South African who met African political leaders during his African transcontinental travels which helped him see the significant influence these leaders wielded. Built around the myth of the *Great Chief*, Africa does seem to have more than her fair share of leaders who for personal, tribal, national or even regional gain exhibit enormous influence. The question arises whether this influence will be used negatively or positively, and from Michael’s perspective as an

evangelist, for Christ or against Christ. If a leader's trust can be captured and their values and vision centred on Jesus, you have surely won the continent, or at the very least given yourself as an evangelist an unprecedented platform from which to speak.

Anne Coomes documents a letter that Michael sent to *Eternity* magazine in 1960 after it had accepted an article of Michael's for publication. In this letter Michael answers the question regarding his proposed future plans:

You asked me about my future plans. Since the time of my conversion, I have felt there to be an urgent need for a new work in Africa that would seek to reach the influential people of this continent for Jesus Christ. These people, the most *influential*, are also the most *untouched* by the transforming message of the gospel. ...But we do not seek only to reach the leaders in the various African parliaments, but would also seek to reach the masses by means of mass evangelism (Coomes 2002:81).

It is clear from this that Michael's passion was not just to reach out to leaders of influence, even if it did separate his ministry from any other evangelistic ministry, but also to reach everyone with the gospel. His high regard for evangelism, for leaders but also for common people, led to his own unique brand of holistic evangelism.

The value of peace expressed through a passion for prayer

Probably the best illustration of these two passions of Michael's was the "Jesus Peace Rally" in Durban's King's Park Stadium, which some 35,000 people attended. After Okumu had built an initial relationship with Buthelezi and Mandela, both asked him to be an advisor to the international mediators. But after a short and seemingly futile attempt at mediation by Carrington and Kissinger, they jetted away, declaring that an eminent war was looming. However, Michael Cassidy petitioned Washington Okumu to stay on and he began to work on a document to end the deadlock. Okumu met with Buthelezi at Lanceria Airport to discuss this document (Cassidy 1994).

Later Okumu and the chief minister for KwaZulu met in a Durban hotel in order to go over Okumu's proposal just before the *Jesus Peace Rally* at King's Park. Buthelezi meanwhile, excited by the new document that was brokering a way through the deadlock, entered the VIP lounge and shared it with Danie Schutte (National Party) and Jacob Zuma (Natal leader for the ANC), while Okumu, having flown down to Cape Town, briefed Mandela. The prayers for peace literally *bore them up*, with the faithful praying in the stadium below and with people praying all over South Africa and the world, Michael having appeared on the BBC that morning with a worldwide audience of approximately 21 million people to encourage prayer for peace.

With six days to go, Inkhata came on board; Parliament was convened the day before elections and with the Zulu king's position entrenched, the king told the people to go out and vote. During the four days of the elections there were no reports of murder or violence in the then crime capital of the world. Of the break in the impasse Anne Coomes says: "A big article in the *Natal Daily News* was headlined: 'The Day God Stepped In to Save South Africa.' The BBC in London the next day said: 'It was the Jesus Peace rally that tipped the scales'" (Coomes 2002:470).

Cassidy's Christian beliefs and philosophical framework

Cassidy's own words are quoted below at some length so that a more complete understanding of Cassidy's belief can be gained:

The ancient Greek philosophers had seen that there was a divine reason or mind in the cosmos. This mind gives it coherence, unity and order. This is also the basis of an inherent morality which they sensed as something real. So they gave it a name. It was called the Logos (*i.e.* the word or self-expression of God). ... The world was thus poised morally, spiritually and intellectually for the arrival of Jesus Christ. For as St John says: "In the beginning was the Word [*logos*], and the Word was with God, and the Word was God ... we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father" (John 1:1, 14, RSV). Here, said John, is the lawmaker behind our planet and the universe: he has stepped on to planet Earth and we have beheld his glory. ... Jesus' nature is God's nature. Not only that, but in his humanity he was the ... man *par excellence*, whose life was in absolute accord with the natural order and the cosmos. Because he is the agent in creation, and seeing that "without him was not anything made that was made" (John 1:3, RSV), all reality, and all the cosmos, has his stamp upon it. What Christians believe, therefore, is not that Jesus imposed a morality on man, but rather that he exposed more fully and completely an intrinsic morality in the universe itself. A good and moral action will therefore have not only Jesus and scripture behind it but the universe and the cosmos as well. ... Consequently, in each action we commit cosmos or commit chaos.... A good action is integrative and constructive; a bad action is disintegrative and destructive. Christian ethics are therefore always on the side of ... peace, health, political stability, justice, social harmony, and so on. Laws cannot, therefore, be "broken", but one can be broken by them. ... To jump off the Empire State Building is not to break the law of gravity – only to illustrate it! (Cassidy 1989: 218-219).

So what is it that motivates Michael Cassidy in his ministry as an evangelist and one committed to the task of reconciliation? Is it this philosophical understanding of Jesus' being the "agent in creation" in the cosmos, which offers the simple yet profound concept that every action either lines up with the laws of the *cosmos*, whose author is Jesus Christ, bringing with it justice and harmony, or aligns itself with *chaos*, thus bringing injustice and instability? This philosophical understanding guides Michael Cassidy at least on a cerebral level. However, as an evangelist and minister of the gospel who travels widely, he has developed an integrated faith that affects not only his mind but his lifestyle, and thus his passion for ministry.

Michael Cassidy is underneath a classic evangelical whose personal faith is the basis to his ministry in the arenas of evangelism, reconciliation, societal wellbeing, ecumenism, leadership development and discipleship. Michael's base-line truths are put forward by Dr James Packer and presented by Michael in his book *Reflections on Christian Basics*:

1. The Supremacy of Holy Scripture (because of its unique inspiration).
2. The majesty of Jesus Christ (the God-man who died as a sacrifice for sin).
3. The necessity of conversion (a direct encounter with God effected by God).
4. The lordship of the Holy Spirit (who exercises a variety of vital ministries).
5. The priority of evangelism (witness being the expression of worship).

6. The importance of fellowship (the Church being essentially a living community of believers) (Cassidy 2004:18-19).

For Michael, the first two base-line truths are critical as he believes firmly in the person and work of Christ: the deity of Christ (i.e. Christ is God) and yet Christ as also fully human; the death (his atoning work on the cross); and the resurrection of Christ (rising to a seat of honour as God's Son). He also has a high regard for scripture as being *inspired* (meaning God-given). Yet God's word, is given through human authors in such a way that their individual personalities are not overridden (Cassidy 2004:93-94; 35-37).

It can be seen that most of what Michael engages in is driven by these two foundational truths – Lordship of Jesus Christ as the “Living Word” and the Bible as the “Written Word of God” (Cassidy 2005:25). To these two foundational truths should be added a Trinitarian belief in God – Father, Son and Holy Spirit (Cassidy 2004:20), while the evangelical concepts of conversion, evangelism and fellowship arise out of these three key concepts.

As regards what was being experienced at the ground level in pre-democratic South Africa, Michael for some time believed the conflict in South Africa was spiritual in the final analysis. His belief in the world of the supernatural was seen clearly in Rustenburg in 1985, where church leaders met to try and establish a joint response to the South African situation. Yet Michael also exhibits a real knack of tying this objective spiritual reality that he sees so clearly on account of his faith to concrete reality on the ground. In talking about apartheid and finding each other through the mind of Christ, Michael uses these words:

I believe that the key questions at this Conference are whether in love, faith and courage we can: ...find the mind and way of Christ for ourselves, the Church at large, and the Nation? Or, alternatively, will the grim Goliath and demon of apartheid, with its dread works of division and alienation, forever defeat both us, as the church of Jesus Christ, and the nation to which we belong? And certainly the divisive works of that demon are dreadful indeed, so that far from manifesting the mind of Christ we have what Allister Sparks calls, in the title of his book, *The Mind of South Africa* ... “the division that runs through the psyche of the nation. It runs like a San Andreas fault through the mind of South Africa. Two minds, two worlds, one country – where people occupy the same space but live in different time-frames so that they do not see each other and perceive different realities” (Cassidy 1991:28-29).

How did this evolution of two separate people groups, white and black, two separate nations, coexisting in one country, come about? And how is it that this separation grew to be so strong that Michael calls it intrinsically evil? Michael himself answers these questions succinctly: “In a nutshell, the apartheid and segregationist ideas, born out of fear, are *Christian heresies*, which became a *party policy*, which evolved into a *tribal ideology*, which grew into a *national idol*, and which finally imprisoned all of us in a *demonic stronghold*” (Cassidy 1989:334).

The basis for Cassidy's ability to cross socio-political boundaries

One of the many influences in Michael's life was the stories his grandparents told of the Anglo-Boer War and which conveyed the principle that *all people and relationships count*,

something the British grossly violated in the war. Added to this was his father's influence, which gave him a keen sense of right and wrong, and just and unjust (Coomes 2003:434).

An early mentor of Michael's was Patrick Duncan; son of Sir Duncan, who was the previous British Governor General to South Africa and lived next door to the Cassidy's home in Maseru, Basutoland (now called Lesotho). Patrick and others such as Alan Paton helped found the South African Liberal Party. He abhorred apartheid and was committed to justice, equity and non-violence, and thus had made

...Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of *Satyagraha* [italics inserted] a guiding star in his political thinking. Michael was impressed and influenced. He came to see that discrimination was wrong and justice was right. Pat Duncan said apartheid would doom South Africa and in 1948 when the Nationalists came to power, Pat walked Michael across a mountain behind the Duncan home and declared to him that this was a political tragedy from which the country would take generations to recover. Said Pat Duncan: "Mark my words, apartheid is a word that is destined to mobilise the world" (Coomes 2002:435).

At Michaelhouse he was greatly influenced by the headmaster Douglas McJanet, who at times invited people like Alan Paton, well known for his liberal views, to speak at the school. Beyond these childhood personalities, Michael stresses the importance of figures such as Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, who both had tremendous hearts for burying the hatchet with the English. He admired Smuts' global vision, and as opposed to the majority of the pro-nationalist Afrikaners towards the end of Smuts' life, Cassidy thought that Smuts' persona and vision not being nationally wed to South Africa was actually a *good thing*. Deneys Reitz (another outstanding Boer General) was also an important figure as he and Cassidy's grandfather had struck up a friendship, which impacted them both and politically helped Reitz make peace across the English-Afrikaner divide. More recently De Klerk and Mandela had also played their part in inspiring Michael (Cassidy 2005:29-30).

Soon after his arrival at Cambridge his views were challenged by the nagging realization that political endeavours could never uproot the depths to which racial prejudice in South Africa had sunk. At Cambridge he was led to a personal conversion and acceptance of the gospel's being the only answer to the racial divide in South Africa. Michael also met Fr. Trevor Huddleston, of the Community of the Resurrection, who was forced to flee South Africa. Huddleston was persuaded "... that political processes rooted in Christian principle and conviction had to be brought powerfully to bear on South Africa so as to remove the National party and save the nation from political cataclysm" (Coomes 2002:436). Along with Huddleston, Michael Nuttall (the future Bishop of Natal) helped to instil in Michael the belief that Christian and political answers were not exclusive to one another. The British were reluctant to be tough with the South African government because of their own feelings toward the growing black population in Britain. But Nuttall, Cassidy and Alasdair Macaulay issued a letter to *The Times* in May 1956, challenging the *Tu Quoque* argument, for as the trio noted, "... the *Tu Quoque* (you also) argument, so appealing to the apostle of self-deception, does not exonerate or excuse the white South African in any way. It merely shows that the Englishman is likely to be as evil as he!" (Coomes 2002:437).

In the summer of 1957, Michael went to the Billy Graham Crusade in Madison Square Garden and heard the famous evangelist preach a personal gospel of salvation. At the same

time Martin Luther King was being televised from the streets of Montgomery, Alabama, preaching a gospel of social justice. Michael became convinced that both were in fact right and this conviction grew as he attended Fuller Seminary from 1959 to 1963; by the time the team started work in South Africa both aspects of a personal salvation and social relevance had been completely absorbed into the culture and philosophy of AE (Coomes 2002:439).

Another early influence on Michael was the political situation in the Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After all, Southern Rhodesia was the country his father had originally come to as a young engineer in the early 1930s. The Federation was an exciting prospect as it formed an advantageous economic union, but it ended all too quickly in December 1963, only ten years after its formation. Some four years before the end of the Federation, the tension mounted as the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, declared a state of emergency. Michael was intrigued by Whitehead's 1961 constitution, which was the first real attempt at a non-racial yet franchise vote based on certain levels of education and property ownership. This constitution would in the long term have made an African majority inevitable, but as history showed, African nationalists wanted nothing less than *Universal Adult Suffrage*. Rhodesia was a dry-run at constitutional reform for South Africa and Michael watched with great concern as white Rhodesians grew increasingly introspective and black nationalists more militant, culminating in Ian Smith's 1965, Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Coomes 2002:442-443).

An aspect of Cassidy's heart to embrace all, even if the upper echelons of his staff in Pietermaritzburg are distinctly white, was fuelled by his and Carol's guardian role in the life of Siphso, who had been left fatherless and suffered at the hands of the apartheid system. Michael arranged a sponsorship with Hilton College and saw him through his university studies. Possibly his interaction with Siphso, more than anything else, helped him to see clearly the evils of the apartheid system and instilled in him a real love of his fellow black brother (Cassidy 1989:168). From his grandparents, Michael inherited his bi-cultural English-Canadian and Afrikaans roots despite his overtly Natal neo-colonial British culture. He thus describes his grandparents, who were married some two years after the Boers surrendered to the British in May 1901, and their influence on his life:

Molly Craufurd, Mafeking nurse, and Edward Reading, Canadian Cavalryman, who had both been through it all, were married in 1903 in Cape Town. Family and volk were indeed intertwining irrevocably. All of which, I would suppose, does in fact make me a South African. Our family story ... is not unique. ...But what we must observe is that out of all this long European settler crosspollination in our family and in thousands of others, an authentic, white South Africanism was struggling to be born, though scarcely cognisant that blacks within the occupied subcontinent needed somehow to be included (Cassidy 1989:58-59).

Perhaps we can forgive Cassidy for his distinctly white vantage point, as he was after all writing from a historical perspective and regarding the vexing question of what a white South African really was, let alone the imponderable quotient for the 1980s of an all-embracing *South Africanism*. Yet from this we see that his family history, which traversed the white cultural divide, planted the seeds of the cross-cultural understanding that served him well in his ministry of reconciliation later on. This understanding of Michael is corroborated by Mark Manley (2005:35), who sees his transcultural sensitivity arising from a liberal upbringing, but not out of the justice cause:

I think he does not fall into the justice side of the political spectrum, he falls more into the liberal side. I think that [his political persuasion] is more a function, not of his prophetic nature but more of a function of his Lesotho childhood culture and then finding a theology to support it as opposed to being prophetic and saying this is justice and it fits into this theology, rather he found a theology to support it – he actually said as much to me!

Michael also draws inspiration for his cross-cultural work from the example of Christ and the biblical mandate, as he himself relates:

The very fact that Jesus started out telling his disciples to love one another. What he was telling his disciples was ‘By this will all men know that you are my disciples if you love one another.’ So the most distinctive thing about Jesus that probably any non-Christian would pick up who knew almost nothing about him was that he preached love and was a loving person. As soon as you talk love you talk relationships, you are talking the horizontal ... as an outward expression of an inner love for the Lord. ...In the wider developing community in the book of Acts, you find that the thing that was distinctive about them, they were an alternative messianic community. I mean it had people in it who were government people, system people, it had people who were zealots bent on overthrowing the system by violence –like ‘Simon the Zealot’.

...And of course as we came back into South Africa ... we came back into a drastically polarised society. Because we were committed to a gospel in word and deed we had no option.... People tried to tell us that we could not have interracial meeting, people tried to make life difficult when we added interracial components to our team. So the circumstances thrust the relational issue into our faces. We found English-white and black at odds, we found English and Afrikaner at odds; we found several of the tribal groupings at odds. And if you were to carry out a gospel with any credibility at all, it had to be relational, you had to talk reconciliation and you had to take your Lord’s word in Matt 5:23 for example; “If you are bringing your gift to the alter and you find that your brother has something against you (not even you against him, but he against you) go and first be reconciled and then come bring your gift to me” (Cassidy 2005:26).

There was the influence of men like David Bosch and Desmond Tutu later on, who subsequent to his interaction with Festo and other Ugandans, helped hone his instincts for justice, truth and reconciliation, but the starting point was Michael’s own personal conversion. As Cassidy (1989:262) explains, it was only his conversion that can really explain his desire to preach alongside fellow Ugandans and be reconciled to his Afrikaner brother: “In my own experience, too, I know that nothing short of conversion to Jesus Christ could have motivated me to want to preach round Africa with black Ugandans or find my fumbling way over miscellaneous British barriers to Afrikaner friends.”

For, it was on this personal level that Cassidy and his team, if they struggled, knew:

...[T]hat the rendezvous point was the cross, and if you got to the cross you could find one another. It was a place to repent, a place to say I’m sorry. It was a place to put ourselves together again and become reconciled. And it was really

out of those struggles that AE still exists today. Any non-racial ministries in Africa that are honest probably would acknowledge the fragility that will always be there. The wounds from this racial thing in the past, they don't just heal overnight. Just ask white and black Americans! ...So you know it all flowed from the love requirements of Jesus and then the context we were in. You could get nothing [evangelistic crusades/missions] to work unless you based it on reconciliation (Cassidy 2005:27).

Extending out of a personal belief in the work of Christ, is Michael's philosophical belief in the *Cosmic Christ*, which arises from his understanding of the Greek philosophers and John's interpretation of the *Logos* as the self expressed order of God. This had a direct political effect for Cassidy and led him to confront even politicians:

I wrote to a prominent politician ... of Botha's cabinet and said that the issue in front of you is not whether apartheid is particularly good or bad, the issue is whether we live in a moral universe or not and whether Jesus is the "Cosmic Christ", that's what you've got to grapple with. Because ... if this universe is random, unpredictable, irregular, chaotic – does not have Jesus behind it, you can go ahead with apartheid and get away with it. But I said if it is a moral universe and has Jesus behind it, you'll never get away with it. You will produce a mounting fury that is like sand in a watch, it starts to foul up the works and there's a kickback when the watch stops working. You'll have a mounting social fury – a kickback which will disintegrate the South African society. And that came from my understanding of Jesus as the "Cosmic Christ" (Cassidy 2005:25).

How Cassidy's Christian convictions helped to effect lasting national change

Early on Michael's family, as many others, had struggled about what a comprehensive white South African identity would look like. For the Cassidy family this was not just a national question but a deeply personal one spanning their own Afrikaner-English root divide, as already mentioned in the previous section. This grappling with the concept of identity may have seemed particularly short sighted in its white exclusivity, but as Michael writes – in his book *The Passing Summer* – from a historical perspective:

...[E]ven a comprehensive and deep white South Africanism, let alone one embracing blacks, has proved strangely elusive and in the view of many has yet to come forth. In any event, when my grandparents finally told me their own extra-ordinary story, which later included a deep friendship with the legendary Boer Commander Deneys Reitz ... it was to put into my young soul at a tender age the conviction that war, alienation, vendetta and bitterness were not the way: forgiveness and reconciliation were (Cassidy 1989:59).

This concept of a *white South African*, while proving to be somewhat elusive to a greater or lesser extent, missed the mark in the dawning years of South Africa's first true democracy in 1989; and if it missed the mark then, so much the more now, some eleven years on from independence for South Africa. For surely the battle today, where the diversity of the tribal and racial groups and the sheer logistical magnitude of black Southern Africans tend to dominate the horizon, is: "What does a thoroughly integrated South African look like?" What South Africa even in the 1980s failed to recognise was how Zimbabwe in the 1970s

had not only made marked progress in integrating its white English and Afrikaner *tribes*, but by 1989, ten years on from independence, had made significant progress in breaching the barriers between black and white Zimbabweans and the two dominant Shona and Ndebele tribal groupings, a point of view supported by Cassidy (1989:437) himself.

But whatever the extent of Michael's understanding of the parallels and differences between the two nations – in Zimbabwe's case this included a fairly extensive pre-majority rule understanding (Coomes 2002:442-448) – what is pertinent to this thesis is that he made a point of trying to reconcile the contexts of both nations for which he would be ideally situated in the heartland of Kwa-Zulu Natal (then called Natal). This enabled him to indirectly help broker a constitutional compromise in South Africa that all could live with and to directly foster dialogue and peace among the various warring factions in Natal in particular. In Zimbabwe, Michael had gained invaluable experience in his and the AE delegation's role in helping to draft the *Call to the Churches and Nations of South Africa*, a document resulting from a congress held in Bulawayo in August/September 1977.

The Rhodesian Congress on Evangelism in Context, which Gary Strong (then leader of AE Zimbabwe), Phineas Dube, and AE South Africa had helped organize, came at the height of the civil war in Zimbabwe, and brought together 140 delegates from a broad cross-section of races and denominations. It was particularly timely in seeking to address a nation whose church was as polarised as its citizens, either by the good found by black Christians or conversely the evil found by white Christians in the liberation struggle. Anne Coomes relates the positive impact of the document, often simply labelled the *Call*:

The document was seen by many as a model theological and political statement addressing both warring sides in a conflict with the church as the agent trying to bring them together in reconciliation. Whether in the final analysis the congress would make any real difference to Rhodesia was beyond anyone's guess. ...Certainly some early results were very encouraging. The "Call" was considered by ... the *Rhodesian Herald* in Salisbury as "a blueprint for a new peace-seeking initiative in the Rhodesian constitutional deadlock". Prime Minister Ian Smith, when presented with the "Call", said it was "a laudable attempt which needed to be made". A member of the South African Parliament wrote to Michael Cassidy, saying: "Congratulations on the *Call to The Churches and Nations of Southern Africa*. At last we have a sensible statement which is genuinely Christian and brings a proper appreciation of the spectrum and complexity of the Southern African situation" (Coomes 2002:447-448).

In Natal his role was less visible, but possibly even more necessary. This is apparent in how he worked behind the scenes to establish dialogue between the various parties during the transition years leading up to the 1994 democratic elections. One of the concepts he worked on was what became known as the Kolobe Lodge Dialogue Weekends. There were two significant building blocks to these dialogues. First there was a two year non-stop chain of intercession beginning with a call to prayer in April 1993. Next there was an AE promoted strategy, labelled *From Africa with Love*, whereby small teams comprising Christian leaders from throughout Africa visited with politicians and political parties.

In the Kolobe Lodge Dialogue Weekends an assortment of the immediate second tier of politicians from the full spectrum of political disposition were brought together at Kolobe

Game Lodge, just north of Pretoria. Between the end of 1992 and the end of 1993, around 96 politicians went through one of six separate weekend dialogues. During this time the South African politicians were arguable the most prayed for politicians on the planet, and the dialogue weekends were for many life-changing experiences (Coomes 2003:465).

These weekends built relationships across the spectrum of political understanding in South Africa at the time – a spectrum which varied from radical Afrikaner nationalism to radical African nationalism. They paved a way for negotiation and deeper understanding of the many authentic personal stories that gave rise to the many inherent even if somewhat distorted positions in South Africa's rich tapestry of peoples and political persuasions. One of the opportunities created by the "Kolobe Lodge Dialogue" was "...the formal request from the PAC leadership to facilitate communication between the political and the armed wings of the movement in winding down the armed struggle and the terminating of the 'one settler, one bullet' slogan. We cooperated in this endeavour... (Cassidy 1995:86).

By the end of 1993 the whole of KwaZulu Natal was a flash point as the Zulus were not properly handled over the issue of the decentralization of power and the recognition of the Zulu king, and the Inkhata Freedom Party reacted in a series of actions promoting violence in Natal. With the possibility of a total bloodbath and seemingly no way out of the deadlock, Michael made a number of moves. Both overtly and behind the scenes Michael initiated a process based on relationships developed in the Kolobe Lodge weekends towards establishing dialogue and peace, strongly sensing it would come about through prayer. Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington had been asked to act as international mediators, but failed to break the impasse. However, Michael felt this was an "...African problem requiring African solutions" (Cassidy 1994). As mentioned earlier, the impasse was resolved through Washington Okumu's intervention and the Jesus Peace Rally. Buthelezi acknowledged that it was by God's sovereign intervention that he had turned back to Lanceria Airport to see Okumu prior to this (Cassidy 1994). Of the amazing electoral peace, which had none of the predicted bloodbaths; Coomes (2002:470) reports:

The word "miracle" appeared at the head of editorial after editorial. A big article in the *Natal Daily News* was headlined: "The day God stepped In to Save South Africa." The BBC in London the next day said: "It was the Jesus Peace rally that tipped the scales." In the British House of Commons the next day an MP stated: "If there are miracles in politics, then this is one." *Time* magazine said the following week: "History has thrown up an authentic miracle." The *Wall Street Journal* carried a full-page article entitled: "God in Politics".

Cassidy also managed to leave his mark, along with other Christian leaders, on the Constitution of South Africa in that it recognises God's sovereign status at the beginning and end of the constitution, closing with *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica*, which means "God bless Africa" (Cassidy 1994). Michael played a vital role not only in influencing the constitution of South Africa, but also in the breakthrough of the Dutch Reformed Church's disowning apartheid and revising their theological position that supported it. There were a significant number of Dutch Reformed ministers present at SACLA I, one of whom, a good friend of Michael's and who was assassinated as a result of the *N.G. Kerk* Synod of 1986, had led the charge in the exegetical studies that reversed the Dutch Reformed Church's philosophical position on apartheid (Cassidy 2005:30).

5.4 Desmond Tutu

*A brief commentary on Tutu's life and rise to leadership*¹⁰

In 1925 Hertzog, the then Prime Minister, made a speech in the Orange Free State in which he outlined his social programme of segregation, and proceeded to implement them in a series of laws, known as the *Hertzog Bills*. It was into this rapidly escalating racial world, a world that imbibed concepts of apartheid, that Desmond Mphilo Tutu was born on 7 October 1931. His father, Zachariah, a Fingo of the Xhosa nation from the Eastern Cape, was headmaster of the Klerksdorp Methodist Primary School in the Transvaal, while his mother, Aletha, was a Tswana. When Desmond was eight his father was transferred to Ventersdorp, which offered tuition to blacks, coloureds and Indians (who lived in the white areas), and Desmond was a pupil there. From Ventersdorp the Tutu family moved to Roodepoort and from there to Munsieville, in Krugersdorp, built as one of the original black *locations* in 1910. He showed early entrepreneurial skills, selling oranges (to supplement the family income) for a small profit and peanuts at the suburban railway station as well as being a caddie at Killarney golf course in Johannesburg.

In 1945 he attended Western High near Sophiatown, at the time the only black high school in the entire West Rand region. Run by Mr Madibane, the school acquired a reputation for producing a significant number of black leaders, and became known as *Madibane High*. Even though a *wizard* at playing cards, Desmond's arithmetic was not great, nevertheless he managed to progress with his schooling and topped his class in the Form 1 mid-year exams. He was known to be extremely bright and gifted with a *photographic memory*, and developed a sense of humour early on (Motjuwadi 1984; Du Boulay 1988:29).

Because of the long commute to Sophiatown he stayed at the hostel run by the fathers of the Community of the Resurrection, to which Trevor Huddleston belonged who made a huge impression on the young Tutu. Tutu fell sick with tuberculosis when he was fourteen, and every week of his 20 month stay in the Rietfontein Hospital, Huddleston would visit him. Far from falling behind, Desmond kept up with his studies, particularly his English reading. It was in hospital that Tutu's Christianity gained a concreteness and personal conviction that had hitherto been lacking. Baptised a Methodist, he had followed his elder sister's lead and joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He even had a spell with an obscure African Initiated Church sect (his grandfather had become a minister in the Ethiopian Church and another relative was a minister in the same sect), before his whole family, including Desmond, joined the Anglican Church. He became a server in St Paul's, Munsieville, and such was the piety of the young Tutu that he would often slip quietly off to the church to pray. Once Tutu was out of hospital, Ezekiel Mphahlele, driver and clerk to the Blaxalls (and later a professor at the University of Witwatersrand) encouraged Desmond to take up running and boxing. Apart from giving him physical strength, it provided him with the confidence to stand up to the so-called township *tsotsis* or thugs.

He began to show signs of leadership and younger boys followed him around. Upon his return to school he caught up by studying by candlelight late into the night and regained his position at the top of his class, graduating at the end of his Matric year with a Joint Matriculation Board certificate. Desmond decided to follow in his father's footsteps, and in 1951 he attended the Pretoria Bantu Normal College. He acquired his Transvaal Bantu

¹⁰ This section has been drawn almost entirely from the work of Du Boulay (1988), Tutu (1995) and Gish (2004); but where these books have been supplemented this material has been clearly referenced.

Teacher's Diploma in 1954 and taught at his former school, Madibane High. Studying in the evenings, he received a Bachelor of Arts (BA) through the University of South Africa (UNISA) within a year. Somehow, in all these studies he found time to get to know Leah Shenxane, a gifted student – who had been taught by Zechariah – and friend of Tutu's younger sister Gloria, and they were married on 2 July 1955. After the wedding he changed teaching jobs and taught instead at the new high school adjacent to his father's junior school where, as a visionary teacher, he inspired his pupils.

Desmond had only just begun teaching when the Nationalist government brought in the Bantu Education Act of 1955, seeking to ensure that black servitude was perpetuated. His style of teaching, which trained his students *how* to think, not *what* to think, was at loggerheads with the system. He finished teaching the pupils that he had started to teach and then quit teaching. After this he was accepted for training into the priesthood by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg and went to train at St Peter's College, run by the Fathers of the Community of the Resurrection. This was not a surprising decision, having already been accepted in 1955 as a sub-Deacon in the church, but it did disappoint his father, as priesthood was not seen to be as prestigious as teaching. He was so gifted academically that he exceeded all the students in the first section of the Licentiate of Theology, including the white students training in Grahamstown. He received a spiritual training too, with meditation, Matins and Mass every morning, and regular retreats too. Tutu was impressed by the discipline of prayer that the Fathers had, who in their devotion taught by life-style. In his third year he was made *senior student* and again took the lead.

Desmond Tutu was so immersed in his theological studies that he was almost untouched by the activities of the African National Congress (ANC) and the mounting tension on the outside. One thing that did make a lasting impression on him was when Chief Luthuli and Professor Matthews, both recently released from the Treason Trial, came and spoke to some of the students. On 21 March 1960 the Sharpeville massacre occurred (see Section 4.3, subsection: *A brief commentary on Mandela's life and rise to leadership* for details) in which not a few of the protesters were shot in the back. In solidarity with the PAC, the ANC announced a national day of mourning employing a stay-at-home strike. The Nationalist's response was to ban the PAC and the ANC, declaring a state of emergency.

Tutu was not politically active at this stage but he could not fail to be angered by this set of events. Tutu was ordained Deacon at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg and his curacy (typically the apprenticeship period of priesthood) took him to St Alban's Church in Benoni location. His training took place in harsh conditions, with Tutu living in a garage and by this stage with three children, but by the end of 1961 he was ordained a priest and moved to Thokoza. While Tutu was still a curate though, Father Stubbs sensed the need for an African member of staff at St Peter's and in liaison with the Dean of King's College, London, arranged for him to study for a degree in Theology, and so Desmond, followed by Leah and his two eldest went to London. He decided to stay on to do his masters and while studying became a curate in the small village of Bletchingley.

In part due to the race laws, St Peter's moved and became part of the ecumenical Federal Theological Seminary near the famous Fort Hare University outside Port Elizabeth. Tutu (now back in South Africa) was appointed as a lecturer and was also made chaplain to Fort Hare. Fort Hare was the birthplace of Black Consciousness where Steve Biko, *The Father of Black Consciousness*, founded the South African Students Organisation (SASO),

believing “The aspirations of blacks should be met by blacks alone”, and becoming its first president (Du Boulay 1988:76). Though Tutu with his multicultural background was not as radical, he was nonetheless outspoken against apartheid.

The students of Fort Hare called for a series of strikes demanding an end to racist education, which culminated in a student strike – over the Rector’s refusal to meet with them – and the ensuing standoff was surrounded by armed police with no-one allowed to enter or leave. Into this situation strode the defiant Tutu, declaring that the police should not stop him entering because as the students’ chaplain he may as well also be arrested! With this began the stirrings of a more active involvement in the political arena, but before this found its full expression he accepted an appointment as a lecturer to Roma in Lesotho, in 1970. This started a restless phase in his life, in which he accepted five new appointments in the next ten years. At Roma Tutu’s association with liberation theology – which sees God as being on the side of the oppressed – started. From Roma, Tutu accepted the position of Associate Director of the Theological Education Fund (TEF), and so in January 1972 the Tutus were once again in London.

At the TEF, where he was responsible for Africa as the Associate Director, his skills in administration and handling finances grew enormously. But this position and stay in England was not to last, as after his name was forwarded for the candidacy of Bishop of Johannesburg, he narrowly lost, but was asked by the shrewd new Bishop, Timothy Bavin (the previous Dean), to be the new Dean of Johannesburg for the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA). Instead of living in Houghton at the deanery as a *fly in the white ointment* of the Group Areas Act, he chose rather to identify with his own people and live in Soweto, commuting to the Cathedral. For the first time a black South African was to occupy a significant position in Johannesburg. He used his position to great effect on behalf of the black South African and wrote to John Vorster, warning him that unless things changed beyond the purely cosmetic, there could be serious consequences. His prophecy was to come true more quickly than expected in the *Sowetan Uprising*. On 16 June 1976, with 15 000 Sowetan school children protesting, the State reacted mercilessly killing over 600 people. Tutu was in absolute anguish, but even before he wrote to Vorster, he had agreed to become Bishop of Lesotho and so once again left the country and the immediate conflict, less than a year after being installed as Dean of Johannesburg.

Though of course not the first black Bishop in Southern Africa, he was the first in Lesotho and he threw himself into his new role. He managed to meet most of the Anglicans in his diocese surprisingly quickly for a priest accustomed to urban living. Tutu used his office to call into question the injustices of a government not duly elected, having come into office through the 1970 coup, and was held in such regard in South Africa – despite receiving much criticism when he moved to Lesotho – that he was asked to conduct Steve Biko’s funeral in September 1977. While in Lesotho he joined the third order of the Franciscans, open to the ordained and laity. This order’s deep spirituality, which endorsed for him his more jocular, carefree nature attracted him. It was not long before Tutu received an invitation to become General Secretary at the South African Council of Churches (SACC), but on the advice of his fellow Bishops, he declined. Three months later, the new appointee resigned and Tutu was approached again. Having placed himself at the mercy of his fellow Bishops, they this time unanimously consented and Tutu again, as he had in other church institutions, became the first black South African to hold this high office.

Tutu began his role as General Secretary on 1 March 1978, but shortly afterward the SACC was inundated with claims of fraud and abuse of funds, of mismanagement and tardy administrative practice and he had to attempt a cleaning up operation. This clean-up included a court case against a former senior member of the SACC – a Bishop of an African Initiated Church. Tutu was not satisfied with just an in-house financial and administrative clean-up exercise, but used his new role to criticise the government's policy of forced removals. These removals entailed the eviction of blacks considered to be in certain white areas illegally, to newly formulated homelands which became dumping grounds for these refugees. But Tutu did not stop at vocal criticism, he and Boesak went to sympathize with the inhabitants of Mogopa in the western Transvaal, a village which had been in the hands of blacks for generations, but was now declared a white designated area.

His major role as General Secretary was to wear the mantle of prophet, but a prophet that acted as God's spokesperson to *forthtell* rather than foretell the future. For this role he was severely criticized at the time, but rather like an Old Testament prophet he saw all too clearly the present and its implications for the future. Tutu believes he is communicating the *Word of God*, not just in a morally deterministic manner, but as one steeped in prayer. Dr Allan Boesak suggested after the banning of most of the black political organisations that the church wherever possible should engage in mass organised civil disobedience, which received Tutu's ultimate support. Tutu spoke out against international investment in South Africa and the purchase of South African products, even raw products such as coal, believing that while the miners would be hurt for a season it would not be the same as the sustained levels of pain experienced by a corrupt system over a lifetime. He became a highly controversial figure and though his colleagues did not always agree with him and he was told by Pretoria (the seat of government) to retract his statements, most of his peers told him to stay true to his prophetic calling, which he did on every occasion he could find.

However, the situation with Pretoria became personal when the Prime Minister P.W. Botha in 1981, accused the SACC of using some R2.5 million in external funding in fermenting unrest. Tutu responded by challenging Botha to charge them in open court, the Prime Minister instead set up a commission which found nothing substantial beyond an antiquated accounting system and the old General Secretary having misappropriated funds. However, Tutu came out almost unscathed and the government could get none of the accusations to stick. Meanwhile, the SACC experienced unprecedented international solidarity from the Anglican Communion when it sent a high powered delegation as a show of support. Tutu claimed the commission had no right to tell the church how it should speak in the current context in the light of the gospel. It was true that the SACC was not spotless, but the commission managed to raise the image of the SACC both among black South Africans as a champion of the people and in the international community.

However, the attempt to undermine and silence Desmond Tutu did not stop with the commission and time and again his passport was withdrawn, only for the authorities to be faced with the international press recording Desmond's words in an increasing manner. All kinds of accolades and honorary Doctorates were conferred upon him, and he used most any opportunity to call for international intervention in the form of diplomatic and economic pressure on the South African government. He warned that time was running out with a more militant South African youth coming to the fore, but believed that catastrophe could still be averted if they acted now. At times his passport was valid though, and beyond being able to attend the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in

Vancouver, where Tutu was a huge success, he also increasingly established relationships with Americans, who unlike the British had no formal ties to South Africa. There was a bond between the African Americans and himself and their convictions that apartheid was wrong grew as their familiarity with Tutu increased. This resulted not only in friends but in funds and the SACC's budget increased to R4 million by 1984.

On 15 October 1984 while he was on sabbatical and lecturing at the General Theological Seminary in New York, Desmond Tutu received the news that he was to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Singing reverberated and applause echoed from the seminary and when he returned home, he was met at Jan Smuts International Airport by a jubilant crowd singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica*. Tutu, while receiving praise was also on the receiving end of not so subtle government propaganda that often quoted him out of context and linked him directly to violence. Other critics included Alan Paton, who could not see the legitimacy of Tutu's call for economic sanction, though to be sure Tutu was often accused of oversimplifying the means and effect of economic disinvestment in South Africa.

After returning to America to finish his lecturing-sabbatical he was invited to the White House, but Reagan could not see beyond American big-business to begin to contemplate the vantage point of this black Bishop-come-spokesperson for the disadvantaged South Africans. From there he went to Oslo to receive his award, which ensured that Tutu became a household name internationally. Locally the attention of the media increased further as he was named as Bishop of Johannesburg on 13 November, amidst the celebrations over the Nobel Prize. The appointment was extremely significant for he now presided over the largest single diocese in South Africa with 300 000 Anglicans, 80% of whom were black.

Tutu proceeded to invite Senator Edward Kennedy to South Africa. Kennedy was outspoken in his support of Boesak and Tutu during his visit, but he was met with opposition in the form of the Azania People's Organisation (AZAPO). So a rift developed between AZAPO (a Black Consciousness organisation) and Tutu, who moved closer in his alignment to the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF), of which he had been named a patron. Even though Bishop of Johannesburg for 18 months only, he took up the cause of the oppressed time and again. By 1985 there was a virtual state of civil war. 700 people were killed in the first nine months, black schoolchildren were demonstrating repeatedly, and suspected informants were *necklaced* (rubber tyres placed around their necks, set on fire with petrol). The indomitable Tutu stepped in on one occasion to rescue a police informer in Duduza in July 1985. That month the state declared a state of emergency. He asked to see President Botha, offering to be a broker in starting negotiations; however, he was snubbed at first; he met twice a year later but to no avail.

By the beginning of 1986 tensions had mounted to fever pitch within the townships of the Witwatersrand, but Tutu managed to diffuse a potentially highly volatile situation where crowds had gathered at a football stadium in Alexandra and undertook to place their demands before the local police officer in charge. Doing more than he had committed to, he flew to Cape Town to try and see the President, but again was rebuffed and had to settle for seeing Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Minister of Law, Order and Defence. The three demands made were the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of township residents held in detention and the withdrawal of security forces. Vlok responded that the matters would be investigated, and Tutu had to return to a reassembled and extremely angry community

whose convictions were increasingly confirmed that due to the government's intransigence they would have to take matters into their own hands.

During this time, Tutu was criticized by more militant blacks for being too moderate, while whites considered him a radical black revolutionary. His call for sanctions brought the predictable backlash from white South Africans who did not realize the lengths to which the majority of black South Africans (for sanctions would surely hurt the ordinary person) were prepared to go in order to gain their liberty. His consistent stance in the use of non-violence at times seemed ridiculous when all other options had failed, and he stood for reconciliation even when the *Kairos Document* authors said that repentance must come before talk of reconciliation in a situation where one side was an armed violent oppressor.

His role as Bishop of Johannesburg was interrupted by news of the intended resignation of Philip Russel, the Archbishop of Cape Town. Tutu was chosen as the new Archbishop of Cape Town in a swift electoral process and was five months later enthroned in September 1986. In the months between the situation in the country deteriorated and a second state of emergency was declared. As honours from outside and castigation from inside continued to amass, he was in September 1987 conferred with a further honour as the President of the All-Africa Conference of Churches. Tutu continued to speak out in the hope that there was still time to avert a bloodbath. In September 1987, the mounting tension in Natal mutated into violent action in the townships adjacent to Pietermaritzburg (provincial capital). This represented the growing rivalry between the UDF/COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) on the one hand and Inkatha led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu (a homeland incorporating large swaths of Natal) on the other. Over the next two months 77 people died and church leaders, including Desmond Tutu, stepped in.

In 1988 the conflict between the state apparatus and the pro-liberation forces intensified and the government outlawed 17 anti-apartheid organisations, including the UDF and AZAPO, and restricted trade unions from the political arena. Also included was a personal ban on some 18 leaders, which the church decided to protest with a march on Cape Town's parliamentary buildings on 29 February. The marchers, numbering some 150, linked arms and when confronted by police knelt on the pavement. The leaders were extricated by the police and the rest disbursed using water-cannons. A further protest rally was banned and Tutu, Boesak and others responded by organizing an inter-faith service in St George's Cathedral. Before the march in Cape Town, Tutu wrote to President Botha appealing on behalf of *the Sharpeville six* (accused of killing a town councillor). This was followed by Tutu meeting with Botha, only to be treated like a naughty little school boy.

In May 1988 the SACC launched a campaign of non-violence against the apartheid apparatus under the banner *Standing for Truth*. In response the government stepped up its harassing of Tutu by organising anti-Tutu propaganda used in government orchestrated protests and on 31 August a bomb wrecked Khotso House, headquarters of the SACC. Early in 1989, the church leaders again played a critical role in the release of the hunger strikers, who as political activists had been detained indefinitely by the state and were to play a pivotal role in the ensuing defiance campaign. With the UDF outlawed, the leadership reconstructed themselves into the loose coalition called the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and by August 1989 the MDM launched the defiance campaign challenging the tricameral parliamentary general elections.

The Church once again stepped into the gap left by banned meetings. This culminated in Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naudé and others challenging the blockading of a Methodist church at which Naudé was due to speak. The church leaders were arrested, yet in a twist of events the Supreme Court set aside the banning order on the service. Once this had happened, the now released prisoners could themselves release all those barricaded inside the church. The brutality of the Cape Town riot squad during the defiance campaign did not go unnoticed – enraged Capetonians listened as a police lieutenant openly condemned the riot squad. A march was mounted with the newly elected Mayor agreeing to join the march which Tutu asked twelve nations to monitor. The mounting domestic and international pressure was acutely felt by De Klerk in the first month of his administration. In a spectacular show of strength, some 30 000 people marched on City Hall.

De Klerk's allowing the march to go ahead set a precedent for a greater leniency towards political demonstration and showed his more tolerant and progressive style of leadership. Tutu met with De Klerk, joined by Boesak and the General Secretary of the SACC Frank Chikane. While De Klerk listened intently, he was non-committal at the meeting. However, on 2 February 1990, F.W. de Klerk with the opening of parliament brought sweeping reforms, unbanning numerous political parties, freeing many political prisoners and promising the imminent release of Nelson Mandela. Amidst the lack of preparations due to the sudden release of Mandela that De Klerk had opted for, Tutu had to calm the crowd. On the night of 11 February after appearing with Mandela at Cape Town's City Hall, he graciously hosted Mandela and Winnie on the first night of Mandela's release. With the rightful leaders now in place, Tutu could withdraw from the forefront of political leadership, though his job as negotiator and prophet to the nation was not over yet.

The fighting in Natal had by 1990 reached a new intensity, culminating in what became known as the *Seven Day War* in the Edendale valley next to Pietermaritzburg, with some 120 people killed by mid-April. The conflict brought about the deaths of some 800 people in August to September and spilt over into the Rand (now Gauteng). Tutu cut short a visit to Canada to join other church leaders in an effort to restore peace and to aid with negotiations between Inkatha, the ANC and the government of F.W. de Klerk. By March 1992 negotiations for a transitional government were well under way with CODESA II.

With the ensuing debate over a federal or unitary constitution (the ANC favoured a unitary state), the ANC called for rolling mass action and the talks broke down. The response was brutal and during the night of 17 June 1992, around 300 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) men assisted by an unidentified *third force* and armed with axes, spears and automatic weapons slaughtered forty six people in Boipatong, south of Johannesburg. Despite this Tutu decided to cancel the planned Olympic Games boycott after being convinced in a meeting with De Klerk that the government had moved substantially towards reform. As the rolling mass action progressed Tutu became concerned that the ANC leaders would not be able to prevent a violent outcome. His fears at first seemed unjustified but then came the tragic march on Bisho by the ANC which Ciskei troops opened fire on, bringing a new level of sanity to the negotiation table for both the government and the ANC. Yet the nation was once again thrown to the brink of civil war on 10 April 1993 with the assassination of Chris Hani, and if not for the efforts of Nelson Mandela all hell may well have broken loose.

Tutu conducted the funeral and in his sermon committed the people to a path of discipline, peace and reconciliation, claiming that no guns could stop the "rainbow people of God".

The violence did not cease overnight and over the next 12 days, after 2 July 1993 and with a provisional date set for the country's first democratic elections, some 220 people died in violence on the East Rand. The atmosphere was not at all conducive to a Mandela-Buthelezi summit, but Tutu managed to broker one, laying the groundwork for a renewal of their relationship (Nuttall 2003:86-88). Though the violence mostly impacted black townships, there was also an attack on St James' Church in Cape Town, where 11 people were killed and 50 others wounded later understood to have been the work of PAC militants. The massacre was widely condemned and at an inter-faith rally, Desmond Tutu again used very similar words to those used at the funeral of Chris Hani, declaring that the "rainbow people of God" were unstoppable (Tutu 1994:248; 251).

By November 1993, the multi-party talks (which were boycotted by Inkatha and the more extreme white right wing parties) set up an interim constitution agreeing to a Government of National Unity for the first five years after the April 1994 elections. Things, however, grew worse in Natal and a state of emergency was declared. The findings by Judge Goldstone showed the involvement of top police generals in what appeared to be a government sponsored strategy of destabilization. After three weeks the deadlock was not yet broken, even with the intervention of international negotiators. Still church leaders toiled behind the scenes and the little-known Washington Okumu helped broker a settlement acceptable to all parties, entrenching the Zulu monarchy within the new constitution. This brought in the IFP one week before the elections. On 27 April 1994 South Africa went to the polls to elect its first democratically elected government.

Even after Nelson Mandela came to office Tutu's roll as a reconciler and peace-maker did not end. It took on a formal role when Mandela as President invited him to take the helm of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) formed as a result of an Act of parliament passed on 19 July 1995. The TRC endeavoured to lead a nation to understand the truth in numerous tragic events and to be reconciled with one another and its own past. The process was a long and arduous task many claim would not have been possible without Tutu's commitment to reconciliation and unearthing the truth. Most notably, the security force generals involved in the atrocities came clean, but their political masters abandoned them, largely choosing to remain silent as did Winnie Mandela. Although it is true, Winnie did apologise for the less desirable things that "went wrong" during the struggle, after being encouraged by Tutu to do so (Meiring 1999:12, 141, 309).

The TRC's report was formally handed over to President Mandela by Desmond Tutu on 29 October 1998, but not before it received interdicts from both former President De Klerk, who successfully prohibited certain information from being disclosed, and the ANC, driven by Thabo Mbeki in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the report from portraying the ANC in a less than perfect light in its role in the struggle (Meiring 1999:366). During and since his TRC days, Tutu did not stop his prophetic role, speaking out against hikes in the salaries of Mandela's government; Mbeki's lack of action over the disparity of wealth – South Africa has one of the highest Gini coefficients in the world – and HIV/Aids; and Mugabe's more recent political policies, who Tutu insists is not exonerated on the basis of his liberation credentials of the past. Upon his retirement from the church, his fellow Bishops bestowed on him the title of "Archbishop Emeritus" in honour of his unprecedented contribution to the nation (Gish 2004:157, 166; Tutu 1999:274).

Structures employed in Tutu's model of leadership

Tutu had a global vision and the restriction of institutional structures or mental constructs could not contain him. He was one of those visionary leaders who had learnt to see beyond any South African world view. Because of good fortune he travelled extensively and saw the international world, but also the provinces in his home country where he experienced the inherent dichotomous nature of South Africa. Tutu in refusing the insularity of a South African sectarian perspective, whether black or white, held a world perspective. Du Boulay emphasises this by calling to mind the perspective of Dr Margaret Nash: “Dr Margaret Nash, the ecumenical officer with the SACC, will never forget ‘the sense in which he was, so to speak, taking the world in his hands and holding it up to God, place by place, situation by situation, person by person.’ At the SACC he was a Bishop without a diocese, but now the world was his parish” (Du Boulay 1988:131).

The SACC was made up of 16 divisions, each with their own director covering a multiplicity of concerns and operating semi-autonomously. Tutu reconstituted them into a team, grouping them into three “clusters”, to practically aid the process. The clusters were *Church and Mission, Development and Service* and *Justice and Society*.

...[O]ne of Tutu's great gifts is his ability to create working conditions that are both efficient and happy; he is an individualist who thrives on working in a team. Dan Vaughan ... feels that Tutu is ‘not a great planner, nor a strategist, but he is intuitively brilliant. In a way he left us to do what we could do, supporting and encouraging us. Things happened because he was around’” (Du Boulay 1988:149).

The structures of the TRC beyond the councillors appointed to head up the commission and the other appointments made by the TRC itself, was such that three committees were formed to look at and give hearings: firstly pertaining to amnesty; secondly to human rights violations; and thirdly to address the issues of reparation and rehabilitation. The premise used was that the nation could only move forward if it dared to open the book on the past and to forgive – an approach which had never before been used in this exact vein. This framework of understanding of the TRC was largely inherent within the act that set it in motion, yet it had been provided with almost nothing that could be considered a working structure. Here, though Tutu had shown his adeptness in handling unwieldy teams, his lack of managerial expertise outside of the church (though not lacking in administrative capability) was complimented by Alex Boraine's considerable skills:

One of the things, that I hope to some extent is a gift of mine, was the fact that I like to give people space, I like letting everyone to have the opportunity to show off their ability, and I have mercifully learnt that I am not omniscient and omni-competent – that other people know certain things a great deal better than I. For instance, we would really have been up ‘Queer Street’ if we had not had Alex Boraine as the Deputy Chair. His managerial skills are superb. It was really because of him that we were able to have started as quickly as we did. He was good about putting down the structures that we needed and calling the staff that we should have had, because we had to start from scratch and I don't want to wish that on my worst enemy. Other governments if they want to have a TRC should ensure that they have a structure in place. We didn't have any of that, we had to find our offices, we had to find staff, and I would quite frankly have been

completely out of my depth if we had not had someone with the considerable skills that Alex Boraine had! And the people who headed up our regional offices they too, turned out to be just out of the ‘top drawer.’ I think I have got to the point where I am not too threatened by the competence and skills of others. And so allowing people to have space, and they came to realise that I really like affirming others and letting them take the bit between their teeth and to run with it (Tutu 2005:38-39).

Tutu’s admiration for his Deputy Chair is equally matched by Boraine’s admiration for the Chairperson of the TRC and also in like manner by Michael Nuttall’s personal admiration for his Archbishop, who was the consummate team-player and who led quite ably:

But with the TRC it became an even more difficult ride, because he had to deal with a more varied group of people, of different faiths or no faith at all, and coming from different professions and not quite as willing as we Anglicans tend to be to acknowledge authority in the life of the church. ...But Alex Boraine goes on to say how brilliantly he moulded that group in all their diversity into a team. And he did exactly the same with us, it didn’t come immediately, he had to work at it, he had to work with us and win our confidence, and he did. And he did the same with the TRC, as far as I can tell, winning their confidence. And then Boraine says; “If there was any one person who was essential to the success such as it was of the TRC, that person was Desmond Tutu as the leader.” His skill was fairly considerable in moulding a team of people, especially for someone who had such strong views himself, nonetheless accommodating other people – and other views – and making them all feel important, making them feel that they belong and have something to contribute (Nuttall 2005:42-43).

This ability to work in a team is perhaps best captured by Tutu himself as he relates the early stages of the TRC, and how in favouring others he managed to weld a team together where Boraine believes (see above quotation) others would quite simply have failed:

The first thing to say about the first months, the first part of our time together – very difficult, very, very difficult. I think each one of us wanted to establish themselves and lay out some of your turf, they were some of the most difficult meetings I have ever had to preside over. I had been accustomed to our church meetings, where yes there was consensus, although I think there was deference also for the Archbishop. At the beginning [of the TRC], some of the women for instance took umbrage that some were addressing me as ‘father’, and they said that now they were not going to accept all that paternalism. It was rough, but I think some of the things that I had learned in the church did in fact come in handy. We were Jews, Muslims, Christians, Hindus and atheists and we had to be welded into a team and in addition we were all of us people who had been wounded by apartheid. In the end I think we came to be more united than we had been at the beginning (Tutu 2005:38).

Yet before his work with the TRC, the structures from his school teaching days right through his training for the priesthood were strictly hierarchical and authoritarian. Even within St Peter’s College, staffed as it was by the fathers of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), the learning environment though filled with piety and reverential

humility, was to all intents and purposes a command structure. He was made senior student in his third year of college (not too surprisingly as he was an older student with a teaching degree already), a position chosen for him by the fathers of the CR. It was here that Desmond managed to induce his flare for change and put to early use his considerable leadership skills and his inclination towards reconciliation. For he "...encouraged the students to realise that a senior student must have their confidence and not merely be imposed on them by the Fathers; in turn he persuaded the Fathers that the college could be more democratically run. His role as a reconciler was beginning" (Du Boulay 1988:49).

This early ability to employ structures for democratic and conciliatory ends is perhaps screened in his later work as a bishop, where the church structures appear to be strictly conducive to an authoritarian, almost autocratic style, with bishops standing one step removed from pre-eminence and archbishops seemingly second to none. This picture of the church as strictly hierarchical can be misleading according to Bishop Nuttall (2005:43):

When you go to a Synod, there you have got clergy and laity equally represented, presided over by the bishop, yes, but the bishop can't outvote them or anything like that. And he would preside over Synod, but he said openly he most enjoyed his meetings with his fellow bishops, he felt most comfortable at those meetings. They were consultative, they were not meetings that made decisions that governed the life of the church on the whole, they were influential, but they were not like Synodical meetings, which makes the canon of law that governs the church or something like that. The Synod of Bishops is a different kind of meeting for mutual encouragement and council, one from another, and he was most comfortable – he was most relaxed in those meetings.

Styles of leadership used by Tutu

Once Bishop of Lesotho – though Tutu freely admits as an Anglican of high-church disposition that he likes all the pomp and ceremony that goes with being a Bishop – he was quick to discourage the use of *My Lord*, not wishing to become an *ecclesiastical bureaucrat*. He remained sensitive to the common Basuto and insisted that all should call using the front door. His sensitivity extended quite naturally to the priests he cared for, noting each of their personal details in his intercession book and praying for them daily, a practice he carried with him everywhere else he went (Du Boulay 1988:110-112).

Indeed again with the SACC his predominant style was paternal, seeing himself as father, his staff as his children and his secretaries (one white, one black) as his daughters. He has a great desire to be loved and affirmed and is quick to take offence if he is not greeted or if his pride is hurt, a weakness for which he has been criticised. But this desire is equally mirrored by Tutu's huge capacity to love and affirm (Du Boulay 1988:132-135). One of the reasons he is able to cope with a huge workload is that he works well within a team framework and delegates easily. Tutu describes his own style as being inclusive, but one senses that his dominant style is authoritarian, being most comfortable with the position and deference that the Anglican hierarchical structure affords him:

And so yes, there would be times when you hold on to a particular position which might not have been so popular. And my own position say over things like sanctions, not everyone agreed with me, that's putting it mildly, even in our

church, even the bishops, we were not of one mind for a long time. They did come to a point where they were saying, they could agree to some extent [on investment sanctions]. ...Well you try to be inclusive as possible, I think that looking back there must have been times when I was insufferable, because it is very easy to become self-righteous when you do look like, I mean, that you are right. I think that there were times when I could have been less abrasive than I was. There is a lot of truth in the saying that, 'you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.' And I say that maybe we lost some people, alienated some people by not always being accommodating and being tough (Tutu 2005:38).

Even though Tutu's actions may be seen as coming from someone with a commanding personality often acting on impulse, what some would call *Holy promptings*, he was by the end of his illustrious career also the consummate team player. Not only did he often include others in his decision making, but in the formulation of important and strategic policy of the CPSA he allowed the team and expert opinion to sway his perception and therefore his subsequent action. When the CPSA was debating the reasonableness of economic sanctions, Tutu's original decision for all-out economic sanctions was actually curbed to one where as Tutu says, "...banking and loan sanctions must be applied. Foreign loans must not be granted without conditions" (Tutu 1989). Nuttall says that this process of refinement as to what should actually be done as regards to economic sanctions "...was a notable example of teamwork on a sensitive and emotional subject." Nuttall says earlier that the secret to his successful team-building was his ability to love and affirm those on his team, practically showing this by constantly writing personal letters of thanks and encouragement. These virtues were instilled in the wider team: "Love, prayer and support for one another became cardinal virtues for such a time" (Nuttall 2003:31; 25).

Tutu's considerable capacity to absorb differences of opinion was shown by his willingness to compromise, perhaps supremely in his work with the diverse team of the TRC:

It is because I don't have all the gifts, I'm very smart at getting good people around me; they then make me look good, able. No that's quite true, even at the TRC it was that way – we had wonderful commissioners, committee members and staff persons – they did the work and I got the credit. Even as Archbishop the other bishops were just outstanding people, most times, and I was a very good captain because I had a winning side (Tutu 2005:37).

Within the framework of a team, it is in the process of consensus seeking that Tutu displays both his African style of leadership where everyone's concerns are taken seriously by the chief in the traditional court and Western styles of leadership, using democratic processes and seeking expert opinions. Both of which for Tutu are overlaid with Christian concepts of listening to what God is saying throughout. Though once Tutu's background is considered as that of a detribalised *commoner* (he was not at all associated with the chieftaincy, and his tribe – the Fingo – are a low ranked tribe in the Xhosa nation) and above all this he was an urbanite, the traditional inputs are understood to be somewhat suppressed (Nuttall 2005:46). In the issue of deliberation and voting on the ordination of women he perceived after failing to win a majority vote first time around: "Maybe the Holy Spirit is saying 'Wait'." True to course and prophetic interpretation, the vote succeeded after a second modified vote was taken later on (Nuttall 2003:108-110).

Tutu was able to so closely connect with the team(s) around him at various times that love for the leader was clearly demonstrated. Solidarity with Tutu was shown by the Truth and Reconciliation team when he was ill with prostate cancer. On another occasion his fellow bishops stood alongside him and caused the government to back down from imposing a possible banning order on Tutu during a time when there was much finger wagging by P.W. Botha. On yet another occasion, as the “the people’s archbishop” addressed a youthful crowd after a violent eruption in Sebokeng, the bishops acted as a human barrier preventing the advance of the police (Nuttall 2003:24; 99).

Tutu is a bold, forceful leader and he would often seize the opportunity to broker a meeting between various parties, playing the role of the consummate negotiator and prophetic motivator. He is also well known for his use of humour and his pastoral concern even for those appearing to be on the losing side. A less well known aspect of Tutu’s style is his ability to act as broker but with deference, for he possesses that unique capacity as an up-front leader of being able to step back and take an ancillary role. Perhaps this aspect was best displayed in his role in restoring a relationship in the much publicized deadlock between Buthelezi and Mandela, as told at length by Nuttall:

He has got an amazing knack in which he uses his humour, he allows himself to be nudged to take advantage of an opportunity. I mean the way he got that meeting together.... Because there was a certain reluctance we were aware, not so much between Mandela and Buthelezi, but by some of their colleagues for this meeting to happen at all. And it all happened over one weekend in Pietermaritzburg in my home town. Desmond Tutu was up for two events, on the Saturday the new Bishop of Zululand was being consecrated in the Cathedral in Pietermaritzburg and Desmond came to do that consecration and because it was the Bishop of Zululand who was being consecrated, Buthelezi was in the congregation because he is from Zululand. And during the peace, we were giving the peace to one another, Desmond goes straight to Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was sitting in the front of the Cathedral, gives him the peace and says to him in passing, ‘If I were able to get a meeting between you and Mandela would you come to it? Are you willing to come?’ To which Mangosuthu Buthelezi says, ‘Yes I would come, yes your Grace, I would come.’ He called him ‘your Grace’ and then we carry on passing the peace; he’s got his acceptance right there in the middle of the service. That’s part of Tutu’s style – ‘seize the moment’ – *Carpe Diem*.

Next day the city was unveiling a wonderful new statue of Mahatma Gandhi, you know Gandhi was kicked off the train on the Maritzburg station in 1893, on a cold night, because he was in the wrong compartment, he was sitting in the first class. In the cold night of the station, that’s when he thought up his philosophy of *Satyagraha*, non-violent, passive resistance, which he eventually applied in India to great effect but he also applied it in South Africa, and this was 1993, a century later when the statue of Mahatma Gandhi was unveiled, and Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela were invited to come and do the unveiling. So now he’s got this contact with Mandela and Buthelezi the day before. So he said we are going to speak to Mandela over lunch, and he took me with him, got Mandela into a corner of the room over lunch, and said, ‘Look, I saw Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday and he’s agreed to meet with you, are you

willing to meet with him.’ ‘Oh yes, yes of course I am’, says Mandela. Right, now he says, ‘I’ve got to go overseas tomorrow, I’ve got a commitment overseas, so this Bishop Nuttall, he is your contact.’ And Mandela gives me his personal phone number to set up this meeting. Now that is Tutu’s style.

When we get to the meeting itself, about a month later, when we eventually managed to arrange a date and a venue, and those things are not easy to arrange! As co-chair, we involved Bishop Stanley Mogoba as well, presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, a very well respected leader at the time and we thought let’s involve him as well. So we brought him in on this, and he was very willing to cooperate. Stanley and Desmond co-chaired the meeting; I just sat on the edges as a little consultant and a listener. Stanley and Desmond chaired the meeting, and if I remember correctly they were fairly laid back in the way they did it, because the politicians were essentially talking to one another. But Desmond’s style is that he does not hesitate to nudge, to make a suggestion – ‘perhaps this is the way to go now’, or, ‘Don’t you think....’ He can be almost forceful but he does it with a humour that enables him to carry it off. Now look at the way he brokered that meeting. He just took advantage of those circumstances that weekend, and thought: ‘This is now God’s opportunity, I cannot let God down on this one.’ And he pulled it off (Nuttall 2005:40-41).

Tutu’s ancillary role, his capacity to compromise; to accommodate someone else’s gifting, is referred to by Nuttall and is evident in Tutu’s non-interfering delegation and the trust placed in his lieutenants – the “Dean of the Province”, Michael Nuttall, in the tasks he asked him to perform for the CPSA; and Alex Boraine, the Deputy Chair of the TRC, in relying on his considerable managerial skills (Nuttall 2005:42; Tutu 2005:39).

Perhaps this ability to work alongside others of considerable strengths comes from his unique sense of security in himself and his desire above all for conciliation. Tutu’s conciliatory style allows him to stand alongside the underdog and even feel the hurts and fears of his presumed enemies. Indeed, like Mandela, he has an enormous capacity to love all and sees all people, black and white, Xhosa and Zulu, coloured and Indian, as needing to be healed. If he wrestled in any area of his style of leadership, it was how to balance the Prophet’s dreams with the Pastor’s heart for those who have been left in his wake. During the negotiations for accepting women into the priesthood, Tutu did what appeared to be an about face by consoling and affirming those who were not in favour of such a move. Such is the depth of his pastoral concern he can be mistaken for a *turncoat*. Yet these same qualities together with his African style of leadership and his disarming humour whether at the negotiating table or in addressing large crowds really come to the fore as strengths:

He stands for the many who need to be listened to at last and taken seriously. He stands for a new style of leadership which will not necessarily follow Western norms. After all, he is African, and often will speak and act out of his African-ness. But, above all, he is a Christian, and it will be as a Christian disciple that he will seek to lead and serve. I heard him say at a conference a couple of years ago: ‘PW Botha his brother.’ When subsequent speakers referred to the State President, they described him as ‘Bishop Desmond’s brother’! (Nuttall 2003:164).

Another critical aspect to his style of leadership was the way he would constantly be in prayer for everyone and everything. Indeed his prayer is so wide ranging that it can literally cover the whole globe. This aspect in his leadership helps to create balance and harmony (as does his humour on a public level) between the prophet and pastor:

Desmond's wife, Leah, has said that his prayers for the world are like 'a Cook's tour' as he moves around the world, nation by nation, mentioning each one by name. Wide-ranging prayer is for him a daily offering, often in the very early hours of the morning, but never neglecting an opportunity day or night, to move to this mode. His intercession book stuffed with prayer reminders and requests, would never be far away, and often in his busy life, if a quiet space arose he could be found with this little book open in his hand. The prophet, the pastor, the pray-er: these were an unshakeable threefold cord (Nuttall 2003:94).

Perhaps this prayerful, exuberant, caring, loving, reconciling and interceding side of Tutu is best summed up by the twin concepts or *styles* of the *pray-er* and the *pastor* in Tutu. But this would not reveal the complete picture of Tutu's style, as to the world at large he comes across as first and foremost a prophet. However, this might not be his most natural *style* of leadership, but the circumstances of the nation thrust him into this role, which no doubt he was eminently suited to. Exemplifying his consistent prophetic call on the nation's leaders, Tutu was also outspoken on issues that he saw as purely cosmetic. One such issue was the proposal made in May 1982 by the multiracial President's Council calling for an electoral council consisting of white, Indian and coloured members, thereby still excluding 73 per cent of the population. By the 1980's Tutu's fame abroad was matched in intensity only by the death threats he received at home. At one evening's meeting of the South African Christian Leadership Assembly that had brought together 500 delegates and which he was addressing, over a hundred car tyres were deflated, and information (or disinformation?) on leaflets was widely disseminated defaming him (Du Boulay 1988:169).

With the constant death threats and harassment that he received during the apartheid struggle (Kennedy 2004:60), one would have expected him to have sought early retirement or at least kept quiet a long time ago. Yet since 1994 he has still consistently been a voice speaking out against all forms of injustice, as he did in the presence of Robert Mugabe at the Harare assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) held in 1995 and recorded in *Archbishop Tutu: Prophetic Witness in South Africa*: "Responding to Robert Mugabe's opening remarks on the prophetic role of the church, the Archbishop observed: 'I assure you, Mr President, we will want to continue to keep governments on their toes as we seek to be the voice of the voiceless. It is the role of the church to be the conscience of society'" (Hulley, Kretzschmar & Pato 1996:42). This was not an idle threat but a role that Tutu had already consistently lived up to and pre-1994, stridently filled:

You should also remember, Rich, his role as a prophet, because that was part of his style, speaking out as the prophet: 'Thus sayeth the Lord.' Which is what he did *vis-à-vis* society, *vis-à-vis* the state. So he was fulfilling that role quite stridently, perhaps sometimes too stridently, but the circumstances were such that we needed to hear a strident voice, knocking them [the politicians] back on their heels if necessary. So he was doing that with his strident call for economic sanctions, his leading of protest marches, his statements to the media and all of that. And then he had to hold together, with that prophetic style, a more

consultative style among his fellow bishops in the life of the church, and a more democratic style himself as he presided over Synods in the life of the church. He had to actually adjust; he had to make room in his own qualities of leadership for these different elements of style (Nuttall 2005:43).

Tutu's temperament is an outgoing one, and delivering his impassioned speeches with a penchant for the flamboyant is part and parcel of his style. Always inclusive he saw funerals as the seedbeds for sowing hope where others saw despair. At large gatherings he raised the standard of a "rainbow nation" with black and white side by side while others would instil tension and anger (Nuttall 2003:103; 134). He has been known to come back from times of communing with God at conferences to pronounce a direction or insight that he had gained from God. On one such occasion:

His sincerity earned the response of a delegate who obviously disagreed with his counsel: "You put me at a disadvantage, Father. I would dare to argue with you but not with God. A subtle form of manipulation, some have suggested. "Whatever Desmond is, he is not a democrat," an Anglican priest told me. "He can be uncompromisingly authoritarian." When he believes he is right it is not easy to change his mind (Hulley, Kretzschmar & Pato 1996:44).

Though at times true to his Anglican moulding he could seem overbearing in his opinion and Episcopal expectation that everyone should follow his lead, he was tempered by the realisation that things were somewhat different outside of the church. In his role at the TRC's helm, independently minded professionals replaced largely deferential Christian delegates and Bishops (or at the least a consensus seeking team); he had to learn the art of sensitive leadership on a whole new level. During this time his prostate cancer *laid him out* momentarily, but when he returned it was with greater sensitivity (Nuttall 2003:145).

These rough learning times were not only times when Tutu was the one on the receiving end, as Tutu (2005:38) – quoted in detail earlier – adding his own honest insight, sees it:

Well you try to be as inclusive as possible. I think that looking back there must have been times when I was insufferable, because it is very easy to become self-righteous when you ...are right. I think that there were times when I could have been less abrasive than I was. There is ... the saying that, 'you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.' And I say that maybe we lost some people, alienated some people by not always being accommodating and being tough.

Beyond his own growth in the arena of team management and conciliation in his work with the TRC, Tutu indeed had times when he was very much the learner, as someone learning to alter a style once he had already arrived, so to speak. In his youth he had assumed the role of an apprentice, possibly most notably in what he gleaned from the role models of his father and mother. Both, as headmaster and primary nurturer respectively, had a direct bearing on Tutu's early disciplined teaching style and his compassionate conciliatory approach, which later on indirectly also influenced his preaching and pastoring. The first minister he was placed under as a curate was Canon Mokoatla, whose great preaching ability provided Desmond with another role model, as did the brothers in the Community of the Resurrection. The latter also modelled for Desmond the epitome of the prayerful

warriors, always on their knees but also totally engaged in the struggle, as supremely exemplified by Trevor Huddleston (Du Boulay 1988: 22, 55, 26, 31).

Tutu as noted above has at times been criticised for not acting democratically and for not seeking advice first. He appears at times to step out into the fray as if a lone crusader fighting single-handedly against the demon of apartheid. This may well be due to his working within Anglican hierarchical structures for so long, and thus being most comfortable with a top down leadership style. But to say this was his only style would be to discount the many times he did seek advice, for example from his trusted colleagues, Bishop Nuttall or Alan Boesak. This style of consensus seeking is perhaps best seen as a process in Tutu. He sought support after he had been badly scolded for acting too often alone, as in the visit of Edward Kennedy, and in his deliberations over sanctions, for as one *first among peers* he soon learnt his fellow Bishops were not about to be steamrolled as easily on important issues as they may have been for less critical ones (Tutu 2005:38; cf Nuttall 2005:42).

While he did learn to seek others' opinions, these often only modified and did not completely alter his course of action, as with his call for economic sanctions, where his fellow Anglican Bishops, seeking the best possible outcome for the ordinary man on the street, managed to convince him to ultimately seek out investment sanctions only. However, what needs to be said is that Tutu was first and foremost a man who sought out God's opinion, in a manner pertaining to a Prophet who seeks God's thoughts on behalf of his or her nation. Typical of this was the *dreaming up* of the march on Cape Town's City Hall, which Tutu claims God gave to him (as much as any man can know for sure that it was God) while he was preparing a memorial address (Tutu 1994:184).

Values of Tutu's leadership

The values of peace, ubuntu and restorative justice

Peace as social harmony, or the natural accord intrinsic to *ubuntu*, is for Desmond Tutu the principle by which he governs all else. "Harmony, friendliness, community are great goods. Social harmony is for us the *summum bonum* – the greatest good. Anything that subverts, that undermines this sought-after good, is to be avoided like the plague" (Tutu 1999:31). This social harmony stems from his understanding of *ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* for Tutu is by definition that which makes a person a human being, because they think and act as someone bound up indissolubly in ties of community with others (Tutu 1999:31). For Tutu *ubuntu* and interdependence are integral to global harmony:

Now and again we catch a glimpse of the better thing for which we are meant – for example, when we work together to counter the effects of natural disasters and the world is galvanized by a spirit of compassion and an amazing outpouring of generosity; when for a little while we are bound together by bonds of a caring humanity, a universal sense of *ubuntu*, ... when we agree as one to outlaw torture and racism. Then we experience fleetingly that we are made for togetherness, for friendship, for community, for family, that we are created to live in a delicate network of interdependence (Tutu 1999:264-265).

Yet peace does not come without a price for Tutu. Desmond Tutu believes that restorative justice – not retributive justice – is integral to societal peace and wellbeing. Together with

this he has a high regard for the healing of breaches in all relationships, desiring the total restoration of community for both the oppressed and the oppressor alike:

We contend that there is another kind of justice, restorative justice, which was characteristic of traditional African jurisprudence. Here the central concern is not retribution or punishment. In the spirit of *ubuntu*, the central concern is the healing of breaches, the redressing of imbalances, the restoration of broken relationships, a seeking to rehabilitate both the victim and the perpetrator, who should be given the opportunity to be integrated into the community he has injured by his offence. This is a far more personal approach, regarding the offence as something that has happened to persons and whose consequence is a rupture in relationships. Thus we claim that justice, restorative justice, is being served when efforts are being made to work for healing, for forgiveness, and for reconciliation (Tutu 1999:54-55).

Driving his desire for *ubuntu* is his belief in the inalienable right of every human to a true freedom of spirit and body. Tutu believes that it is only in *true* freedom – flowing out of a deep understanding of interdependence and the dignity in every man, concepts inherent to *ubuntu* – that unjust rule is subverted. As Tutu states: “No matter how long and how repressive their unjust and undemocratic rule turns out to be, the urge for freedom remains as a subversive element threatening the overthrow of rigid repression” (Tutu 2004:15).

The values of trust, integrity, confidentiality and transparency

Desmond Tutu holds integrity as a value, but understands that trust, closely linked to one’s integrity, can take time to achieve. When a fellow commissioner’s integrity was on the line because of an attack on his character, Tutu had this to say about the situation:

It shook us to the foundations, though I believe that, had it happened at the beginning of the life of the commission, it would without doubt have destroyed us. But by this time, two years into the life of the commission, we had, surprisingly, grown to have a great deal more trust in one another. Hence the commissioners almost unanimously accepted that Dumisa’s integrity was unimpugned [*sic*] and we believed his side of the story (Tutu 1999:206).

This integrity arises out of his very being, such that word and deed are totally congruent in Tutu’s life, as the following story shows. Once as Bishop of Lesotho he had reduced his audience into fits of laughter when he strode onto the platform with an Afro-style shirt on and “...mimicked Dorothy Lamour.... But the quality that informs his every word and action rests deep in his spirituality. What he *is* shines through his words, whether serious or amusing, gentle or forceful. In him being and doing go hand-in-hand – the idea of Tutu being insincere or in any way untrue to himself is simply inconceivable” (Du Boulay 1988:158). Desmond Tutu also has a high regard for confidentiality, which if not honoured, can only add to a sense of distrust in a team; yet he balances this with an equally high regard for transparency, flowing out of his personal integrity, and is extremely open about his life wherever this is possible (Tutu 1999:200). Nuttall (2003:35) demonstrates his ability to be real/transparent in a quotation from an April 2001 newspaper interview:

“I have a very strong weakness for being liked. I want to be popular. I love to be loved. One has enjoyed the limelight. I am guilty of the sin of pride.

Sometimes I find it very difficult to be humble – that is why it is so good to have Leah. She pulls me down a peg or two. To her I'm not an archbishop with a Nobel Prize: I'm just a not-very-good husband who likes gardens but won't do any gardening." Not many leaders are as transparent as that.

Desmond Tutu believes in being even-handed in a non-partisan and non-racial manner, which flows out of his personal integrity and the honour due to every person. As a response to the political violence that had engulfed Natal in 1989, a representation was sent from the Synod of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) to see Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Upon consultation with the speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (also a lay representative at the Synod), Desmond Tutu sent three Bishops who were Zulus – Sigisbert Ndwandwe, Alfred Mkhize and Zambuhle Dlamini. Dlamini grew up with and was a personal friend of Buthelezi's, and Ndwandwe was linked to the royal lineage. This could only have smoothed the way in brokering negotiations between Inkatha and the other political parties (Nuttall 2003:62, 64). "Desmond, always with an eye to inclusiveness, decided to widen the representation by asking me to be part of the group as well" (Nuttall 2003:62). It is somewhat surprising therefore that one can trace a sense of disharmony and distrust in the TRC, arising from the fact that the initial staff appointments made by Tutu and Boraine were seen as being exclusively white (Tutu 1999:198).

The value of faith expressed in spirituality and ecumenism

Tutu believes it is important to spend time being still in God's presence so that His qualities can rub off on us (Tutu 2004:100). This, together with his love of the Eucharist, epitomizes his high regard for spirituality. Not only does Tutu spend many a spare moment in prayer and intercession, but within the busy ordering of a day he could often be found in the chapel at Bishop's Court in prayer and sacrament: "This chapel reminds us of the centrality of what we are about. We're all very busy with summits and meetings and so on, and sometimes we may forget our 'raison d'être': that we exist for the glorification of God and trying to deepen our personal relationship with God" (Du Plessis 1990).

Tutu's value of a deeper spirituality flowed out of an early appreciation for his faith and ecumenism (a fellowship that knows no denominational boundaries) as he had to contemplate the possibility of dying due to tuberculosis while in hospital as a teenager. It was while he was in hospital that his friendship with Trevor Huddleston, a father in the CR whose faith and commitment to spirituality so inspired Desmond that even at a young age he could be found spending great lengths of time in prayer.

His ecumenism started early. In hospital everything seemed to come together. The devout background was there, the long weeks lying gave time for reflection and Father Huddleston acted as the catalyst. Desmond did not understand then the white priest's political views, but was convinced that everything he did stemmed from his prayers and his faith. ...So it was in hospital that he made a great friend, he laid the foundation on which his wide-ranging knowledge was built and he found a faith which quite surprised him by its intensity. He remembers on one occasion when he was very ill, haemorrhaging badly ... being overcome by a profound sense of calm and saying to God, "Well, if I have to die – okay." His Christianity had moved from outward observance to the depths of his soul. When he left hospital he began the disciplined spiritual life that was to intensify as the years went by (Du Boulay 1988:31).

The value of reconciliation

Tutu believes in a continuum starting with forgiveness and ending in reparation as the basis to true reconciliation: “True reconciliation is based on forgiveness, and forgiveness is based on true confession, and confession is based on penitence, on contrition, on sorrow for what you have done” (Tutu 2004:53), and: “Confession, forgiveness, and reparation, wherever feasible, form part of a continuum” (Tutu 1999:273).

He often used a hard hitting posture rather than humour to get his point across, as he did in his speech to the National Initiative for Reconciliation (NIR) Conference in which he addressed the far-reaching issues that reconciliation brings with it:

“I have sometimes had quite insensitive letters from white people urging our people to be longsuffering. I feel such words are a discredit to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. How can you ask forgiveness of someone when you still have your foot firmly planted on his neck? You have got him down there and you say, ‘Forgive me for putting my foot on your neck.’” [Then came] ... the unpleasant truth that Desmond punched home: “My brothers and sisters, reconciliation is not cheap, nor is it an easy option. You hear people in this country say, “Why don’t you get involved in reconciliation rather than confrontation?” Who said reconciliation excludes confrontation? Who says reconciliation is easy? We must know what we are for when we say we must be ministers of reconciliation, because reconciliation cost God the death of his son” (Cassidy 1989:282).

Desmond Tutu’s strongest motivating force for reconciliation is his belief in God’s love; a love that always triumphs over hatred (Tutu 2004: 40-41). Flowing out of this conviction of God’s love, Tutu is driven by a strong sense that a moral universe will ultimately prevail over an immoral one, and that good ultimately always triumphs over evil (Tutu 2004:2). He has an equally deep belief that nothing is outside of God’s redemptive grasp: “The principle of transfiguration says nothing, no one and no situation, is ‘untransfigurable’...” (Tutu 2004:3). In line with these morally higher virtues flowing from an ultimately moral universe is Tutu’s concept of a grand cosmic reconciliation:

There is a movement, not easily discernable, at the heart of things to reverse the awful centrifugal force of alienation, brokenness, division, hostility, and disharmony. God has set in motion a centripetal process, a moving toward the centre, toward unity, harmony, goodness, peace, and justice, a process that removes barriers. Jesus says, ‘And when I am lifted up from the earth I shall draw everyone to myself’ as he hangs from his cross with outflung arms, thrown out to clasp all, everyone, everything, belongs. None is an outsider, all are insiders, all belong. There are no aliens, all belong in the one family, God’s family, the human family. There is no longer Jew or Greek, male or female, slave or free – instead of separation and division, all distinctions make for a rich diversity to be celebrated for the sake of the unity that underlies them. ...It was God’s intention to bring all things in heaven and on earth to a unity in Christ, and each of us participates in this grand movement (Tutu 1999:264-265).

What is notable about the Archbishop is that he does practice what he preaches. On one occasion he was visibly moved and openly demonstrating his reconciling spirit during the Rustenburg Conference to Prof. Jonker after confessing his complicity in apartheid:

I confess before you and before the Lord, not only my own sin and guilt ... but *vicariously* I dare also to do that in the name of the DRC of which I am a member, and for the Afrikaans people as a whole. I have the liberty to do just that, because the DRC at its latest synod has declared apartheid a sin and confessed its own guilt of negligence in not warning against it and distancing itself from it long ago (Jonker 1991:92).

To which Tutu replied:

I believe that I certainly stand under pressure of God's Holy Spirit to say that, as I said in my sermon, when that confession is made, then those of us who have been wronged must say 'We forgive you', so that together we may move to the reconstruction of our land. That confession is not cheaply made and the response is not cheaply given (Tutu 1991:99).

Tutu's Christian beliefs and the bases to his multifaceted theology

After stressing his early roots in Methodism and the African Initiated Church (see *A brief commentary on Tutu's life and rise to leadership*), Du Boulay mentions that his ecumenism started early. Even as a Methodist, he was greatly influenced by Huddleston, as already alluded to, while he was close to death suffering from tuberculosis in hospital and as a boarder in the hostel run by the CR. Later he was to follow his sister into the African Methodist Episcopal Church and in all these experiences an early acceptance for other churches was instilled (Du Boulay 1988:29-31).

For Tutu this early open mindedness to ecumenism with other denominations has been extended to a willingness to come alongside all faiths. In his understanding of his witness, lifestyle is for Tutu the most meaningful. More than even lifestyle he believes that witness to the Lordship of Christ comes via the pre-incarnate word:

For me, Jesus Christ is the revelation of God, but I am opposed to proselytisation. Our task as Christians is simply to live attractive lives that are transparent with the gospel. We take ourselves far too seriously when we think that God is relying on our evangelical campaigns to make everyone Christians, in order for them to enter into communion with God.

People sometimes ask me what I make of the fourth gospel which quotes Jesus as saying: "No one comes to the Father except by me" (John 14:6). The question is whether this means it is by the incarnate Christ or the preincarnate Logos that we enter into union with the divine? Surely it is through the eternal creative Word of God that this happens, and there are so many different manifestations of God's Word. If this is not the case, how do we account for the encounter between God and Abraham, Sarah or Moses? Jesus Christ has not yet appeared. I have encountered holiness, spiritual insight and the presence of God in people of many different religions. I cannot be so arrogant as to insist that these people become Christians (Hulley, Kretzschmar & Pato 1996:45).

In speaking in this manner Tutu endears many more liberally minded Christians or those of other faiths with a more open disposition, but he sets himself up for disagreement with the

Evangelicals and more conservative Christians as well as the Biblical scholars. It should be noted, for example, that Tutu in the above has ignored the standard evangelical mandate of Matthew's gospel, which if read beyond the light of the original twelve compels all Christians to "...go and make disciples of all nations" (Matt 28:19). Beyond this is the understanding that the risen *Logos* who has for all time changed mankind's concept of the "eternal creative Word of God", such that the message inherent in the creative order, which clearly is a part of God's revelation – beyond the personal encounter that Abraham, Moses or Sarah had to work with – is not the full testimony of God's Grace. God's Grace is supremely beheld through the revelation of Jesus for today. Yet for all his at times contentious statements of matters temporal and eternal, Tutu remains one of the great models of ecumenism and inter-faith understanding and was adept at handling many different faith persuasions in his role as the TRC chairperson.

Concerning Tutu's Christian faith, it is important to firstly note that in his theology there are also elements of *Liberation Theology*, which for Tutu started in Roma, Lesotho but matured during his time spent with the TEF where he encounter those espousing Latin American Liberation Theology (Du Boulay 1988:101). Tutu's liberation theology is most clearly seen in his understanding of the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt, Moses' squabble with Pharaoh and the great journey of the people of God into the Promised Land. Where he stopped short of a full appropriation of the Exodus narrative for the Southern African context was in the use of violence (Kunnie 1990:239). Though what Kunnie has only partially taken into account here is that it was violent rebuke at the hand of God directly – in the form of a plague and later the Red Sea's water subsiding – that actually inflicted death on the Egyptians in the biblical narrative, on which Tutu may or may not hold a direct position. What is correct in Kunnie's argument is that Tutu agrees with other liberation theologians that "God is on the side of the oppressed" (Tutu 1989:44; cf Kunnie 1990:239). But Tutu differs from some of the more radical liberation theologians, particularly in the Americas, in that he is opposed to the use of violence and draws his hermeneutic from the incarnate life of Christ and an uncompromising understanding of reconciliation, which involves the redemption to full humanity of the oppressed and oppressor alike (cf. Battle 1997:5; Kunnie 1990:239; Du Boulay 1988:117).

It should also be remembered that Tutu's application of reconciliation and non-violent opposition is based within the South African context of apartheid's violent oppression, where use of excessive force in the struggle on a provincial or national scale would undeniably have been met with greater counter force. However, over and above even the immediate context of his liberation theology, "Tutu's call for peaceful resistance to the tyranny of apartheid is predicated on the perception that Jesus, the locus of the Christian gospel, as a person whose life and philosophy was unequivocally committed to the way of 'non-violence', from which he derives his inner spirituality" (Kunnie 1990:241). It is this deeply held belief in the non-violent Christ that tempers his style of liberation theology.

Secondly, Tutu's theology is driven by *Black Theology*. Originating in America as a theological understanding of *Black Consciousness* and as a response to the philosophy of *black power*, it reached South Africa by 1970 (Du Boulay 1988:84). Paralleling to some degree liberation theology, it seeks a theology applicable to the context it is addressing, not in an abstract manner but in a highly relevant way. In the South African context it sought to address the need of the person suffering under the yoke of apartheid. Tutu's first significant encounter with *Black Consciousness* was with the students of Fort Hare and it

was the 1968 strike at Fort Hare that gave the impetus to Tutu's alignment with this movement. Tutu differs from the early advocates of black consciousness, including Steve Biko, in his desire for inclusivity within the black militant ranks, believing ethnicity to be irrelevant. Most others associated with the movement felt the need for blacks to separate themselves in order to consolidate their position such that blacks could later on come back and stand undeterred, eye-ball to eye-ball with whites (Du Boulay 1988:77-79, 101, 117).

However, this theology struck a note of truth for Tutu, who saw that the identity of the oppressor or dominant economic people group was seen to pervade all understanding of who *the other* was. In a South African context, *the other* became defined negatively as *non-white* or *non-European* or simply seen as the opposite of white (which automatically inferred good; clean), and thus there was a need to uphold the value of being black (Battle 1997:135). For Tutu there was also value in black theology in its opposition to *Western Theology*, which while raising valuable insights it did not address the African context and subtly (or not so subtly in the form of *Prosperity Theology*) upheld a consumer oriented global market economy. Black theology's weaknesses were obvious to Tutu. In its excessive association with *blackness* it lent itself to the radical excesses of force applied to those who quite simply were not black on the converse assumption of apartheid that white was evil, and manifested itself in the PAC slogan of "one boer one bullet".

Thirdly, Tutu's theology is driven by his African-ness, in what has been referred to as his *Ubuntu Theology* or his *African Theology*. This is a theology that addresses the African context, as Tutu remarks: "Blacks must stop testing their theology against the value systems of the West and develop their own insights. 'It is only when African theology is true to itself that it will go on to speak relevantly to the contemporary African – surely its primary task...'" (Du Boulay 1988:116).

Tutu's *ubuntu* theology is nurtured by his rich understanding of the African tradition and its concept of personhood's being defined as dependant on others, as opposed to Western concepts of individuality and exclusive ethnicity, which in excessive measures can lead to abuses of individual power and racist behaviour. This for Tutu is expressed in an understanding of personhood that while everyone is unique, they are equally part of a community and made in God's image and therefore should be valued and honoured. Tutu's recognition of the *imago Dei* comes strictly speaking from two sources: Firstly the one we are dealing with in his African cultural heritage as epitomised in his understanding of a universal *ubuntu*, and secondly from the monastic tradition and teachings of the Community of the Resurrection. For Tutu, who is firmly rooted in both the Old and the New Covenantal understandings of grace, God's creation is however the focal point of his understanding of men and women, who were made in God's image. Thus all peoples are first and foremost "God's children" by virtue of the created order; only then comes the "scandal of the particularity" in terms of the revelation of Christ, but also in terms of a contextual theology (Battle 1997:125-127; Du Boulay 1988:116, 87; Nuttall 2005:44-45).

Tutu puts his finger on the pulse of the searing question of meaningless suffering: "We humans can tolerate suffering but we cannot tolerate meaninglessness" (Tutu 2004:75). Yet for Tutu nothing is wasted. Even Mandela's twenty seven years of incarceration is seen as preparation for national leadership and personal enrichment (Tutu 2004 73-74). Paul's conviction that a slave should not rebel but act in love is in line with this philosophy. In the *universal ubuntu* that Tutu believes in, it somehow cosmically stands for more than

is immediately apparent and will have an impact, if not in one's immediate lifetime, then in someone else's. This is nevertheless hard to reconcile with the waste and carnage of apartheid and other repressive regimes that at times appear to be self-perpetuating. Indeed Tutu tempers a futuristic eschatology which bases itself in an other-worldly kingdom – a “Pie in the sky when you die” approach – with one that sees value in long term suffering on behalf of an eventual physical reality. In this understanding of an earthly outcome, Tutu strongly rejects a theology that does not deal with the here and now.

His traditional understanding became more firmly rooted while he lectured at Roma (the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, as it was called at the time), starting in January 1970, and again when he was Bishop of Lesotho, starting in July 1976. Tutu is at times criticised for his Western outlook and the ease with which he accepts relative wealth and comfort and his seeming lack of a deep appreciation of the African working-class song, dance and idiom; still he can equally be seen as being African through and through, which he owes to his mixed Xhosa-Tswana heritage, but also deeply instilled for Tutu within the Maluti Mountains of Lesotho (Du Boulay 1988:113-114, 232; Kunnie 1990:284-285).

Fourthly, Tutu's theology, and even his practise, is defined by his ecclesiastical tradition beyond his early roots in Methodism and the African Initiated Church, as already stated. Tutu's *Sacramental Anglo-Catholic Theology* and praxis were moulded by the *ascetic* tradition and teachings of the Community of the Resurrection and to a lesser extent by the Franciscan order to which he belongs. “Informed by such examples as St. Anthony, the ascetic tradition sought to wrestle demons by breaking down false divisions between the sacred and the profane. Tutu's theological strategy also was to model the divine life to the corrupt society of apartheid. Through the ascetic tradition, persons are no longer identified by race but form a community, expressed in the particular witness of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), able to contain and celebrate diversity” (Battle 1997:131).

The influence of the CR did not stop with their asceticism – which led them into a deeply meditative, prayerful and Eucharistic life of devotion – for they were greatly involved in the struggle of their downtrodden fellowman/woman. This total dedication was supremely modelled in the life of Trevor Huddleston; later, while Tutu was studying with the CR, the Vice-Principal Timothy Stanton was a powerful example also (Du Boulay 1988:26; 49).

From the CR Tutu has inherited his deeply devotional and *Catholic* spirituality, whereby he takes morning and evening prayers without fail and will even take a moment within the hectic movement of an airport to celebrate the Eucharist (Nuttall 2005:44). Their exemplary ministry also instilled Tutu's deeply incarnational model. “His absorption of an incarnational spirituality, that sees God in everything and everyone, continues to constrain him not only to do whatever he can to help people in trouble, but to love his fellow man, whether or not that love is returned or even welcomed” (Du Boulay 1988:48). He is so highly steeped in a life of prayer that a deeply biblical and prayerful understanding of what a godly response to his context constitutes, flows out of this lifestyle, and is not easily swayed by extreme interpretations of black or liberation theologies. These two theologies tend to interpret scripture based on contextual realities, but Tutu – guarded by a reverse of this process – allows for prayer and meditation on the scriptures to speak into the context.

Lastly, beyond the CR his ecclesiology is defined as being derived from a *Liberal Theological* position. He is liberal in his understanding that God is a God of all peoples,

and because of his particular emphasis on the Genesis encounter, he believes that all people are “children of God” as they have been first and foremost made in “His likeness.” He has gained this liberal vantage point through his extensive (for his generation) theological studies both in South Africa and in Britain. According to Nuttall, it is his belief in the “motherhood of God” that drives him even on justice issues:

From this liberal basis, this belief in the motherhood of God, this drives him – and also on the grounds of justice – this drives him to believe that it is just to ordain women on the grounds that they have no control over their sex, just as blacks have no control over their colour so it is a justice issue. In regard to homosexuality and the acceptance of such, Desmond would go so far as to say, even though this is very controversial, that their sexual orientation is what they were born with, it is in this way God given so we have no right to demand that they change. In this way he is extremely liberal (Nuttall 2005:45).

Perhaps Tutu can best be understood as an *absorption theologian* or more accurately a *synthesis theologian* who has taken something from everything in order to mould a truly authentic African theology. Because Tutu’s theology is strongly rooted in the African tradition, it does not have the need to construct a philosophy and vocabulary for the existence of God, for the non-existence of the Divine would be incompatible with the African worldview. Because Tutu is strongly rooted in the liberation tradition, his theology seeks to set the captive free, while confronting the earthly powers in a tangible manner that discounts abstract otherworldly answers. Because Tutu was moved by black theology and its philosophical counterpart of black consciousness while at Fort Hare, he is astute to the distortions that an all-pervading white supremacy had brought South Africa. But because of his being rooted in the sacramental tradition and life of prayer, he is able to more than most negate the abuses or overemphasis of a black identity. And because of his liberal disposition, he rather speaks of an all-inclusive identity – incorporating oppressed and oppressor, black and white, straight and gay alike – made possible by the *imago Dei*.

The basis of Tutu’s ability to cross socio-political boundaries

As discussed before, Tutu’s theology and his values are grounded in the twin concepts of *ubuntu* and reconciliation. These concepts are so essential to Tutu’s transcultural ability that, at the risk of being repetitive, they must be further addressed. From the book, *The Essential Desmond Tutu*, an insight is gained into Desmond’s view of race:

There is an old film entitled *The Defiant Ones* which depicts two escaped convicts manacled together. One is black and the other white. They fall into a ditch with steep, slippery sides. One convict claws his way nearly to the top and just as he is about to make it, he discovers that he can’t get out because he is still manacled to his mate at the bottom, so he slithers back down. The only way they can make it out of that ditch is together – up, and up, and up, then out together. In South Africa we can survive only together, black and white. We can be truly free, ultimately, only together, black and white. We can be human only together, black and white (Tutu 1997:18).

This belief in only finding a freedom together is based on Desmond’s understanding of the gospel, in which there are no longer any divisions for Jesus Christ has broken them all.

Tutu does not stop with a purely Pauline inspiration to his understanding of reconciliation. He also draws on the Old Testament prophets such as Jeremiah to explain his conviction that all people are valuable to God, whose plan for Tutu was not an ill-conceived one, "...no divine afterthought. He [Jeremiah] was part of the divine plan from all eternity. He was no accident. None of us is a divine afterthought. I sometimes say some of us might look like accidents, but no one is an accident. God has chosen us from all eternity to be an indispensable part of his divine plan" (Tutu 1997:19).

Kerry Kennedy in her book *Speak Truth to Power* clearly ascribes Tutu's vision for a future that was not based on tribe or ethnicity to his belief in God the Father and His Son – "the Word made flesh". It was a vision for which he dared to call for sanctions:

His faith in the Almighty is exemplified by his belief in the Word made flesh; that the battle for the triumph of good will be won or lost, not by prayers alone, but by action taken to confront evil here on earth. "When I became archbishop in 1986, it was an offence for me to go and live in Bishopscourt, the official residence of the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town. Now we live in a village that used to be white, and nobody turns a head. It's as if this is something we have done all our lives. Schools used to be segregated rigidly, according to race. Now the schools are mixed. Yes, whites tend to be able to afford private schools. But government schools, that in the past were segregated, have been desegregated. Now you see a school population reflecting the demography of our country.

I was an advocate for sanctions and as a result, most of the white community regarded me as the man they most loved to hate" (Kennedy 2004:58-60).

For Desmond the basis of his transcultural abilities beyond *ubuntu* and his African tradition (the foundations of which are fully congruent for Tutu with his Christian tradition), were his early life circumstances such as when his father moved to Ventersdorp and he attended a school offering tuition to black, Indian and coloured South Africans. There were also the influences of personalities especially in his youth inspiring compassion, reconciliation and self-pride and role-modelling the ability to cross socio-political divides by their lives: his mother, Aletha Matlana, known as *Komotso* (the one who comforts the afflicted), who always stuck up for the underdog in family disputes; the feats of black sportsmen and athletes such as Jackie Robinson and Jesse Owens (inspiring self-pride); Mr and Mrs Blaxall who worked with black blind people; and the compassion of men such as Trevor Huddleston of the Community of the Resurrection (Du Boulay 1988:22-30).

Perhaps not so much the basis of Tutu's transcultural ability as a natural disposition within his personality, he has a flair that lends itself to humour, even self-deprecating humour at times, which allows him to capture his audience and enthuse them with his vision for a new united South Africa: "Sipho Masemola, now a priest in the East Rand, delighted in his jocular, gregarious personality, 'bubbling with love for people'"; in fact he was even able to joke, "...about white fears of black retaliation" (Du Boulay 1988:48, 100).

Because Tutu was groomed theologically as much in Great Britain as he was in South Africa and beyond that travelled extensively, he has the ability to bring a global perspective to bear on the immediate issues at hand. This global perspective was rooted in his diverse

tribal experience in which his mother was Tswana and his father a Fingo of the Xhosa nation, and later on once in Lesotho where he had to speak Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana. But his perspective was indeed enriched by his exposure particularly in the United Kingdom, where, for example, in his role with the TEF he mixed with colleagues who were Taiwanese, a Malaysian-Chinese, a Brazilian-Armenian, and a white North American (Du Boulay 1988:130, 114, 91-92).

Beyond his work for the TEF his travels abroad exposing him to many different cultures (more so than most white clergy under apartheid), and many different theological positions, which arguably led to his having a very inclusive one. This is seen clearly in his inclusive position towards homosexuals in the life of the church according to Nuttall (2005:46):

A key text for him would be, “In Christ there is no Jew nor Greek, slave or free, male or female ...” and all the rest. He would add black or white, straight or gay. He said that, he said that! In Christ these things don’t matter any more. And we are all in Christ, not just for Christians, we are all in Christ. So he enlarges the Pauline meaning of that Galatians text, but that is crucial for him, it is absolutely fundamental, and that is what galvanises his philosophy of reconciliation, to be a reconciler. He also recognises wounds; this concept of being a wounded healer was at the heart of the TRC: “We are dealing with wounded people; I too am a wounded person. I carry my wounds but I also acknowledge that by God’s grace and love and mercy towards me that I am healed, so I am a wounded healer.” ...I think that prompts, his reconciling approach. Jesus on his cross, must be at the heart of his meditation a lot of the time, how can I be like Jesus, arms out, wounded, willing to embrace everybody, everybody. He has written a book, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, that comes not only from his work for the TRC but his contemplation of that word from the cross, “Father forgive them for they know not what they do.” It is part of him; it is part of his spiritual life.

His liberal understanding of God’s grace being available to all, a theology that arises out of a deep woundedness due to apartheid, and most importantly Christ’s own example, all contribute to enabling him to act as reconciler and “wounded healer” to the nation. Alongside the liberal roots – his Genesis narrative interpretation and particular reading of Pauline theology on matters of justice and inclusivity – stands his understanding of *ubuntu*, which determines for Desmond his ability to cross boundaries that would normally divide.

His concern is with the human family, not just the church family, so he is utterly human. He has an ardent doctrine of creation. The doctrine of creation is so utterly important to him. Every human being is made in the image and likeness of God. That is what galvanised his prophetic ministry as well, he called apartheid a blasphemy, not just a mistake. [Tutu says,] “Why have you got into conflict with the fundamental belief of Genesis 1, that we are all made in the image and likeness of God, therefore how could you treat people like that? It is a blasphemy.” So he is human, he is humane, he represents *ubuntu* supremely, that difficult concept that is difficult to define. It is close to hospitality, it is close to sharing, compassionate. You know Descartes said, “I think, therefore I am.” *Ubuntu* says, “I belong, therefore I am.” He is a representative of *ubuntu*, and *ubuntu* is very close to the Christian ethic of compassion, of sharing, of togetherness, of belonging to one another (Nuttall 2005:44).

Finally, his own church's willingness to promote Tutu time and again to positions such as Dean of Johannesburg that had never before been occupied by a black South African should be mentioned. The Anglican Church's courage, even if somewhat belated, should not be underestimated in the promotion and grooming of such a controversial figure (at the time) as Tutu. This afforded him the platform from which to speak as *prophet to the nation*. From the beginning he was groomed by the CR, who also made the necessary contacts for his studies abroad. The Anglican Church at large time and again went the extra mile to make space for Tutu's lead in an era in which the Reformed churches buckled to the song and dance of the political masters of the day.

How Tutu's Christian convictions helped to effect lasting national change:

One can never say for certain what influenced De Klerk and the National Party's dramatic directional change, though much must be attributed to the daring leadership of De Klerk himself, who no doubt used the prevailing change in the global political climate with the end of the Cold War to great effect. Yet it is hard not to surmise that with Tutu calling the government's bluff (which subsequently backed off in the events surrounding the march on Cape Town's City Hall), his speech on the day of the march – issuing a warning and appeal to the newly elected F.W. de Klerk – in all probability, had an effect on the more moderate leadership of De Klerk's. Tutu (1994:182-183) at the end of his speech used these words:

We want to say to Mr de Klerk: "We have already won. Mr de Klerk, we have already won. Mr de Klerk, if you know really what is good for you, join us! Join us! Join us! Join us! Join us in the struggle for this new South Africa.... I want us to stand – Capetonians, South Africans, black, white, whatever, and hold hands and know that nothing can stop us. We are unstoppable! Unstoppable! [Outside the City Hall Tutu added] Let's just keep quiet. "Mr de Klerk, did you hear a pin drop?" They tried to make us one colour: purple. We say we are the rainbow people! We are the new people of the new South Africa!

Tutu was unrelenting in his call for justice and national change and on numerous occasions called for meetings between himself and Botha, F.W. de Klerk's predecessor. He was outspoken in the arena of economic sanctions, which won him many a foe but indisputably applied pressure to the already buffeted National Party. His role as a patron to the UDF and member of the MMD cannot be underestimated in the two mass movements' call for a new dispensation. He was instrumental in his role of reconciler between Buthelezi and Mandela and in his support of other Christian efforts to mediate. His contributions throughout his lifetime were profound and his stand for justice, non-violence and peace deservedly won him the Nobel Peace Prize. But perhaps the most tangible way in which Tutu's role as reconciler of the nation can be assessed is in his work with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. With the lofty expectations placed upon the TRC before it even began, it seemed doomed to failure. Giles Fraser, who quotes Tutu, has an interesting take on this:

Of course, there are criticisms to be made of the use of "truth". From a Foucauldian perspective, suspicions are raised that the language of truth and reconciliation makes an attempt to impose a particular authority or interpretation (of the ANC over Inkatha, for instance). The TRC can thus be seen as legitimating the hermeneutics of the victor's justice as it were. And there are, of course, many other criticisms too: that a great many crimes went unexamined

and many perpetrators were not brought to book. No doubt there is more work for honesty to do. And there always will be. Tutu writes: “A Dutch visitor to the commission observed that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission must fail. Its task is simply too demanding. Yet, she argued, ‘even as it fails it has already succeeded beyond any rational expectation’” (Fraser 2001:47-48).

Though the success of the TRC has been debated widely, it nevertheless contributed to the national process of healing in a way no other nation before has attempted in quite the same fashion – it offered pardon for honest testimony, in an effort to uncover the truth.

It is always interesting to find that they appointed an Archbishop to head up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was a quasi-legal body. That it is an interesting thing that they didn't, as you could have expected, go for a judge, and I think that that says a great deal. And once we were meeting as bishops in our church and we were meeting in the Free State and we invited the Premier of the Free State to come and talk to us. And he said that he is surprised that we are surprised that they should have chosen to walk the path of reconciliation. Because he said the church is to blame if you want someone to blame [for choosing this path] because most of them were educated in church schools, and most of them are practicing Christians and therefore all of this should have been natural. Now if that is so, then one could expect that the results of the TRC would have been percolating through society and percolating through the leadership. But that does not mean we always obey or do the right things, when we may know that this is what should be happening (Tutu 2005:39).

This is very apt, for while the TRC did confront some with the truth, others chose to ignore its findings or simply found them too difficult to contemplate. This is especially true of the conservative, yet politically uninformed (as to the inner workings and duplicity of the National Party) Afrikaner who wanted to believe the best in the National Party and in the ideals that the Afrikaner nation itself stood for (Meiring 1999:62, 112-113). This was not entirely the ardent Afrikaner idealist's fault for some would go to great lengths to suppress the truth, and to Tutu's dismay the party he himself was loosely aligned to also sought to cover up the truth concerning certain damning events that they had freely confessed to during the TRC hearings. For the comparison with the National Party was not a politically acceptable image for the ANC, who viewed themselves as being on morally higher ground. This stance was true in the sense of their being the liberator of the people, though it did not wholesale excuse their methods, according to Tutu (Gish 2004:157). Given this scenario, it was nevertheless unfortunate that both Nationalist and ANC leaders sought to suppress the truth and thus rob a nation of potential healing. They would also doubtlessly have become more powerful role models had they chosen to perform otherwise.

Professor Meiring (1999:366) reflecting on these events says: “But a few days before D-day former President F W de Klerk took the TRC to court and obtained an interdict prohibiting certain information concerning his involvement in human rights violations from being published....” He adds: “And then the final blow: the evening before the report would be handed over, the ANC requested a court interdict to try and stop the report from being issued, as the report, in the ANC's opinion ‘criminalized’ their role in the struggle.” Perhaps though, this was a mark of the TRC's success: it had managed to upset both the old

masters, De Klerk (and Botha before him) together with the National Party, and the future ones (who would come after Mandela), Mbeki and an ANC dominated coalition.

Tutu's contribution to national change is thus maybe best seen in the work of the TRC, for though his contribution was significant before, it is sometimes harder to assess the work of a *Prophet and Pastor to the Nation*, who calls for change and loves all citizens, than it is with the concrete work of a commission that achieves something tangible. Kerry Kennedy notes for us Tutu's thoughts on the TRC:

“Our country knew that it had very limited options. We could not have gone the way of the Nuremberg trial option because we didn't have clear winners and losers. We could have gone the route of blanket amnesty and say wipe the slate clean. We didn't go either way. We didn't go the way of revenge, but we went the way of individual amnesty, giving freedom for truth, with people applying for forgiveness in an open session, so that the world and those most closely involved would know what had happened. We were looking particularly to the fact that the process of transition is a very fragile, brittle one. We were saying we want stability, but it must be based on truth, to bring about closure as quickly as possible.”

“...One of the extraordinary things is how many of those who have suffered most grievously have been ready to forgive – people who you thought might be consumed with bitterness, by a lust for revenge. A massacre occurred in which soldiers had opened fire on a demonstration by the ANC (African National Council), and about twenty people were killed and many wounded. We had a hearing chock-a-block full with people who had lost loved ones, or been injured. Four officers came up, one white and three black. The white said: ‘We gave the orders for the soldiers to open fire’ – in this room, where the tension could be cut with a knife, it was so palpable. Then he turned to the audience and said, ‘Please forgive us. And please receive these, my colleagues, back into the community.’ And that very angry audience broke out into quite deafening applause. It was an incredible moment. I said, ‘Let's keep quiet, because we are in the presence of something holy’ (Kennedy 2004:60-61).

Many like the family of Steve Biko found it too early to forgive, yet Tutu and others like Mandela have laid the foundations to the establishment of a new national identity, proud of its heritage and able to face its past as a multifaceted people.

As he handed the report to Mandela, Tutu said, “We have looked the beast in the eye. Our past will no longer keep us hostage. We who are the rainbow people of God will hold hands together and say: never again, nooit weer, ngekhe futhi, ga reno tloa.” (The last three phrases mean “never again” in Afrikaans, Zulu and Sotho.) The report labelled apartheid a crime against humanity.... According to a 1998 poll, most South Africans believed that the truth and reconciliation process had worsened racial tensions in South Africa, at least temporarily. Tutu was not surprised. He insisted that reconciliation would take time and that it could not succeed if the truth remained buried. He believed it was unrealistic to expect that racial tensions that had built up for centuries would completely vanish in a few years (Gish 2004:157-158).

But Tutu, being astute, spiritual and yet grounded, was all too aware of the shortcomings of the TRC. He had hoped that far more whites would have embraced the process than actually did, and had wished that the politicians who played dumb would have come clean. Tutu understood that the process was imperfect, but believed in its ultimate contribution to the promotion of truth and reconciliation of a nation by providing a remedy for "...former adversaries to live together after a prolonged period of conflict and division. Tutu was convinced that true reconciliation could only occur if the gap between the rich and the poor was reduced in South Africa. ...From Tutu's perspective, reconciliation could not be achieved overnight. It was an ongoing process that required effort by all" (Gish 2004:157).

Yet for Tutu, reconciliation is not the end of the road – it is the path by which all may enter into his vision based on a greater sense of a community that is not monochromatic, but full of tribal/ethnic diversity and yet united as one (Tutu 1994:183). As is the case with Mandela, perhaps even greater than Tutu's role in reconciliation is what he has offered a nation: a chance to achieve a new patriotism; a chance to achieve a new national identity for the many who were previously entrenched. His vision of "the new people of the new South Africa" – healed and being healed, set free and in the process of being set free from their past – whose unity of purpose but diversity of culture within the new dispensation, is best painted by Tutu's expression, the "rainbow people of God" (Tutu 1994:183, 248, 251).

5.5 Comparison of the Three Christian Models and Application Using All Six Models

Table 5.5.1: Framework of comparison of the three Southern African Christian leaders

	<i>Mutendi</i>	<i>Cassidy</i>	<i>Tutu</i>
Structures	Traditional kinship / Royal Rozvi. Mirroring chiefly structures. Small initial evangelistic-band. Promoted foreigners into church structures & later used kinship inversion. Progressive centralized flat pyramid-authority of Zion City, networking 15 Paramount Chiefs. Roving evangelists used after <i>Pasika</i> . Inter-tribal Church. Small groups meet under trees.	Team young professionals in AE foundations - beyond Michael all white N. Americans. By 1969 a new multicultural team in SA & soon after 2 nd team in E. Africa. Michael & Festo co-leaders of AE. Structure later hierarchical, resembles multi-level skyscraper. Predominantly older Eng. SA executive devoid of youth & non-whites. Used foxfire teams & CHUM's.	Hierarchical structures of church and state, theological learning institutions & TEF. Collegiate structures of TEF&TRC, Tutu has a flair for modifying institutional structures, but not good at creating new ones. Good in teams. Created clusters (small teamlets) in SACC. Multicultural team of Bishops. Uses democratic structures less so. Most at home in collegiate/ deferential structures.
Style(s) (as a young man)	(Youth largely unknown – artistic, possibly gentle & humble)	(As a young man, entrepreneurial - pioneering, professional style)	(In youth not arrogant but democratic & consensus-seeking in Community of the Resurrection)
Dominant	Autocratic, chiefly, resolute and unshakable resolve. Charismatic & yet non-vocal.	Autocratic - directive and top down neo-colonial; maintaining status-quo as founding leader.	Authoritarian & prophetic; humourous/flamboyant/outgoing. Directive and assertive – <i>carpe diem</i> .
Secondary	Persuasive, gentle & humble man. Consensus seeking, Humorous but firm & shrewd.	Informal, relational, hands-off with trusted associates / missions. Collegiate style with co-patrons.	Inclusive, consensus-seeking, collegiate and able to act as broker & take an ancillary role.
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	S1 – Firm and directive in correcting subordinates. S2 was his natural style. S3 – Collegiate with sons/ councillors. S4 with Nehemiah as schools superintendent.	S1 – Authoritative style to juniors & story-telling role-modelling. S3 – With theologically similar colleagues. S4 in ministry & administration.	S1 – Commanding style as bishop. S2 – Persuasive with fellow bishops. S3 – Collegiate with TRC Councillors. S4 – Delegating with Nuttall (CPSA) & Boraine (TRC).
Situational Apprenticeship Styles AS1-AS4	AS1 and AS2 as he watched and learned from Lekhanyane. AS3 giving deference to Lekhanyane once in Zimbabwe. AS4 as church gained its independence.	AS1 - Listening to Festo at Fuller & in Nigeria. AS2 – Learning grassroots evangelism in Kampala. AS3 Accommodating secondary role Festo-Cassidy speaking-tour. AS4 conferences after PACLA1.	AS1 Listening when curate with Canon Mokoatla. AS2 Learning with Fr. Huddleston. AS3 Accommodating as a curate. AS4 As Dean of Johannesburg he served under Bishop of Johannesburg, a role he later occupied.
Values	Love Unity & Reconciliation Peace Justice	Christian fellowship / ecumenism; reconciliation; love; forgiveness; trust (dialogue & influence); faith (evangelism / holistic).	Peace / <i>ubuntu</i> & restorative justice; trust, integrity, confidentiality & transparency; faith (spirituality & ecumenism); reconciliation.
Transcultural Ability	Daneel adopted into Mutendi's family; entertained whites. Royal Rozvi used to great effect. Used Ndebele & foreign leaders breaking Shona-Ndebele tribal divide. Created inter-tribal church with multiple paramount chiefs.	Marriage grandparents (Canadian/ Afrikaner), role-models of Duncan, Huddleston, Nuttall, B. Graham & M.L. King. Inspired by <i>Satyagraha</i> & federation Rhodesia-Nyasaland; liberal political roots of Lesotho & Michael House. Guardian to Siphon.	<i>Ubuntu</i> & respect for all traditional roots. Role models of mother & Fr. Huddleston. Travelled widely & studied in UK. Xhosa / Tswana roots; Bishop of Lesotho; Christian faith and doctrine of creation. Son of Fingo – a “Xhosa commoner”.
Political / Christian Conviction	Christian / adapting traditional religious beliefs - replacing <i>n'anga</i> / ancestor powers & High God with Prophet & Christian God.	Christ's life; need for Cosmic order & philosophy of Cosmic Christ. Evangelical – person / work Christ; scripture inspired; Trinitarian. Belief in supernatural world.	Strong ecumenical Christian faith. African / Liberation / Black / Liberal Theology. Anglo-Catholic spirituality; liturgical ascetic & pious.

The historical contexts of the three Christian models

Each of these Christian leaders assessed, as in Chapter 4, began with a section titled, *A brief commentary on the life and rise to leadership...*, which provided a perspective on each leader's life and the historical context of each. From these, together with the political

models assessed, can be gleaned a contextual understanding but beyond this as in Chapter 4 it may be helpful to add a few brief pertinent thoughts on the historical context.

Tutu's and Cassidy's historical contexts were somewhat similar with both being born in the same generation (Michael Cassidy in 1936 and Desmond Tutu in 1931). They also shared experiences of extended ministries into Lesotho and the broader context of Africa. Though Tutu was born in the Transvaal and Cassidy in Lesotho, the greater context of South Africa's increasingly oppressive regime affected both (though to very different degrees) for the major part of their lives. This context can possibly best be encapsulated by looking at a specific event and the felt impact of this to the African mind. In 1925 Prime Minister Hertzog, made a speech in the Orange Free State outlining his social programme of segregation. Shirley Du Boulay spells out the implications of Hertzog's speech:

Segregation, he said would protect "civilized labour" – that is, white and "coloured" (mixed race) – from "uncivilized labour", the cheap labour of blacks. He proceeded to implement these ideas in a series of laws which became known as the "Hertzog Bills"; their effect was encapsulated in a parody of the 23rd Psalm by an African poet:

Hertzog is my shepherd; I am in want.
 He maketh me lie down on park benches,
 He leadeth me beside still factories,
 He arouseth my doubts of his intensions.
 He leadeth me in the path of destruction for his Party's sake.
 Yea, I walk in the valley of the shadow of destruction
 And I fear evil, for thou art with me.
 The politicians and the Profiteers, they frighten me;
 Thou preparest a reduction in my salary before me
 In the Presence of mine enemies.
 Thou anointest mine income with taxes,
 My expenses runneth over.
 Surely unemployment and poverty will follow me
 All the days of this Administration,
 And I shall dwell in a mortgaged house for ever

It was into this world that, on October 7th, 1931, Desmond Mphilo Tutu was born (Du Boulay 1988:21-22; *Umteteli Wa Bantu* 1932).

Though this world was to undergo some significant changes over the course of Tutu and Cassidy's lives pre-1994, the undercurrent of apartheid (built on the early foundations of the Hertzog Bills) was always there, and for the most part in increasing measure.

Samuel Mutendi's world was somewhat different. Born as he was to an earlier generation around 1890 (exact date unknown), he passed away in 1976, which was reasonably early on in the lives and ministries of Tutu and Cassidy. He is also a Zimbabwean and notably a royal Rozvi, born after the kingdom of the Rozvi's had collapsed, but just before the 1896/1897 Ndebele rebellions against the British occupation of Rhodesia. The Ndebele had in the interim years stepped into the gap left by the disintegrated Rozvi Empire and under Mzilikazi and later his son Lobengula had raided and dominated the Shona tribes to

the north, establishing the Ndebele nation. Even in Mutendi's youth the Ndebele still raided the Shona cattle, but their hegemony was to be superseded by British rule once Rhodes reneged on his agreement with Lobengula, the Ndebele having been subjugated by the British after the rebellions.

The Rhodesian government of Samuel Mutendi's early years was dominated by a paternalistic attitude with government agents in the form of District Commissioners having authority over the local chiefs. He became somewhat of a forerunner to the early resistance after his return from seeking employment in South Africa in 1925. After the Rhodesian government's self declared independence (its *Unilateral Declaration of Independence*) in 1965, the segregation between white and black in Rhodesia was somewhat more oppressive (but relatively less so than in South Africa) to the blacks. Yet even in the days of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland a franchise vote was formulated whereby any Rhodesian could vote if possessing adequate property rights and a certain level of education. He was, however, not to live to see Zimbabwe gain her full independence, thereby fulfilling the aspiration of the black Zimbabwean of *one man, one vote*.

The historical contexts of Cassidy and Tutu set the backdrop for *Thesis* in the process of synthesis used in this thesis, for the missionary church was in many ways complicit with the colonial outlook that transpired in apartheid in South Africa. It was this complicit nature that was one of the reasons for African leadership breaking away and forming the African Initiated Church, which is understood to be the *Antithesis* in the *Synthetic-Semiotic Model*. Before moving to *Synthesis* in the final analysis in Chapter 7, the three Christian leaders will be compared and the input from this comparison and the three Political leaders will be analysed for the initial implications for a multicultural model of leadership for the early 21st Century Southern African city context within Christian organisations.

A brief comparative analysis of the three Christian models of leadership

Though Mutendi's structures were somewhat unique, being primarily traditionally based – reflecting as they did the chief's court – but also structures appropriate to his royal lineage, all three leaders worked in institutions where the structures were hierarchical. Apart from the similarity in the authoritative nature of leadership that these kinds of structures naturally impose, there were considerable differences. Mutendi, as founding leader of the ZCC in Zimbabwe, chose a flattened pyramid structure, which had few leaders anywhere near the top. Only one minister stands between him and his ministers on a ministry level and only one minister operates in a given circuit, and thus relatively few rank even as fully recognised ministers (*vafundisi*). In contrast to this Michael Cassidy has over the years adopted also as a founding leader, of AE in his case, a structure resembling a multileveled skyscraper with an abundance of leaders at the top. In contrast to both, Tutu's structures were chosen for him by the church or state and though they significantly resembled a classic pyramid structure in the CPSA (the Anglican Church's official title in Southern Africa), in the TRC they were far more collegiate as Cassidy's initial structure was, with a professional atmosphere and leadership operating far more on the basis of peers.

They all have a dominant autocratic style and a secondary collegiate or consensus seeking style. Though Mutendi's natural style was possibly a persuasive/gentle style, the traditional/royal patterns of leadership tended to reverse these. As for the cycle of styles presented in the *Situational Leadership and Apprenticeship Models* (Figures 1.1 and 1.2 respectively on page 11), both Mutendi and Tutu display the whole ranges S1 to S4 and

AS1 to AS4. Cassidy shows a gap in the S2 sector in that he is not noted for being persuasive/consensus seeking in the literature reviewed. This at first seems surprising as he is adept at working with colleagues, but in all of these cases one finds that Cassidy plays the dominant role with peers, and appears incapable of operating in a consensus manner with juniors, showing a sizable blind spot to his inability to relinquish control (S4) in areas other than detailed administration and/or evangelistic campaign planning.

There is a significant overlap in the values the three leaders possess. All three have values of reconciliation and unity/ecumenism – ecumenism or unity for Mutendi was expressed through a traditional understanding and desire to unite the tribes – and a high degree of overlap in the values of love, trust, forgiveness, peace, justice and faith. This is to a certain extent to be expected when working with Christian leaders who have all influenced the political arena to some degree. The total overlap beyond reconciliation and unity/ecumenism would have been even greater had the assessment been done on a different set of bases. There is no doubt that love and forgiveness are expressed by Tutu within his value of reconciliation, while peace for Cassidy and forgiveness for Mutendi were inherent in their overall concept of reconciliation. Justice for Cassidy was also a value, but was expressed through his liberal ideals and not as directly as Tutu and Mutendi.

In each case the bases of their ability to traverse the socio-political barriers are significantly different outside of their Christian beliefs. In Mutendi's case this ability is mostly due to his heritage as a royal Rozvi and secondly because of patterns inherent in inter-tribal acceptance. This secondary consideration also affected Tutu, though as a *commoner* of Fingo extraction there was nothing particularly royal about him (Nuttall 2005:46). For Cassidy, heritage also played a role, because as a son of English decent, born in Lesotho and schooled in Natal, his liberal instincts were part of his cultural upbringing, while his capacity to seek commonality between Afrikaner and English stretches back to his grandparents, one of whom was Canadian and one Afrikaans. All three find commonality in their Christian faith inspiring them in their respective transcultural abilities. The personal experience and guardian-type roles that both Mutendi and Cassidy played for individuals (Daneel and Siphon respectively) who came into their orbit is intriguing. Tutu's early exposure to the British through his studies in England and work for the TEF is significant.

In their Christian convictions, all three had a strong personal faith. Beyond this Mutendi and Cassidy show a significant overlap in their cosmic/supernatural beliefs, though these were applied to very different circumstances with significantly different results. In Mutendi's case his belief system addressed the traditional issues of his day while Cassidy's the political arena of South Africa pre-1994. Tutu's African-liberal theology and ecclesiastical tradition (for want of an all-embracing term) also caused him to address the political sphere, but from a significantly different basis to Cassidy's. To both Tutu and Cassidy, apartheid was unjust and a heresy, but Tutu's analysis of the situation equated heresy as being a blasphemy against God's created order, for all humans were created in the image of God. For Cassidy, the unjust heresy was perceived supernaturally as a power or *demonic stronghold* in the unseen world and cosmically as instilling chaos instead of harmony. Somewhat surprisingly this kind of supernatural terminology is to a large extent congruent with Mutendi's perception of the negative effects of the shades (ancestors) and the spiritual hold over the people of the cultic deities and even the cult of the high-god.

Initial implications from all six leadership models for a multicultural leadership model

Though there is an overabundance of hierarchical structures that do not fit well in a postmodern world or a multicultural context, all of the models analysed also showed a propensity to working in teams and/or networking-collegiate orbits. The leaders all also had experience, whether early on in their youth or in their young adult days, of smaller groups or cells/commandos/circumcision classes. In Mandela and Tutu's cases, the experience was less obvious early on from the literature reviewed. However, it existed for Mandela in his early days of the ANC Youth League and for Tutu with his colleagues in training for ministry. In many of the cases the macro-structure of kingdom or nation played a significant role and the importance of networking at this level of structure counterbalancing the small group level can probably not be overemphasised. Many of them promoted people from other tribes and races to leadership positions (and in the case of Mandela, Moshoeshe, Tutu and more recently Cassidy, to high offices of leadership).

From these notes can be gleaned some implications (key traits) for today's Southern African Christian organisation within a city context. The idea that someone needs to fulfil the role of a final authority figure provides for a focal point of leadership, but which needs to be directed in a collegiate-democratic-professional manner. Team and consensus seeking structures as well as placing others of a different racial group in significant leadership positions, should also be employed to avoid any abuse of power. It is significant, however, that when Tutu early on promoted only whites in the TRC's support infrastructure he was strongly criticised indicating that this last principle should thus not be overworked. These structures can employ concepts of tribe, nation and even kingdom to instil pride and a sense of belonging.

It may be critical to employ a more open-handed collegiate style as the dominant style, for which Moshoeshe, Mandela and to a lesser extent Mutendi showed a capacity. All the while the ability to switch into a secondary more commanding/executive decision making style in the present day context under review here must be retained though. Beyond this, what is intriguing (as stated earlier) is that in every case without exception, both semi-autocratic/authoritative and diplomatic/consensus styles of leadership were used by each of the strategic transcultural leaders (transformational leaders who can cross socio-political boundaries with ease). Not *either/or*, but always *both/and*, even if this was less evident in Smuts and Cassidy. If the values are evaluated that support these widely divergent styles, it is interesting to see that Tutu, Mandela, and Moshoeshe all exhibited strong desires for peace/conciliation/*ubuntu* while also holding to a deep conviction in justice and/or the equality of all life. This in turn led to the paradoxically held styles of consensus seeking and yet on other occasions the grim determination that would overrule at critical times. Dr Michael O'Brien in assessing 11 companies ranked as the most successful companies in the United States found that they held just one key factor: *leadership*, on which two key elements were built: *humility* and *professional will* (Williams 2002:106). Sham (1999:91) also comments on this phenomenon in transformational leaders:

During times of uncertainty and especially in the early phases of organizational transformation leaders would need to be less democratic and to direct with "light government". ...The transformational leadership approach compliments the direct, tough leadership approach in that it "frees" the "captured" organization through, instilled pride, respect, inspiration and prompts intelligence, rationality and problem solving amongst the workforce. It is

therefore conceded that direct, autocratic leadership and transformational leadership are to be used sequentially in order to *effect* and then *sustain* organizational change. The direct, autocratic approach initiates and enforces the change, while the transformational leadership ensures that the organization begins to grow its workforce and the organizational culture in order to ensure continued organizational life.

From the analysis of all six leaders, though both Smuts and Cassidy showed a gap in their *Situational Leadership Style S2* (persuasive/accommodating/consensus style), in all other respects it appears that it would be preferential to have a complete set of situational leadership styles at a leader's disposal. While it would appear that Smuts also jumped directly to AS2 in his *Situational Apprenticeship Style*, in most cases other than the highly intelligent or naturally gifted leader it seems preferable to go through a gradual learning curve. Though a trait of gifted leadership does appear to be this propensity to jump (as with Cassidy's initial Christian leadership at Fuller and Moshoeshoe and Mandela's propensity to operate in created structures original to each), this learning curve is essential if not in their initial training and mentoring, then later on in new areas of work or ministry.

The values within the six leadership models that appear to be the most consistent are ecumenism/unity (often perceived on a national/kingdom level) and reconciliation (understood as comprehensive/costly), followed by love, trust/loyalty and peace/social harmony/*ubuntu* (noting Madiba's value of conciliation). Justice, faith, humility and magnanimity show a lesser degree of overlap. However, all of these are key values for today's multicultural model.

Early exposure to other tribes/ethnicities and/or a multicultural heritage, whether stretching back to grandparents (Cassidy, Moshoeshoe) or more recent family (Tutu), or via a friendship/family acquaintance (Mandela, Smuts, Tutu) appear to be significant traits of transcultural leadership, as does a fostering role of someone of another racial group (Mutendi, Cassidy). A royal/chiefly heritage and/or role-modelling of benevolent Regents (Moshoeshoe, Mutendi and Madiba), instead of distancing the leader from his or her audience, once applied through other structures of church and community have a unifying effect with the stability offered by an undisputed leader. All six leaders drew on their Christian faith as a basis for crossing socio-political boundaries while the philosophies of *Satyagraha* and *Ubuntu* overlapped to a lesser degree. Beyond this though, all other inputs into their transcultural ability allowed for diverse individual experiences and philosophies.

For all six leaders a conviction regarding the Christian faith was the single most important factor as an element in their Philosophical/Faith convictions. Traditional culture inspired some leaders with traditional roots regarding the dignity of every person and *ubuntu*. It was noteworthy that some, though not all appeared to conceptualise, or naturally practise from, a complex mental framework or thought pattern. These frameworks or thought patterns were useful to the leaders in dealing with life's circumstances and desires: Smuts and his holism, Mandela and his integrated political/Christian strategy of reconciliation, Mutendi and his belief system, Tutu and his multiple yet integrated theological inputs and Cassidy and his Cosmic Christ. What may be significant for today's multicultural model in the cities of Southern Africa is this ability to conceptualise a belief-framework or governing theology that cognitively gives substance to the overall mission, vision and most significant goals of the Christian organisation.

CHAPTER 6: THE MULTIPLE PARADIGMS OF LEADERSHIP & SOCIO-POLITICAL FORCES IMPACTING ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

6.1 Introduction and the Concept of Multiple Coexisting Paradigms

Chapter 4 looked at the leadership models of the three historically placed political leaders. In a similar way Chapter 5 looked at the leadership models employed by three 20th/21st century Christian leaders inspired by their individual belief systems/theologies. These three Christian leadership models give us an understanding into the inputs required for multicultural synergy and in Chapter 6 are fed into our *Synthetic-Semiotic Model* in order to obtain an initial proposal for a multicultural leadership model.

This chapter will principally provide a description of key paradigms of leadership in the postmodern, tribal, neo-African and multicultural contexts and some of the more critical socio-political forces impacting Southern Africa today. In doing so it will afford this thesis with an essential diverse insight into how to synthesise a model appropriate to the complex Southern African situation. In order to achieve the necessary inputs to arrive at a possible lasting synthesis, this chapter will progress as follows:

1. The basis for understanding how multiple paradigms can co-exist.
2. The postmodern paradigm of leadership.
3. The tribal paradigm of leadership, focusing on the Ndebele structure of leadership and Southern Sotho/Zulu styles of leadership.
4. Specifically South African current political ideologies and socio-political forces are discussed (with brief reference to Zimbabwe).
5. The neo-African paradigm of leadership.
6. The multicultural paradigm of leadership.
7. Synthesis of a proposed model of multicultural leadership in a tabulated format.

Elaborating on the above, some issues of postmodern paradigms of leadership will require suggestions for an adaptation to the Southern African context, as postmodern thinking often falls prey to purely Western thinking without the necessary Southern African perspective(s). To counterbalance postmodern trends tribal paradigms of leadership are looked at in three tribes – the Zimbabwe Ndebele structures of leadership in its foundational stages and a comparison of Southern Sotho and Zulu styles in their foundational stages within the Southern African context. The tribal paradigms will give an insight into neo-African oriented perspectives of leadership.

Next specifically South African political ideologies are examined together with a brief analysis of the major societal forces affecting or preventing cultural change in South Africa with a brief reference as to the impact of these on the nation-state of Zimbabwe. Socio-political forces of the day in South Africa such as ideological/religious, ethnic/tribal and local economic/globalisation forces vying for dominance are briefly discussed as a necessary foundation to neo-African models. A multicultural paradigm of leadership is then drawn out from regional and international sources of information, and chapters 4 and 5 help to indicate a compatible style of leadership for this paradigm. This multicultural paradigm together with the postmodern, tribal and neo-African paradigms are used to refine in a framework of comparison or schematic format the initial implications for a proposed multicultural leadership model put forward in the previous chapter.

Introducing the Concept of Multiple Coexisting Paradigms

As mentioned in chapter 1, David Bosch in his book *Transforming Mission* uses Hans Küng's concept of six major *epochs* or *paradigms* in western history and Thomas Kuhn's concept of *paradigms shifts* to define major historical periods in the church, each with their own distinctive missions paradigm (Bosch 1991:181-185). From *Systems-Sensitive Leadership* one gleans the concept that worldviews (or as Armour and Browning refer to them, "thinking systems") do not simply dissolve with each new paradigm shift or epoch in history. Rather, more than one worldview or Bosch's paradigm can be held in a generation, even if one view is dominant. Thus over time differing worldviews, thinking systems, value systems or philosophical paradigms have not completely disappeared. Yet through the ages dominant ones have given rise to certain governing forces. Each of these thinking systems, worldviews or paradigms that dominated a particular historical period are then likened to the thinking systems that tend to govern our lives from infancy to maturity – from simple to complex. In as much as thinking systems relate to our view of the world they thus change over time within an individual, whose world is perceived as more complex with each passing year (Armour & Browning 2000:18-19; 26-28).

This concept of multiple coexisting paradigms on a generational or personal level is not an aberration. For Armour and Browning it is an accepted norm where even within the individual governed by for example a postmodern mindset – though Armour and Browning use other terminology for postmodern in relation to their concept of thinking systems – can experience a throwback to an earlier governing system of say their infancy under duress. Thus thinking systems can and do accumulate, such that more than one thinking system can coexist even at an individual level (Armour & Browning 2000:26-27). The coexistence of more than one thinking system as put forward by Armour and Browning is supported by Bealer, who attempted to address the crisis of single paradigm theory, as Kuhn originally addressed in 1975, and mentioned in *Diversity Management* by Flood & Romm (1996:31).

Thus thinking systems relate more to the overall perceived complexity of the individual and group's situation and sometimes more so to the immediate environment than it does to the philosophical trend or historical timeline. Each situation's complexity is perceived differently by each individual even in a common grouping, as more than one worldview can coexist where other factors such as race are held constant. There have been repeated clashes between coexisting systems and throwbacks to a system that dominated at an earlier stage. An example of this is Europe when Nazi Germany used dictatorial force to maintain the militarist ethos of the day. What is different today as opposed to the world even 50 years ago, is the great number of coexisting and competing systems of thinking due to the complexity of today's world (Armour & Browning 2000:60; 282).

This is helpful in the Southern African context where multiple cultures make up a nation and where people of widely differing economic wealth, background and tradition coexist. Many different indigenous people groups, who have adopted varying degrees of Westernization and retained varying degrees of their traditional worldview, can and do coexist in the cities. In addition the worldview(s) which dominated in the previous generation(s), such as the fading colonial and postcolonial-modern paradigms, are still evident today, though they are not covered in any detail in this thesis. Thus the concept of thinking systems Southern Africans relate their divergent experiences, both internally – where many differing worldviews vie for dominance – and externally – where they contend with the dominant worldviews of the Western powers with the onset of globalisation.

What is helpful, however, is to gain an understanding – over and above coexisting worldviews – of a melding of worldviews, of synthesis. In a particular locality or across a nation, the newly emerging dominant worldview can be seen as a synthesis of more than one pre-existing worldview together with the incoming postmodern worldview. Thus on a national level, South Africa or Zimbabwe do not simply have to acquiesce to the past Western modern mindset or more pertinently the new postmodern mindset per se, but can create for themselves a new governing worldview.

6.2 The Postmodern Paradigm of Leadership

Postmodernism as philosophy and praxis is normally portrayed as the most remote paradigm to tribalism that there is. While this is true on one level (i.e. a technological level), it has surprisingly much in common with the tribal on another. The new generations that have grown up in the postmodern era are starting to redefine themselves as new tribal affinity groups; new communities of common purpose. Long (1997:84) is quoted by Kelly (1999:84) as saying that “...tribalism, or community, is much more closely aligned than the autonomous self to God’s intention.’ The postmodern generation, then, will look for more than off-the-self truth, more even than truth embodied in an individual life. They will look for truth indwelt within a community or tribe.”

Thus authentic community which is found in friendship groups – which I have dubbed ‘the new tribe’ – who find commonality in their interests, experiences and outlook is fast becoming the new embodiment of truth for the postmodern generation(s). Possibly as a by-product of our individualistic culture and thus personalized salvation we have forgotten to preach salvation from the perspective of tribe, ethnicity and yes even culture (McLaren 2003:228).

But how are we to achieve this *new tribalism*, this place of belonging, of community, in a Southern African setting where the consumer driven individualistic society itself consumes the suburbs while economic decay and lawlessness makes for a stilted community in the inner city? One plausible answer is to look for the *tribe* within the new structures of society even as the old concepts of extended family, clan, folk, tribe and kingdom or nation are being eradicated. Max DePree, the author of *Leadership Jazz*, suggests that institutions (and I would add societies, clubs, sporting facilities and all places of commonality) can begin to provide for a renewing of community or *tribe* within the postmodern context. He draws on the rich metaphor of an Indigenous American (Native American) watercarrier:

In the life of an American Indian tribe, the watercarriers held one of the most important and respected positions. Water, like food and air, is essential for survival. Corporations and colleges and hospitals can become sustaining institutions like tribes. They can be the source of belonging; they can be the locus for achievement; they can be a real life – and work – support system. The best institutions have already become these things. This is not to say that a company or an institution has to be one big happy family. If it is, something is probably wrong. Diversity of opinion is as necessary as light and air, a diversity of opinion encouraged and exploited for the good of the group. Leaders help define that public good; the watercarriers of an institution communicate and exemplify the ties that bind the institution together (DePree 1992:65-66).

When transferring this to a Southern African setting, if we counterbalance the Western individualism of *consumer-driven salvation* with African tribalism, which speaks into the concept of communities being saved and the restoration of *tribe/family*, the effect of a healthy cross-pollination could possibly be a movement of society towards the creation of a real network of authentic community. Networking amongst a brother/sisterhood of friends where tribal identity is based on a person's rootedness to place/circumstance/commonality is a way forward in a world rapidly losing the origins of tribal or ethnic identity.

The postmodern generations are looking for people to be real and for friendships that are *for real*. These most recent generations are calling for a new openness and reality on the part of the leader, not only in spoken word and by example in the leader's strengths, but in the vulnerability and accountability in his or her weaknesses. This is fast becoming a given criteria for any effective leadership role model to these generations (DePree 1992:41). In South Africa, these generations more than any other before them are looking for leaders that not only encourage diverse opinion but value diversity of culture; of roots; of a past tribal identity that they can interpret into the present new reality. Leaders are called to be real and to themselves participate in the search for new and renewed meaning and purpose.

In this new era of postmodernity, transparency, vulnerability and authenticity; and inclusivity, consensus-building and creative openness to the new and the old – which are the respective values and styles of leadership – the new calling cards of Generation X and Generation Y. And in leading the way in being real, these generations are also called upon to lead for real, boldly going where others within a modern paradigm of thought have never gone before – *leading into the fray* into a postmodern world, and particularly in Southern African, which has never before seen quite so much change happen so rapidly. Within the context of the United States, but equally applicable to South Africa, Kelly (1999:214-215; 221-222) has this to say about the style of leadership that a postmodern era requires:

Now, if the gurus and experts are right, leadership is increasingly concerned with soft skills – teamwork, communication and motivation. ...The shift in industry from 'hard' to 'soft' skills is now well documented. At its heart is the drive for cooperation, for leadership built on negotiation, motivation and mutual benefit rather than coercion, control and fear. ...To be a leader in the coming decades will mean, by definition, to be a lifelong learner – not only gaining new skills, but being able to adapt existing skills to new situations with dramatic frequency: with one eye on the task in hand and one eye on the horizon.

Our culture is crying out for leaders, regardless of gender, age and social background, who are ready to look ahead, to grasp intuitively the outlines of an emerging landscape and to chart a course that they and those who travel with them can follow. To chart such a course will mean, very often, to miss out on the rewards of staying put. There will be many in leadership who are just not ready for a frontier-town culture, who have invested too heavily in the ...status of a settled life. ...But there will be others – some thrown into leadership for the first time – who thrive on the gold-rush mentality of social change and bring a flood of new thinking to their responsibilities. These are the leaders who will break the cultural ice and blaze a trail into the future.

Mark Manley (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3, subheading: *Structures of leadership employed by Cassidy*) in his work with African Enterprise endeavoured to institute a postmodern structure, which by its very nature is strategic (looks at the long term; at the bigger picture; is proactive). Manley's analysis of African Enterprise (AE) is applicable to all Southern African leadership models struggling to emerge from the modern era and engage with the postmodern world. He describes the situation in AE as he made significant adjustments:

But yes, new staff came on board – it was younger, it was guys that had a different type of orientation; but the thing is that the people that were in the positions of power were the people that had been with the ministry on an average for probably about 30 years. So the culture was changing outside of the realms of the powerbrokers and that lead to a certain amount of tension.... The culture was essentially tactical or short term as opposed to strategic. And that probably was the greatest change that we brought about – was moving from a tactical culture ... to being strategic, saying here are our long term goals and our objectives which define what I have to do now. It means also going out and doing unsolicited ministry ... uncomfortable for those who were more reactive as opposed to being proactive (Manley 2005:33).

Mark then discusses the changing culture made up of many new, particularly young people whose individual culture was at first bound by the old but found wings, a liberty and expression! In order to do this, Manley not only gave credence and a voice to a new influx of young South African's; he raised the tempo, expected excellence, raised the level of financial support, flattened the management structure from a previous five to just three levels and increased the number of ministries, expecting people to be pro-active. For a short season this produced a new culture in AE, one derived from a dynamic yet integrated system, but it also brought tension within AE's power-structures. Manley states, using systems language: "Michael comes out of 'Systems 4', I come out of 'Systems 7' and there we couldn't see eye to elbow. ...He probably thought I was 'Systems 5', and 'Systems 4' folk are very threatened by 'Systems 5'" (Manley 2005:35). In lay-man's terms, Michael came out of a Lesotho upbringing, which instilled in him colonial values and truths; where the "world is governed by timeless principles and eternal absolutes" (Armour & Browning 2000:32). Manley's paradigm was postmodern, where the "world is a vast network of complex, often paradoxical relationships, where ever changing realities demand holistic approaches to life"; but it was mistaken for a postcolonial-modern paradigm belonging to the *baby-boomer generation*, where the "world is teeming with unlimited potential for personal success and fulfilment" (Armour & Browning 2000:32).

Though systems language does not strictly use colonial, postcolonial-modern and postmodern paradigms to define systems 4, 5 and 7 respectively. Bosch (1991:182) for one absorbs both colonial and postcolonial-modern paradigms in a *modern enlightenment paradigm* – but if paradigms or systems are seen to coexist, these still offer a reasonable fit. In postmodernity, an era so rapidly changing that some theorists suggest that it is already moving on, it is important to be able to handle multiple generational – or as systems thinking suggests *post-generational* – paradigms, all competing for the same domain; the same space.

6.3 The Tribal Paradigm of Leadership

There is no one definitive tribal structure by which all local tribal structures are ultimately governed, but it is possible to discern at least one broad structure in Southern Africa and within this at least two divergent styles can be seen in Bantu concepts of leadership. There is notably a structure of chieftaincy, below which there is a series of lesser or petty chiefs, headmen and then family heads, and to the side of each, councillors for advice giving. Above a regional (or provincial) chief may be found a Paramount chief or *Inkosi* (King).

This is clearly shown below in the chart of late 19th Century Ndebele chieftaincy, which related directly to the regions or areas of life they controlled (c.f. Hughes 1956:11):

Figure 6.1: Ndebele chieftaincy and related regional areas they control

Inkosi (King)	=	Ndebele Kingdom/ Nation
I		I
Induna Enkulu	=	Provinces (<i>amaxiba</i>)
I		I
Induna (chief)	=	Regiments (<i>amabutho</i>)
I		I
Umlisa (headman)	=	Wards (<i>izigaba</i>)
I		I
Family Head	=	Family Kraal

However, this thesis contends that there are actually at least two divergent styles of leadership within the broad outline of a *Tribal Paradigm*. This is born in mind as a suitable leadership model is being synthesised in this thesis – one that creates synergy with the many different cultural groups represented in Southern African cities. These two divergent styles, which evolved into two vastly different kingdoms or states, nonetheless emanated from the same base tribal structure. They are most strikingly seen in the comparison of Moshesh's and Shaka's models of leadership and particularly in the style of leadership and values used:

The quality of Moshoeshoe's achievement is highlighted when it is compared with that of Shaka. There is no reason to believe that there was any greater disposition to violence or despotism in the culture of the Nguni peoples than among the BaSotho. Yet the Zulu and the MoSotho created two diametrically different types of states. Shaka's was militaristic and predatory: Moshoeshoe pacific and self-sufficient. Shaka ruled by fear: Moshoeshoe by consent. Shaka broke brutally with the past: Moshoeshoe built a bridge between the past and the future. The Zulu's career was cut short by assassination at the hands of kinsmen: the MoSotho was to die peacefully of old age (Thompson 1975:216).

Despite the fact that these styles of leadership generated somewhat divergent state leadership structure(s) that could cope with what are popularly regarded as two independent tribal styles – respectively autocratic rule and consensus seeking – this thesis contends that both styles actually appear in any single traditional leadership structure (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3, subheading: *Styles of leadership used by Moshoeshoe*). What is of interest to this thesis is that both can often be seen clearly in a single ruler. The autocratic dictatorship and hegemony of kings were evident in all the great Nguni leaders of Shaka's day, yet it

operated alongside the participatory leadership approach, which in the case of Shaka, was applied in times of consensus building to the *Great Ones* - the *izikhulu* - of the Paramount Chief's court (Knight 1994:26-27).

This thesis argues that these two contrasting yet equally deeply rooted traditional styles of leadership have always been and continues to be present in African political leadership circles (c.f. Chapter 4, Section 4.4, subheading: *Styles of leadership employed by Mandela*), even regionally in the way SADCC operates. At a certain level SADCC acts as a regional authority seeking consensus and avoiding areas of controversy and conflict. Yet there is a battle for regional supremacy, which is in many ways – except economically – still waged between South Africa and Zimbabwe. In his book, *The Dynamics of Change in Southern Africa*, Rich (1994:25-26) says: “South Africa may try to take over from Zimbabwe the hegemonic role in the region of orchestrating its development demands and needs”. This foresaw the days when Mandela was president, yet in the guise of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), it is equally true of Mbeki.

This concept of two divergent styles of African leadership not only provides two views of leadership and the divergent structures that emanate from them to critique and consult in our synthetic-semiotic model, but also helps us to understand the models of leadership emulated in present day Southern Africa. In critiquing the first tribal model of leadership as epitomised by the prototype of Shaka, it is easy to only focus on the negative aspects of the Nguni system. Despite all the harmfulness of the predatory nature of the early Zulu and Ndebele kingdoms, there were some structural improvements that helped sustain them through an expanding dominion. The royal envoys or *indunas*, particularly in Shaka's case, were promoted not on kinship patterns but on loyalty and achievement, counterbalanced the power of the regional chiefs. In the second tribal model of leadership as epitomised by the prototype of Moshoeshoe, it is important to remember that for all its inherent weakness in both discipline and raising an army, its system of onion skin envelopes and network of allegiances – based on the *mafisa* system and tribute – held a nation together through turbulent times. Through loyalty to Moshoeshoe rather than fear, an army was raised when it was most needed (Knight 1994:27, 53; Thompson 1975:177, 212).

6.4 Ideologies and Socio-political Forces Impacting on South Africa

At present there is a battle for the heart and soul of Southern Africa between the global forces on the one hand and the forces generated by NEPAD and the desire for Africa to once again establish herself as an economic force on the other. Southern Africa was once a land of proud empires, as seen in the overwhelming strength of the Zulu, past trade in gold out of Monomatapa and the formerly dominating Rozvi dynasty. Not only does the global village creep ever closer, with styles and technologies almost immediately available, but what has dawned on even South Africa's white entrepreneurs is that she is integrally connected to Africa. This obvious connection, which in the apartheid era was never fully realised nor exploited, because of political sanctioning, has caught the imagination of some with its market opportunity and also the possibilities of harnessing pan African business cooperation. NEPAD taps into these two economic forces in order to generate a more vital economy. It is possible to achieve this, particularly in South Africa with her industrial, mining and information technologies that give her the chance to compete on both the world and African stages. But in order to attain this Mbeki needed the cooperation of other major African brokers, which Sparks captures succinctly in NEPAD's evolution:

In 2000 Mbeki came up with a Marshall plan for Africa, asking the developed world to invest urgently in the continent to remove the image of the emaciated African children with begging bowls from the television screens of the world. A year later this evolved into a more detailed aid plan which Mbeki called the Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP), which in turn formed the basis for discussions with other key African leaders, Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria. What emerged was a ... more palatable proposal to put to the aid-weary major powers which the four leaders called the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) plan. In an effort to shake off the begging-bowl, they presented the plan as a trade-off: Africa would commit itself to democracy, good governance, financial discipline and market-orientated policies in return for more help from the developed countries, especially by giving better access to Africa's exports (Sparks 2003:324-325).

Yet with the process of luring in the developed world comes the natural tendency to drift away from helping the poorer sectors and succumbing to the "...class limitations of post-independence African nationalism, namely acting in close collaboration with hostile transnational corporate and multilateral forces whose interests are directly opposed to those of Mbeki's South African and African constituencies" (Jacobs & Calland 2002:53; NEPAD 2001:28, 40). However, in contrast to the above Mbeki and his associates, Trevor Manuel and Alec Erwin, also find the locus of their national strategy not in the continued personal improvement of an African bourgeois but in the "...further integration of Africa into the world economy that – they would concede – is itself in need of better regulations and fairer economic rules. The project, therefore, is to reform interstate relations and the embryonic world state system" (Jacobs & Calland 2002:54; cf NEPAD 2001:50, 52).

The battle is not only on the level of the economy – for in one sense on an economic level Africa's leaders have viewed, for better or worse, all business as good business – but is in a far greater sense in some ways, a philosophical one. For just as exposure to the neo-liberal concepts generated by a postmodern outlook are making major inroads into South Africa and to a lesser extent Zimbabwe, they are also exposed to the philosophy that Africa will soon "have her day". Her day will not come by blindly being Westernised, but by accepting the need for global economic competitiveness within a framework for a rediscovery of Africa's cultural roots (AU 2001:34). And yet here lies the paradox, for from NEPAD's vantage point the *key ingredients* Africa has to offer, are its artistic, scientific and literary works; in short its cultural legacy:

...NEPAD's endeavour to depend on transference of foreign-developed knowledge and technologies for promoting Africa's international competitiveness would effectively undermine African culture, an integral part of continental renaissance. ...Openness, which GEAR and NEPAD engenders, has robbed Africa of its capacity to protect and nurture these key ingredients of continental rebirth (Tsheola 2002:806).

Thus the two knowledge bases of developed Western nations and Africa are often pitted against one another because of their differing "strategic orientations" (Tsheola 2002:803). *The Renaissance* – in a philosophical sense – that Africa seeks is to be found not so much externally as internally, for there is a belief that as Africa realizes again who she is, she will

be able to harness her own hidden potential. In turn, this internal and often latent potential to cultural Renaissance that Africa possesses will not be realised once South Africa traverses the canyon from “Renaissance as philosophy” to “Renaissance as economic recovery”. Tsheola (2002:806) argues that this traversing, if it has not happened already, is not possible, particularly in the arena of export potential, without Foreign Donor Investment (FDI). FDI implies a Western oriented agenda, which in turn undermines the inherent concept of NEPAD’s being “...based on the agenda set by African peoples through their own initiatives and of their own volition, to shape their own destiny” (AU 2001:14). Thus NEPAD becomes a self-consuming cultural virus – even the African National Council appreciates that “...globalisation contradicts the very agenda of the Renaissance” (ANC, 1997b:6).

In this new global village where peers and political counterparts are more immediately accessible to each other and through the media to the public, and thus held accountable (at least in the public’s eye), Mbeki makes the mistake of seeing himself only in the mould of a visionary transformational leader in postulating NEPAD. He grossly misunderstands his role as a major regional power player in a global economy where there is no truly sovereign state. The concept of Zimbabwe’s sovereignty was raised by the ANC as an emphasis, as far back as 25 October 2003, by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs (now Deputy President) Dlamini Zuma (2003), espoused in her address in London. This – Zimbabwe’s supposed sovereignty – was given as the overt reason for a lack of interference beyond talk and pleasantries with Mugabe’s government, but to be fair to Mbeki one must remember though that he was instrumental in the decline in political violence in Natal post-1994, according to Lodge (2002:247), and saw fit to dismiss Jacob Zuma from the position of Deputy President as he was linked too closely to allegations of corruption (Mbeki 2005).

However in Africa at large not only has Mbeki’s leadership been found wanting in calling her leaders to accountability, a key factor linked to NEPAD (2001:18), but he has failed to be completely transparent in his dealings with the issue of HIV/Aids. This lack of transparency may be politically contrived for the cost of anti-retrovirals to effectively counteract it was – prior to 2003 when measures started to get under way in the delivery of anti-retrovirals – possibly considered to be economically prohibitive. But this explanation does not entirely explain Mbeki’s stance. One possible explanation for his position is that he has imbibed and agreed with one of numerous websites that employs radical, fringe opinion as if it were fact – a value based misperception known in the United States as the *Salinger Syndrome*. The syndrome is named after a senator who belonged to the printed age where something in print had to be fact, and believed the same, vis-à-vis the internet: “Salinger unwittingly found himself as an immigrant in a world where everyone is an author, everyone a publisher, and everyone an expert” (Sweet 2001:39).

There seems to be an inherent flaw in the plan when it comes to accountability. Africa seems to be incapable of pointing a finger at her own and indeed Mbeki himself is reluctant to discipline the land-locked neighbouring Zimbabwe. For whatever reasons his approach to Mugabe is one of appeasement – be it because Mugabe is older statesmen/comrade in the struggle with ties to Mbeki’s father, or because the land issue is a less so but still explosive issue in South Africa too. The policy of quiet diplomacy, regarding Zimbabwe’s land policy, can only be understood, in the immediate sense, in the light of correcting past injustices and Zimbabwe’s close proximity – economically and geographically – to South Africa, resulting in a ground swell of immeasurable emotive forces (Dlamini Zuma 2003).

But here's the rub! How do these fine principles and all the mechanisms for guaranteeing good governance square with Mbeki's reluctance to take a stronger line against Mugabe's blatant misrule? What price peer review if the man whose brainchild this is cannot exercise it on his delinquent neighbour? Mbeki and his colleagues were able to get the G-8 nations – the world's richest seven [nations] ... plus Russia – to sign on to Nepad at their summit in Kananaskis, Canada, in June 2002, but their pledges of help were lukewarm. The G-8 leaders were plainly sceptical of Africa's ability to deliver its side of the bargain. Zimbabwe is Nepad's credibility test, and so far Mbeki has failed to pass it. The G-8 were also sceptical of the AU's prospects for success after Mbeki and his colleagues were unable to prevent the election of Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, widely regarded as a rogue leader, onto its management committee (Sparks 2003:326).

Mbeki sees an obsession in the West with Zimbabwe, motivated by racist instincts, because the handful of dispossessed farmers are all white, and hypocritical, because of the lack of similar interest in South Africa's willingness to stop lucrative trade negotiations with Sudan in 2001 due to human rights violations. What he has probably overlooked in his call for the West to correct its racist preoccupation with its own colonial protégée, is the bottom line of economics. The West and particularly the USA sees in Zimbabwe anti-democratic governance and the total disregard for free market principles. Nevertheless his lack of intervention in Zimbabwe, albeit motivated in part by a failure of more aggressive means elsewhere in Africa, must surely be seen as at least partly contributing to the sorry economic mess his neighbour now wallows in. Mbeki's quiet diplomacy has not even remotely drawn blood yet, which could be achieved more directly by for example, calling in Zimbabwe's outstanding power bill and cutting off all electricity until Mugabe's human rights issues have been addressed (Lodge 2002:234; Sparks 2003:327).

Meanwhile Mugabe raises himself and his nation as the model democratic state, a modern and extensively Western concept belonging to a previous era that he appears to have no real grasp of. In that era the future of a truly African democracy, where a place was found in the sun for both white and black commercial farmers and subsistence farmers alike, was already being declared by the world as a success story. The economic recovery after the first decade of socialism had all but been accomplished when Mugabe suddenly back-peddled, sensing a slipping in the reigns of power. When a post-socialist understanding and an ability to define the nation's ruling party as more than just a post-liberation movement was within striking distance, he looked to the past to define his presidency by means of land. Mugabe ignored the future and an understanding of land as a rare commodity in a global community where white and black farmers can work hand-in-hand for the betterment of all and with meaningful inputs into the global economy.

Despite Mbeki's failures as regards to Zimbabwe and HIV/Aids, there is indeed merit in his *African Renaissance*. For what stands up to sound reasoning is this: if Africa is to see a bright tomorrow she must be integrally involved in her own transformation. It is painfully obvious that the transformation of Africa's nations from the ranks of the impoverished to those of economic wellbeing – which in previous decades was left by and large in the hands of greedy indigenous politicians and the somewhat hamstrung externally based expertise – has not worked. There is a sense that if the best of an internal cultural paradigm can be captured and linked with the best that globalisation and local *Western influences* have to

offer, a previously untapped potential could become the synergy necessary for economic transformation.

However, before going any further, the difference between globalisation and postmodernity needs to be defined, for they are not one and the same. Globalisation, as opposed to postmodernity (which is seen to be a period of history that the world is currently in), is seen to be a world-wide state of the economic, political and societal forces that the world is driven by. Globalisation, according to Anthony Giddens, is a series of overlapping trends which are affecting the very way one lives and does business. The major players are the “world-wide communications revolution”, “the new knowledge economy”, “the fall of Soviet communism” and the “transformations happening on the level of everyday life”, notably the role of women in society (Hutton & Giddens 2000:1-2). Simply put, globalisation is the compound force driving the new global economy.

Refocusing on South Africa, it is true that not only is NEPAD in jeopardy because of its inherent contradictions and continentally because of Africa’s volatility, but within Southern Africa and South Africa in particular internal tribal forces, which though diminishing can, it seems, flare up at any time, threatens the country. This was clearly seen in KwaZulu Natal where tensions were particularly heightened with the build-up to the 1994 elections in South Africa. Kelly writes succinctly about the twin forces of globalisation and fragmentation as global phenomena:

If imperialism was characterized by the subjugation of small nations and people groups into monolithic empires – whether colonial or communist – and by the forced abandonment of cultural identity, the postimperial age will be marked by the self-identification of an ever more complex kaleidoscope of ethnic and social groups. The key to understanding this process is the recognition that its momentum is derived not from one force but from two. The twin but opposite forces of *globalization* and *fragmentation* – the one drawing the world together, the other tearing it apart – form the horrific double act at the heart of a whole range of contemporary conflicts. This is the power of *globfrag* – the most significant force at work in contemporary global politics (Kelly 1999:138).

And later Kelly comments on the global context, though also somewhat pertinent to South Africa and Zimbabwe:

This is the greatest irony of the late twentieth century, that an era of peace was also an era of war. ...Within nations, not least in the vast sprawl of multicultural cities, the same fault lines are being projected from the global to the local scale. The world’s mega cities are growing as patchwork quilts of diverse and varied cultures (Kelly 1999:143-144).

This ideological battle impacts on Southern Africa’s religious roots too, be they almost equally inspired by African traditional religion(s) or Christianity. Postmodernism suggests that there is no absolute truth and indeed no God; yet to the African mind the latter thought, whether for a traditionalist or a Christian, is a ridiculous concept. What is indeed gaining currency in South Africa is the postmodern perspective that there is no absolute truth but only subjective truth – even if *God* is still a widely accepted religious currency in South Africa – and therefore all religions can sit alongside each other as *co-seekers of truth*.

This is remarkable for a nation where, as recently as in the 1996 census, over 70% of all South Africans were Christian, including 75% of all black South Africans (Kritzinger 2002:24;27). The faith that claims absolute truth in the person of Jesus Christ is without doubt being subjected to a postmodern, subliminal yet violent change to its worldview at the hand of the political and philosophical forces of the day. Unfortunately politically and popularly inspired externally generated values and beliefs are being uncritically employed without a perception of South Africa's own religious and macro-cultural distinctiveness. What is not yet known is what the prevailing philosophy and/or belief system at the end of the decade will be, and what will ultimately gain the upper hand.

6.5 The Neo-African Paradigm of Leadership

Neo-Africanism for the presidents and ruling parties of Zimbabwe and South Africa progress along a continuum from socialism and African Nationalism to a call to an *African Renaissance*, within which, unfortunately the socialistic ideals of the past (particularly in Zimbabwe's case) have often done little to help the economic advancement of Southern Africa. Allister Sparks has this to say about the dismal economic reality and ineptitude spiralling into a vicious cycle in general for much of Africa:

What can be done about the malaise that afflicts so much of the African continent and has given it such a dismal reputation? The problem is that Africa's hopelessness is now so widely perceived that it has become a self-fulfilling prophecy, deterring investors from creating the new enterprises that might arrest its downslide and causing a continuous brain-drain with thousands of African professionals and other enterprising spirits abandoning the continent annually. Somehow this vicious cycle must be turned around so that Africa's people can begin to regain their self-confidence through role models of achievement and success (Sparks 2003:323-324).

The answer to how Africa is to move beyond the *vicious cycle* of the self-perpetuating downward spiral is hinted at above by Sparks in a recapturing of self-confidence, which Mbigi, Mbeki and others espouse through an African resurgence or renaissance:

The African Business Renaissance is about our organizations finding innovative ways of doing business by harnessing cultural strengths and inspiration to meet the challenges of global competition. ...Therefore it follows that African economic development and renaissance have to be inspired by our cultural strengths, which lie in people care and the collective brotherhood of humanity with its sense of shared destiny. We have to embrace the ancient African wisdom of Ubuntu – “I am because we are; I can only be a person through others” (Mbigi 2000:10-11).

Indeed these words of Mbigi's and similar concepts espoused by Mbeki and others, using “our cultural strengths” to further “economic development” and thus an “African Renaissance”, have, it seems, been taken seriously by a small but growing number of South African businesses. Frank Horwitz (2002:217) says of South Africa in his chapter *Wither South African management* in the book, *Managing Across Cultures*: “Indigenous models of leadership have slowly begun to emerge. The concept of *ubuntu* (humaneness) underlines traditional group decision-making” and that “South African management now emphasizes

co-operative teamwork and communal decision making, where the core is the group and not the individual. Companies such as Pick ‘n Pay in retailing and SA Breweries, where significant black advancement has occurred, are examples of this new approach.”

For many individualistic white South Africans this seems to rub directly with Western orientated notions of free trade and individualistic capitalism, where boys and girls become men and women based on their ability to make it out there in the world of business, career, and buying fixed and moveable assets and thereby becoming their own person. Yet many Afrikaans speaking South Africans do not have to reach far into their past (if at all) to experience similar feelings of family and *volk*. *Ubuntu* is in a sense debunking the Western myth of individualism, despite the fact that most would accept that the balance is a both/and scenario in a South Africa with more than one paradigm operating. In a sense “I am who I am”, needs to go hand-in-hand with “I am who we are”. Even the West is beginning to recognise this in an era of postmodernism and cultural diffusion:

The ‘real me’ is my unique, in-dividual, core self. The in-dividual self values itself most for what is supposedly utterly different and unconnected about it. But, objects Booth, such an understanding of self is incoherent. Can we really believe that we are not, to the core, who we are because of our kin, our occupations, our political and social situations, our faith or philosophical associations, our friendships? ...In fact, Booth continues, “people in all previous cultures were not seen as *essentially* independent....” Anyone in those [non-Western] cultures thinking words like ‘I’ and ‘mine’ thought them as inescapably loaded with plurality: ‘I’ could not even think of ‘my’ self as separated from my multiple affiliations: my family, my tribe, my city-state, my feudal domain, my people... (Clapp 1996:91; cf Booth 1993:78-81).

And again Clapp (1996:194), writing next more directly from a Christian position, states:

Beginning where we already are, we can first of all *recognize that we are inescapably communal creatures*. We really can’t – contra the modern myth – create ourselves. We are made in the image of a Trinitarian, communal God. We depend on others to be born, to survive, to be buried and remembered. We live and have our being in community, however attenuated it may become.

What is intriguing is the commonality between what the postmodern writers and philosophers are saying and what is emanating from the neo-African authors and academics. The concepts of tribe and community permeate both paradigms. Because of this synergy the twin philosophical forces of neo-Africanism and postmodernism might possibly rapidly fuse to become the new way of doing and being as a society grapples with the old and new forces of Tribalism/Western Modernism and neo-Africanism/Postmodernism, overlaid as they are by the prevailing winds of globalisation.

Mbeki realises that it is necessary for any sustainable attempt to eliminate poverty from Africa that Africa takes responsibility for herself and almost literally pulls herself up by her bootstraps. The assisting hand available when Africa links herself to the ever growing global trade through the nurture of the *African Renaissance* should of course still be accepted. His perspective of this historical linkage, both past and present is a fairly

balanced approach to the Western world's strengths and weaknesses, as well as Africa's. For as he believes

“...the African Renaissance is upon us ... Africa was filling the void left by the Cold War ... the new political order in Africa owes its existence to African experience of many decades which teaches us that what we tried did not work and the one-party states and military governments will not work ... the way forward must be informed by what is common to all African traditions that the people shall govern ... Africans need to work together to develop and use the continent's resources to rid it of the cumulative legacy of colonialism ... Africa's natural resources and varied sources of energy served as a catalyst for the continent's integration into the international economy; the tragedy of Africa's past was the European scramble for Africa's scarce resources which accelerated development in the Western world and underdevelopment in Africa” (Mathebe 2001:120).

But what brings in a new slant, an alternate voice, in neo-African resurgence is Mbeki's perspective of culture. He seeks to reinvigorate the African concept of self and culture through economic placement in a global economy: “To this effect, the variable of culture has been identified as an important tool because it provides all the races that constitute a complex system of social relationships in society a sense of themselves as Africans. Mbeki sees culture as an important vehicle for the creation of Africa's sense of nationhood” (Mathebe 2001:123). This is achieved in Mbeki's stance, as Lucky Mathebe argues just prior to the above, by a respect of the past (both the honour of the past chiefs and the moral teaching they brought), and the respect for African cultural art and architectural achievement. The idea is that as Africans find themselves in their roots, they will rise to the challenges of the present:

And he sees the main task of culture as being the restoration of dignity and self-worth of all Africans. But for him the transformation of African consciousness requires a definition of self: Africans need to answer certain questions about their status and destiny such as “Who am I?” ...Mbeki has responded to this question by declaring “I am an African”. Mbeki suggests that this self-definition needs to take place within the framework of the African Renaissance.

His realist epistemology therefore looks to the romantic African past, that is, to the African continent that he imagines to have been. The romantic African past is reflected in the pyramids of Egypt, the sculptured stone buildings of Aksum in Ethiopia, Great Zimbabwe, the rock paintings of the san, the carvings of the Makonde and the stone sculptures of the Shona. It is also reflected in African music, dance, literature both written and contained in folklore, decorative dress, cuisine.... He feels that pressing need to hold on to these aspects of the past because he believes that they represent the true historical heritage of the African continent. And because his cultural nationalism is an act of preservation, it does not grow out of a conservative desire for racial and ethnic self-determination. He is not motivated to fashion a separate ideology because in his view, all Africans – blacks, coloureds, whites and Indians – form a significant part of the global world (Mathebe 2001:121; cf Mbeki 1997).

And yet Mbeki does not, as Mathebe points out, see the need for African distinction and separation in the face of enormous odds. He adheres to the positive forces of globalisation and sanctions world trade for Africa and in particular for South Africa. He recognizes the globalisation as an unstoppable force, yet he appears not to see the conflict between his twin saviours – Africa's own economic improvement, and its partnership in the global economy – with the one needing of redemption, that being Africa's culture, self-expression, self-determination and the need for a renewed self-dignity. Mbeki has not been drawn into an exclusivist *black-consciousness*, but neither has he proposed a model that will sustain African culture through the onslaught of Westernisation under the tuition of a global economy. Instead he has alluded to an acceptance, even ownership of all other South African cultures (Mbeki 1998). But beyond the romantic notion and the existential imbibing of another's culture, how realistic is this? Would it not be better to uphold the distinctive of other cultures while also upholding the commonality?

If the way forward for a cultural resurgence in Southern Africa is a both/and scenario, what will this look like? A possibility is a scenario where cultures are respected as unique even while a greater sense of nationhood is being built. With these thought this thesis now turns to a newly emerging paradigm – the *Multicultural Paradigm of Leadership*.

6.6 The Multicultural Paradigm of Leadership

Christopher Earley and Soon Ang in their seminal work *Cultural Intelligence*, provide insight into multicultural team situations. While most of their work is based in the corporate world where in any given team there is usually a dominant host culture into which an international CEO or executive has to fit, their work still gives us a key insight into the positive and negative factors associated with such *heterogeneous teams*. They indicate that heterogeneous teams experience more conflict, which makes it difficult to provide for a satisfying experience in the group and these kinds of teams are therefore often hard to hold together over time. Conversely, homogenous teams can gain a higher degree of affinity and thus experience a greater degree of satisfaction and lower turnover rates and in addition, on the positive side Earley and Ang (2003:240) state:

Heterogeneity in top management teams has demonstrated some positive effects on performance. ...For example based on the data from 199 banks, Bantel and Jackson (1989) concluded that both diversity in education and diversity of work function were positively related to measures of innovation when other factors such as organization size, team size, and location of operations were held constant.

In the above example diversity relates to education and skills rather than ethnicity. However, Earley and Ang draw on this to show the positive creative dynamic in teams that any kind of diversity brings. Supporting this and as already mentioned in chapter 2 of this thesis, a correlation between financial performance and excellence in diversity has been raised in multiple studies as stated (Hayles & Russell 1997:4-6).

South Africa's large cities are catching-up fast. Where the fault line was previously clearly along racial lines of black, white, coloured and Indian (in America fault lines have in the past not been delineated quite so strictly on the basis of a hypothetical colour bar, but rather along the lines of ethnic roots), it is increasingly becoming a segregation along economic

and social status lines. It remains to be seen whether young South Africans will rebuild society and form a true national identity, based neither on the racism of their grandparents' generation, nor the economic and racial prejudice of their parents', but on a new footing of acceptance, tolerance and integration.

It is difficult not to parallel the inter-tribal and black-white relations in Zimbabwe to that of South Africa. In many ways they are especially pertinent to Natal because of its strong Nguni component and distinctly British heritage. Zimbabwe does provide an example to South Africa's striving for a *true national identity*, and yet this can sometimes be overemphasised. When considering the overall histories and demographics of the two nation-states with the many parallels that do exist, they are still distinctly different. The past cooperation between the major Zimbabwean tribes and their respective political parties (which we see paralleled in South Africa by Inkatha's inclusion in the first government of National Unity), may have more to do with the Ndebele acquiescing in the spate of the Ndebele massacres of the early 80's than with pure unity between the dominant two parties. Indeed beyond this inter-tribal conflict, history was to prove that all was not well beneath the surface with black-white relations either. Jealousy over land ownership must have played a role in the forced removals from previous white farm lands, even if the dominating factor was political intrigue and power-play by Mugabe.

This new identity will have to find enough common ground for the building of what Hennie Groenewald, drawing on Casmir's paper to the Intercultural Association in 1991, calls a "Third Culture"; one that "...does not imply a mere eclectic merging of the two cultures of the involved parties but the mutual development of a unique meeting ground" (Groenewald 1996:22). This *Third Culture* is rightly understood in a South African or Zimbabwean context as the emerging macro-cultural national identity incorporating numerous cultures. It is that common footing which each cultural group in each Southern African nation-state can identify with while retaining the individual ethnic identities that make up the whole. Already in 1984 Willem de Klerk (referring to Prof. J.J. Degenaar) had conceived the idea of the "morally critical Afrikaner", which was a view that opposed the exclusively Afrikaner nationalist philosophy of that day. This morally critical Afrikaner's platform is:

... Free of ethnicity, on which a new nation can be built with a common South African nationality, in which colour and race play no part. Isolation and insularity have been breached and complete participation in the lifestyle of the twentieth century is now part of the Afrikaner experience. ...The (r)evolution from relative uniformity to a variegated pluriformity has broken the exclusive model of Afrikanership (De Klerk 1984:11).

Yet the problem with painting such a utopian picture – even though a much needed, prophetically critical alternative to the nationalist model in 1984 – is that it does not deal adequately with the fears that would undermine this picture in the first place. And these same fears – of the loss of individual cultural distinction – are seemingly alive and well in 21st century Afrikanerdom. The fears of absorption and the resulting loss of identity if all that pertains to the peculiar is just melded into the greater identity of Africa, seem all the more real for white South Africans as they come to terms with neo-Africanism. These selfsame fears, particularly those of identity, although expressed differently by the few remaining white Zimbabweans, are seemingly all the more real for people who if

agriculturally rather than urban based are now faced with being landless and the virtual extinction of a micro-culture, with no real place to call their own or even just home.

On a broader Western scale, there is a fear that the Western ideal of individualism will be absorbed or extinguished if the African ideal of the communal is followed. However, theorists have shown conclusively how we are all dependent on others for self-fulfilment – independence and community are thus not inversely related but stand in partnership (Shutte 1996:34). Despite this, or perhaps in ignorance of this duality, the call of *ubuntu* is not a universally accepted ideal in Western oriented Southern African circles. The paradox is that the heart wrenching cry of postmodernism is one from the place of isolation to a place of authentic community, which is exactly what Africa has to offer. The problem will be how best to create a new national identity where both individualism and community (freedom and *ubuntu*), decisive leading and consensus seeking (as seen in Mandela) are valued; one in which a macro-cultural identity does not diminish or undervalue the separate cultural identities it encompasses. The challenge of the future will be the creation of a macro-cultural identity while still retaining the many micro-cultural identities. In this it is important to make sure that the national identity is driven by South Africans and Zimbabweans respectively and not by the Western powers in a globally marketed culture!

How to do this and how to philosophically address this issue of a common identity is a question that vexes most. For Thabo Mbeki the answer lies in an all-embracing and truly African identity that goes beyond race to taking ownership of another's identity:

I am formed of migrants who found a new home on our native land. Whatever their actions they remain still part of me. In my blood courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East. Their proud dignity forms my bearing, their culture is part of my essence ... I am the grandchild who lays fresh flowers on the Boer graves at St Helena and the Bahamas, who sees in the mind's eye and suffers the suffering of a simple peasant folk: death, concentration camps, destroyed homesteads, a dream in ruins ... I came of those who were transported from India and China whose being resided in the fact, solely, that they were able to provide physical labour, who taught me that we could both be at home and be foreign ... that freedom was a necessary condition for that human existence. Being part of all these people and in the knowledge that none dare contest that assertion, I shall claim that I am an African (Mbeki 1998).

Mbeki sees in his mind's eye a reality beyond his own – one of ownership, existential thought, and a belief that the multiple cultures that make up South Africa's rich heritage have become his. Whether this is achieved by an existential perception of another's reality, by an immersion in another's culture, or by a genetic transplanting of another culture's code via the diverse intermingling and intermarrying of historic cultures, these cultures make up the philosophical Thabo Mbeki. Even if this argument is negatively understood – to be in the main, existential utopian thought, where culture is so diluted as to be deemed accessible to all – he does raise at least two valuable points. Firstly, someone else's culture can in an inexplicable way become a part of what makes up an individual liberated into the freedom of accepting and participating in another's culture. And secondly, it is possible to be both "at home and be foreign", or put differently, to be a part of a macro-cultural or national identity while retaining one's historic cultural roots.

This leads to the black majority in Southern Africa's opposing fear to that of the whites' one of absorption, namely that indigenous cultures will be lost for good to white individualistic aspirations and the overwhelming onslaught of a global economy. Black Southern Africans sense their cultures will be lost if these forces are not counterbalanced with a revised concept of tribal community, where the ideals of such things as the extended family and tribal identity are retained. It is true though that this fear is felt more acutely by the older generations. It is largely not even verbalized by the younger generations in Africa's frenzy to accept the ideals of a consumer economy and all that pertains to a Western style, technologically based society. It is interesting that if white Southern Africans fear the overshadowing reality of Africa, black Africans should equally fear (even if they do not) the all consuming nature of globalisation driven by the Northern Hemisphere. But *fear* should be employed not to spark a complete rejection of what has already come and will inevitably come in greater measure, but to counteract an unqualified acceptance of a global cultural norm that will obliterate all that is uniquely Southern African in cultural form if it remains unchecked. This is sure to happen if cultures are not proactively engaged in finding their roots and finding each other and thus conserving their micro-cultures even while formulating a Southern African macro-cultural identity.

It is a shame that before Mugabe's tragic recent political policies, Zimbabwe, being 14 years ahead in its independence and with a rich heritage of church and private schooling and more recently from 1980 onwards its successful government schooling of its black leadership, was well on its way to a vibrant integration in business and commerce. This together with a growing number of young professionals' in Zimbabwe's recent past mixing socially across the old colour bar gave much hope for a multicultural future in Southern Africa. Meanwhile South Africa with its rich musical heritage, including synergistic musical styles – expressing in song South Africa's rich diversity – has for some time been the transcultural artistic leader in the region. Art was and is a driving force in creating a new identity for Southern African society, no matter the race.

The creation of a new national identity is an important feature in reconciliation, for common ground is always the starting point for understanding. The need for a national identity does not diminish the need to reaffirm the individual's distinct ethnicity and cultural roots. Indeed Taylor (American context) and Villa-Vicencio (South African context), both argue for a position “midway between the inauthentic and the homogenizing demand for recognition of equal worth, on the one hand, and the self-immurement with ethnocentric standards, on the other” (Taylor 1992:62; cf Villa-Vicencio 1994:120). This paradox, Kelly (1999:152-153) points out from an American perspective:

The challenge is to provide both roots and wings – to bring young people into a sense of connectedness with the past that doesn't rob them of their vision for the future. ...In some cases this requires the validation of a person's known roots – affirming the strength and dignity of the tribe and history from which they come even when this falls outside of the church's dominant norms. In others, it requires the provision of a new history – a foster tribe able to give identity to those so cut off from their past that no personal history remains. In both cases, and all between, it requires the recognition, in a world cut loose from its moorings, that roots and relationships matter; that the need for love is the one need that our culture most stimulates and least meets.

The balancing act of the concept of both-and, rather than one or the other is desperately needed if we are to recoup any semblance of what has already been lost in the rich cultural heritages of Zimbabwe and South Africa. This is currently being worked on in South African corporate culture: “Organizational culture in South Africa thus reflects the coexistence of both Western and African leadership styles. A synergy of these ostensibly different leadership approaches is part of organizational development in the post-apartheid era. This is evident in black-owned insurance companies...” (Horwitz 2002: 217). Even though work has started locally on the synthesis of divergent styles of leadership, Southern Africa and more specifically South Africa, with a history of male domination across most ethnic groupings and the apartheid driven racially motivated disparities, may need to look elsewhere for clues to a synthesis.

Not only has there historically been male domination and racial disparities, but this is now counteracted by a fast track of Black advancement supported across multiple levels by a quota system still being fine-tuned. This policy has, in more recent years, led to attack due to non-implementation and has itself come under attack as to its implementation. On the one hand it is faced by a white vanguard seeking to retain their privileged positions in some companies, and on the other by an excessive application of the quota in recent government and civil service employment, often reaping inefficient results.

In such a complex ongoing scenario where the nation is in a state of flux it is important to ask questions as to how effectively diversity can be fostered, as Horwitz asks for the South African organisational level:

An important question is the extent to which teams with multicultural and multifunctional diversity can be fostered in South African organizations. A shift away from a traditional to a flexible organization requires a move away from a command and control style towards cooperation and motivation. ...The diversity of South African organizations creates an insistent need to create common goals, shared values and foster reconciliation after the divisiveness of apartheid. Raising managerial competence in strategic management, resource utilization, negotiation and operations is vital for organizational effectiveness. Performance improvement, greater accountability and active measures to address racial and gender mixes in the occupation structure are necessary (Horwitz 2002:219).

Yet life in Southern Africa is not as simple as to reason that these newly established common goals and values, backed by reconciliatory measures and an appropriate flexible team based/power sharing/consensus seeking style of leadership will be accepted wholesale by all. The past paradigms come back to haunt even the most liberal white or capitalist black. Indeed not only are there elements of prejudice in each individual's life to be weeded out, but some who have not begun the process could be firmly placed within a paradigm others would like to believe has been buried with the past. This glibly assuming that by-gones are truly by-gones for one and all could be a miscalculation which could seriously erode the gains of the immediate past, that is if Zimbabwe stands as any lesson for the rest of Southern Africa. What may be critical, as suggested by the analysis of chapters 4 and 5, is an early exposure to other cultures and/or in the case of Tutu, Cassidy, and Moshoeshe, a bi-cultural heritage that may assist a leadership team in negotiating the

waves of change between cultures. Possibly for some, as appears to be the case with Tutu, this can be translated into dealing with generational changes also.

In his inner city church work, Ray Bakke looks to Moses as a patriarchal model and mentions his bi-cultural heritage (according to Stephen's reckoning in Acts 7:22) and his foreign education as contributing factors in his transcultural leadership (Bakke 1997:48-51). This cross-cultural help may be critical, for most people tend to believe they have become more similar to those around them than they actually are in their hearts, a position put forward on a global scale by Ignatieff (1984:130): "The more evident our common needs as a species become, the more brutal becomes the human insistence on the claims of difference. The centripetal forces of need, labour and science which are pulling us together ... are counter-balanced by centrifugal forces, the claims of tribe, race, class, section, region and nation, pulling us apart."

Indeed the twin opposing forces of globalisation and fragmentation unite and divide us. For South Africa this is further complicated and compounded not just by a history rich with tribal feuds, but by the great massacres inflicted by the *Mfekane* (arising out of a Tribal paradigm) in the early part of the 19th century and apartheid (arising out of a neo-Colonial paradigm) in the later half of the 20th century. And in the 21st century, by the third force of neo-Africanism, currently dressed in the language and desire for an African Renaissance. On top of these three forces (the first two of which have not gone away, but are now just dressed in a different guise) there are also the forces of globalization that tend to dominate the formal business and, to a significant extent, the government sectors.

There is a further complexity brought into play when looking at a relevant model of leadership for the Southern African context. The Postmodern paradigm (of team-building, consensus-seeking and power-sharing) is beginning to challenge the old Modern paradigm of centralised, top-down, autocratic leadership styles. This conflict was clearly evident in Tutu's work in the TRC and particularly noticeable in the pre 1994 white only, Western orientated management employed in South Africa, as markedly shown in the lives of Smuts and Cassidy. It seems reasonable to suggest, that with a high degree of synergy between the postmodern and tribal paradigms, the dominant style conducive to all should be one of consensus and relying on colleagues for their expertise. A willingness to be decisive when there is a desperate need to move ahead is equally vital though, as both Tutu and Mandela's lives would suggest.

Yet beyond these pointers as to style, how are we to survive this multi-paradigm situation, where centripetal and centrifugal forces in Southern African such as globalisation threaten to consume us and racially based paradigms of yesteryear still evident today threaten to tear us apart as people, tribes, ethnicities and nations? What is needed is not only a common understanding of our joint African identity, no matter the colour/creed of our forebears, but also an understanding of our global belonging. Conversely but equally if not more importantly, is a respect for our many tribal and ethnic heritages. "Becoming open to differences and creating an inclusive environment means that 'New Groups' will have to be allowed into places of decision making and influence" (Gardenswartz & Rowe 1993:396) must be understood as a given. Mbeki not only sees that "New Groups" should be allowed into places of decision making, but in the past he has actively honoured this by employing a consensus approach, giving a voice to all black political parties (Mathebe 2001:125, 127).

It is perhaps not so obvious that beyond the understanding of power diffusion leadership itself, not to mention friendship, trust and understanding one another's backgrounds and varying cultures, is often cultivated at the smaller, more intimate level. By smaller level this thesis suggests the cell, common interest, peer or project group, which comes together for mutual support or a given task. At the macro-level there are gains too, for with the new global village more people than ever before have a common reality. They are fed with the same information through the world-wide-web, harness similar images on their television screens, have access to the same products with the ability to communicate globally, and in the age of aeronautical travel, transcontinental even trans-global friends can even visit and experientially compare notes on how each other's cultures live.

Within the context of South Africa this coming together is emphasized by black, white, coloured and Indian all watching the same TV shows, wearing the same designer jeans and discussing the same music. Yet all is not well in South Africa, and indeed on planet Earth. The irony of this new global identity is a sense of alienation, unrootedness and a drifting in a world that teaches the non-value of the distinct, the absolute and the meta-narrative.

Deconstruction is the uncentering of modern life that leaves us with multiple possibilities and the equal validity of all interpretations. MTV is an excellent example of deconstruction. The images in any given video are constantly changing and redefining reality. Taken together the images suggest that there is no objective reality – only preferences. ...The Generation Xer's world is defined by MTV with its floating, ever changing images. There is no grand theme of life. We are left with fleeting images, and it is up to us to define reality as we choose (Long 1997:70).

Instead of simply coming adrift, a new rootedness can be found in that which is substantial – the family, the tribal understanding, and *The Story* as told from the perspective of a man who crossed the individualistic, the tribal and the societal barriers of his day. Truth needs to be replanted, not so much by a philosophy or religion, but as defined in a person and his reconciled community – Jesus Christ and the followers of *the Way* who have come to be known as Christians (for they bear Christ's imprint in being able to traverse the cultures) both historically and today – which offers a home, shade and protection; a tree firmly rooted, offering both truth and hope in an age of relativity and hopelessness. With these few thoughts and before turning to the conclusion in chapter 7, this thesis now takes a look at what a tabulated multicultural model of leadership might look like (see next page):

Table 6.6: Tabulated Synthesis Showing an Initial Proposal of a Multicultural Model of Leadership for early 21st Century Christian Organisation in the Cities of Southern Africa.

	Factors Gleaned from the Six Models of Leadership (Chapters 4 & 5).	Additional Inputs from Ch. 6– Paradigms of Leadership & socio-political forces.
Structures	Working in teams and/or networking coalitions – collegiate structures. Cell/small groups preferably used early on in the formation of an organization. Use of concepts of tribe for the mid level (congregation) group and concepts of kingdom/nation employed as the organization grows into a macro-structure and /or connects to a greater community. Upper leadership/ management team reflects cultural diversity which uses consensus / collegiate approach and structure(s) to balance to final authority figure.	Community found in new tribalism of affinity groups. Diversity in outlook, culture, roots & skills is a necessary component of the new tribe /team. Networking of authentic community rooted in place & circumstance. Promotion on basis of loyalty and achievement as seen in the Zulu emissaries. May also be possible to employ a modified concept of onion skin structures & alliances beyond Moshesh used on the macro-level
Styles (youth man)	(Often arrogant/militant/forceful but also entrepreneurial/pioneering or humble/consensus seeking.)	
Dominant	Open-handed professional collegiate style, using democratic and consensus seeking approaches. Humorous/flamboyant style.	Transparency/authenticity/negotiation/inclusivity, accountability & creative openness. Visionary, strategic style. <i>Ubuntu</i> –reliance on each other's gifts. Honouring other cultures.
Secondary	Commanding / executive decision-making style.	Synergy between Western/African leading styles. Decisive – using Western individualistic style.
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	The top leadership, particularly the CEO of a Christian organisation should be able to exercise a wide range of leadership styles from S1 (commanding) to S4 (comprehensive delegation) depending on the situation.	Power sharing in leadership approach implies a range of styles and approaches should be employed.
Situational Apprenticeship Styles AS1-AS4	Most leaders in the upper levels experience an apprenticeship in various spheres in which they progressively adapted their learning styles from AS1 (listening) through to AS4 (owning), but some may jump the AS2 (learning) stage.	
Values	1. Peace/ <i>ubuntu</i> /societal harmony/conciliation. 2. Unity (perceived on a national/kingdom level)/Ecumenism. 3. Reconciliation (understood as costly). 4. Trust/loyalty 5. Love – in addition values of justice; faith; humility & magnanimity.	Unity that upholds heterogeneity (diversity) Reconciliation based in community.
Trans-cultural Ability	Influence of early transcultural role-models. Generational leadership or chiefly/royal heritage can play a role, but leadership just as equally need not be based on this. Bi-cultural heritage or early exposure to other culture(s) is significant factor in upper leadership. Openness to other helpful philosophies: <i>Satyagraha</i> and <i>Ubuntu</i> (African traditional wisdom).	Safeguard the cultures within the Christian org. while building a multicultural identity. Transcultural nature of group affirmed through music, social mixing in church on basis of new church family (cell) and tribe (congregation) & building a common future. Establish common goals & values that foster reconciliation. Share “The Story” (the metanarrative).
Political / Christian Conviction	Christian beliefs, with the upper leadership showing an ability to conceptualise a belief-framework or governing theology.	Truth found in the person of Jesus and the reconciled community, offering truth and hope in an age of relativity and hopelessness.

CHAPTER 7: SYNTHESISING A STRATEGIC TRANSCULTURAL LEADERSHIP MODEL

7.1 Introduction

To briefly recap, Chapter 1 introduced the thesis and the socio-economic problems Africa is facing which were more fully established in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 specifically examines the demographic challenges in the cities of Southern Africa and established the need for strategic transcultural leaders and their innate ability to cross societal barriers stemming from a belief system. Chapter 3 looked at Early Church (1st Century church) models of leadership in order to establish a biblical and historical basis for a connection between belief systems, leadership models and strategic transcultural leadership with special attention being paid to Paul and the Antioch model. Chapter 3 further posited Paul's role in Christ as being the only *Kyrios* impacting the belief systems of individuals and ultimately that of the Empire. Chapter 4 dealt with the three political leadership models employed by Moshoeshe, Smuts and Mandela inspired by their individual philosophies/beliefs. Chapter 4 also set the stage from a historical perspective, for Chapter 5 which assessed the three Christian leadership models of Mutendi, Cassidy and Tutu inspired by the theologies they employed. These models then provide an initial indication of a multicultural model relevant to the Southern African context. Chapter 6, analysed the socio-political forces at work in Southern Africa as well as postmodern, tribal, neo-African, and multicultural paradigms of leadership which helped to further refine the evolving multicultural model.

This chapter progresses along the following lines:

1. A literary research of any North American multicultural models posited (whether or not directly referring to leadership) and their relevance to the Southern African context.
2. A brief overview and tabulated format of the Antiochan and Pauline leadership models.
3. Pauline models of community and belief are tabled for future investigation.
4. A recap of the tabulated framework of comparison of the multicultural leadership model from Chapter 6 with inputs from the three Political and three Christian leadership models and the multiple paradigms of leadership.
5. The evolving model tabled in Chapter 6 is melded with the Pauline-Antiochan multicultural model and criteria gleaned from the literary search of multicultural models posited in the United States and is screened against three Christian organisations using current working multicultural models.
6. Final schematic adjustments to the evolving multicultural model and comments as to how the adjusted model corroborates or negates the proposition of this thesis are made.
7. The application of the adjusted model – now called the *transcultural model of leadership* in its refined stage – will be discussed for today's urban Southern African Christian organisational context.
8. Comments are made regarding the illusive nature of a macro-cultural identity and relevance of a transcultural model of leadership to the formation of a national identity.
9. The thesis discusses, the ongoing synthesis and vision for a transcultural community for the early 21st Century Christian organisation in Southern Africa, and also further areas of investigation and whether the original objectives/proposition were achieved/verified.

It would appear – if Mutendi's leadership model is taken seriously (see page 189) – that early Western mission attempts at translating the gospel into the indigenous cultures in this region often stopped short in consideration of the elements inherent in a model of leadership necessary for authentically translating the gospel into another culture. This lack

of a genuine incarnational model(s) into a specifically multi-cultural context in Southern Africa, has in the past, lead to syncretism on the one hand evident in some African Initiated Churches (AICs) and cultural dissonance on the other, evident in some mainline churches now indigenously governed – a warning to be heeded within the current city context.

7.2 Investigating any North American Multicultural Models Posited and Their Relevance in Developing a Model for the Southern African Context

Limited documentation exists with regard to examination of the concept of a multicultural model of leadership either locally or internationally that would give an indication of what this reconciling community might look like. The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) of the United States of America (USA) printed a resource called, *A Guide for Planting Multicultural Churches*. Within the SBC (1999:4-5) guide it states that the prerequisites for suitable candidates to a multicultural church leadership are those having:

- A commitment to the authority of Scripture, especially principles of reconciliation and unity
- A commitment to missions
- A commitment to include people of all ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds
- A commitment to prayer
- A servant's heart
- A sense of humour
- An ability to enjoy and compromise with different cultural preferences ...
- A strong training in theology and in the social sciences (informally or formally)

As the stated launching point the resource alludes to the "... definition drawn by the Multicultural Church Network, SBC: 'The multicultural church is a biblical community of believers: (1) who have as a current reality or hold as a core value the inclusion of culturally diverse people, and (2) who come together and serve as a single body to live out God's call to be a New Testament church'" (SBC 1999:3). And yet not one of their proposed models for starting a multicultural church specifically mentions the birth of a multicultural church which incorporates various ethnicities in one congregation, nor does it mention the intentionality in placing a multicultural team of church planters (SBC 1999:5).

In fact, this is a common oversight. Chuck Van Engen goes to great lengths to state how he found in researching the issue of planting multicultural churches, that there are few recognised authors in the arenas of church growth and/or church planting that gives more than a cursory mention of multicultural churches. The focus is almost entirely monocultural and disturbingly "...Anglo, affluent, educated, suburban America", and of the few that do mention multiculturalism their treatment of the topic is "disturbingly brief", as is the case of Lyle Schaller's *21 Bridges to the 21st Century* which has nothing on the "development of multi-ethnic churches" (Van Engen 2004:25-26). The trend continues and though breaking with necessarily affluent and suburban barriers, Eddie Gibbs and Ryan Bolger in their book addressing the postmodern context – "Emerging Churches" (Gibbs & Bolger 2005) – offered up surprisingly no multicultural churches. Gibbs (2005:135-136), in his book "LeadershipNext" has little more to offer the multicultural context, but does at least argue for "contextually appropriate leadership" and sees leadership style varying from "consensus" to "authoritarian", though the latter should be rarely used according to Gibbs.

However in Schaller's book, *Center City Churches: The New Urban Frontier*, he sources the following based on the First Presbyterian Church of Jamaica in Queens, New York City, as Van Engen states:

The suggestions offered at the end of this chapter are helpful. "The leaders of the church write, 'Out of our experience in multi-cultural congregations we have learned these lessons.

1. Multi-cultural congregations grow best by word of mouth as enthusiastic members share their story and their pilgrimage in God's community.
2. Multi-cultural congregations grow when leadership is shared and is representative. ...
5. Multi-cultural congregations grow when they extend a warm and genuine welcome to visitors from another culture.

'We have also learnt that a single-culture congregation moves to a multi-cultural identity through a combination of hope, vision, planning, prayer – and surprises. Among the central principles we have identified and can affirm are these:

1. The inclusive congregation has its identity grounded in biblical doctrine, especially that of reconciliation.
2. A healthy pride in diversity is nurtured.
3. Leadership is carefully planned, both clergy and lay.
4. Sociological factors are honestly studied and realistically understood, and these include:
 - availability of diverse people
 - peer identity for all ...
 - membership of a sufficient size to support quality worship, Christian education, pastoral care, service/advocacy
1. [sic] Structuring and planning in terms of growth patterns, visible leadership, and a variety of styles of worship are essential"

(Van Engen 2004:27; cf Schaller 1993:99-108).

Leadership, indeed visible leadership is a critical component of a viable multicultural model as the above recommendations suggest. Ray Bakke, who authored the book which looks specifically at the inner city context of urban ministry in North America: *A Theology as Big as the City*, drawing on the example of Moses mentions that urban leaders often hail from the outside, and Moses was an outsider in his education and cultural upbringing. But it is important nonetheless to have "...indigenous folks on the leadership team. ...Moses was among the first, but not nearly the last, in redemptive history to demonstrate that God still calls people to crosscultural leadership with all the strengths and limitations implicit in this model" (Bakke 1997:52). Leadership needs to reflect the value of inclusivity in its composition and distribution of power which are factors alluded to by Kelly (1999:149):

How much of the cultural exclusivity of our faith is invested not in our belief structures but in seemingly innocent, ground-level practice –the music we listen to and use, the language we adopt, the clothes we wear, the images and illustrations with which we choose to explain our faith? These different factors add up to a corporate body language, sending out messages whether we know it or not. As does the visible mix and makeup of our leadership and staff –those

we allow to exercise public authority. It is also at this highly practical level, as well as in our theology, that we must change.

Manuel Ortiz (1993; 1996), according to Van Engen (2004:36), possibly gives the most complete picture of models of ethnic church planting, and yet even he struggles with the issue of offering a church planting model beyond those that are essentially monocultural tandem or parallel arrangements that is not just simply an *assimilation model*. Van Engen rightly discerns the problem of planting relevant structures within the North American context, which this thesis within a Southern African context, seeks to address:

In today's multi-ethnic North America, we need to find ways of planting "multi-ethnic" churches where cultural and ethnic differences are affirmed, appreciated and celebrated. Yet at the same time we are beginning to understand that ethnicity (particularity) as such must not be the basis of unity for these congregations. They are brought together and held together as disciples of Jesus Christ, as the Church. Their basis for unity needs to relate to the universality of the Gospel – but that universality must complement rather than eclipse the marvellous richness of ethnic diversity which can be fostered in multi-ethnic congregations (Van Engen 2004:36-37).

And [*sic*] understanding of the complementarity of universality and particularity of God's mission as describes in Scripture is of utmost importance. ...Too strong an emphasis on universality will drive us toward uniformity and blind us to cultural distinctives. Too strong an emphasis on particularity will push us toward either exclusivist homogeneity or fragmented ethnocentrism, and create serious questions about our oneness in Jesus Christ (Van Engen 2004:4).

Leith Anderson in his book, *A Church for the 21st Century* poses the dilemma for the 21st Century North American church as follows:

The challenge to the twenty-first-century church will be to behave Christlike and justly as persons of color grow in power and number in society. It will be a challenge facing every variety of church and Christian organization. New means must develop to express solidarity and unity in Jesus Christ without requiring dilution of racial identity and ethnic heritage (Anderson 1992:26).

Chang and Diaz-Veizades, address this issue from the perspective of building community based on cross-cultural coalitions. They mention the diversity of opinion between authors who argue either that "maintaining cultural uniqueness is divisive and eventually balkanizes societies" and others who "envision societies in which cultural diverse groups retain their unique heritage while simultaneously cooperating" in civic activities. In their book *Ethnic Peace in the American City* they do not address the concept of multicultural models beyond their concept of civic-based cross-cultural coalitions which target a socio-political agenda (Chang & Diaz-Veizades 1999:105).

However Eldin Villafane in his book *Seek the Peace of the City* gives four models – citing David Sanchez's paper *Viable Models for Churches in Communities Experiencing Ethnic Transition*, as the source. The four models given are the "multi-congregational model", the "temporary sponsorship model", the "bi-lingual, bi-cultural model" and the "total

transmission model” – an assimilation model (Villafane 1995:55). Even within his bi-cultural model, two homogeneously independent cultures are the basis to Villafane’s bi-lingual, bi-cultural model. This is an unfortunate transmission of McGavran’s thinking that churches grow best in homogenous environments, but as David Britt points out, “[t]he original version of *Understanding Church Growth* contains a brief concession to the possibility that the homogeneous unit become problematic in the city. ...In the 1980 edition of the book, however he ... spoke of the ‘mosaic’ of homogeneous groupings persisting in the city” (Britt 1997:136).

Persisting on this train of thought however, Britt substitutes homogeneity for congruence within the congregation (holding to similar values) and congruence with the community (compatibility with the external lifestyle) at large (Britt 1997:142-143). Apart from the idea of congruence, Britt’s concept is one of a bi-lingual model. Villafane mentions the same concept above, which is also largely the experience of Van Engen, neither of whom expresses a real insight it appears into a truly multicultural gathering using a transcultural worship and communal experience (Van Engen 2004:37; Villafane 1995:55). By this is meant a Christian community that interrelates within the worship experience and beyond it, whether by careful planning and/or inspiration of the Spirit, in which the worship dynamic and community structures are infused with an ethos that truly transcends the ethnic barriers.

This omission of a transcultural model – that reaches beyond assimilation and bi-cultural models – is somewhat surprising from a Southern African perspective because for some time now theorists have been rejecting the melting pot theory as a valid model. In other words, the assimilation model of yesteryear – which appeared to hold true in the past for Eurocentric immigrant races – just does not work in the USA anymore. For a society in which, as Orlando Costas, even in 1982, mentions that “[b]esides the traditional European groups, which have ‘melted’ into the main ‘pot’ of North American society, there are said to be over 120 ethnic groups communicating in more than 100 languages and dialects. They represent one-third of the total population” (Costas 1982:72-73). In the context of the United States this is precisely why, even with the enormous diversity, North Americans think of a *bi-lingual, bi-cultural model* at best – as somehow by the use of two languages – being multicultural, because the *melting pot* theory in the context of the immigrant Hispanic or Asian, even the African or Native American, simply does not seem to apply.

Integration still lingers as an unresolved issue in American society. Certainly there is more of a mix in churches than there was before the civil rights movement of the 1960s. But, churches remain highly segregated institutions. One study indicates that upwardly mobile African-Americans often choose black churches rather than primarily white churches. Integration and equality is desired for employment, housing, and civil rights, but the historic character and quality of the black church is desirable and maintained. The same often applies to Asian churches, at least among first-generation immigrants. Minority churches are viewed as vehicles for maintaining identity and continuity of heritage (Anderson 1992:26).

Yet perhaps not enough time has passed, even by 2006, some 14 years on from Anderson’s comment regarding segregation in churches, for the assimilation theory to at least a significant extent come into play. It is not clear what will happen when for instance the second or even third generation Korean or Hispanic American with little comprehension of

their parents or grandparents home country arrive in numbers. Nor has enough time passed in the United States to see what will happen when the dominant population group of the future (the Hispanic Americans) begin to exert influence due to the future reality dawning on the present majority population group (white Americans). Though there are some initial signs as to what this might look like and multicultural churches are functioning in areas where the cultures do mix or are undergoing demographic transition as both Yancey (2003:69) and Emerson (2006:54) point out.

Mark Gornik and his family founded an interracial Presbyterian Church called New Song Community Church in the heart of downtown Baltimore. This is one of the better examples in the literature available to the author of a multicultural ministry in the United States and for which Gornik used as his basic starting premise – the multicultural incarnational model:

As white Christians, we believed that it was vital that we turn from our complicity in a culture that is anti-black, anti-poor, anti-urban, and turn to the biblical obligations of justice and reconciliation. For the first two years, we focused entirely on building relationships with our new neighbors. Our ministry style was incarnational and low-profile, not obtrusive. ...But our move to Sandtown was only a small part of New Song's story; central to that story are the people who loved us, embraced us as friends, and helped to form our church community. ...God knit together a body of faith out of persons from a variety of backgrounds who share a passion to love God and their community.

Ethnic, racial and other conflicts are tearing cities and nations apart.... Where will the world look for examples of inter-racial relationships? We believe that a significant part of the church's public ministry must be to model healthy cross-cultural relationships, to look more like the kingdom and less like our hyper-segregated culture (1 Cor. 5:17). Humanity, the crowning jewel of God's creation, is like the scattered shards of glass from a broken bottle, its original intended integrity shattered. We are hurting and hurtful. Reconciliation is not cheap; nor is it the absence of conflict. Rather, it is the presence of right relationships – God putting things back together (Gornik 1997:238).

Yet Mark Gornik himself would probably prefer to call the multicultural model his church uses as more an attitude of heart, as “the presence of right relationships”, the intentional ministry style as “incarnational and low-profile”, and says “reconciliation is more of a spirituality than a strategy” (Gornik 1997:238-239). In South Africa the context is somewhat different with the dominant macro population group (black South Africans) being all too aware that the interests of one of the lesser macro population groups (white South Africans) line up with the all encompassing global reality of Westernisation, yet with one overriding understanding: For while the black cultures suffer the possible fate of partial or complete assimilation, so do the larger Afrikaner subgroup among the whites.

From this literary review of the North American context it appears that the North American's are no further ahead of Southern Africans in developing a model and/or planting viable working multicultural churches, at least until recently. In Michael Emerson's book: “People of the Dream: Multicultural Congregations in the United States”, Emerson draws attention to seven congregational types, but these are in essence “seven models that describe the origination of multicultural congregations” (Emerson 2006:56- 61)

and not models of leadership targeted specifically at sustaining them. George Yancey, in his book “One Body One Spirit” mentions four types of multicultural churches: *Leadership Multicultural Churches* (built on the cross-cultural leadership skills or vision of the clergy or laity or both), *Evangelism Multicultural Churches* (built on an evangelism strategy that seeks out people from other races), *Demographic Multicultural Churches* (built on the demographic changes occurring in the neighbourhood), and *Network Multicultural Churches* (built on the social networking capacity of the congregation).

Yet these again are essentially start-up models, though the last one is recommended as a preferential “path” to follow to sustain a church, even if in conjunction with one or more of the others (Yancey 2003:63). Yancey (2003:67-70) does also offer “seven general principles for building multicultural churches” which are:

Inclusive Worship – “a worship style that includes the cultural elements of more than one racial group.”

Diverse Leadership – “racially diverse leadership” that tends “to reflect the racial diversity of the church members.”

An Overarching Goal – Yancey speculates that “a goal separate from racial issues is important” but that was “aided by the fact that the church was multicultural.”

Intentionality – “...is the attitude that one is ...going to take deliberate steps to produce that [multicultural] atmosphere”

Personal Skills – including a “sensitivity to different needs” and “the ability to relate to those of different races.”

Location – “These churches tend to be located in areas ... [with] access to members of different races rather than ... in segregated minority neighbourhoods or in the suburbs mostly populated by whites.”

Adaptability – “Learning how to blend cultures together is an important part of adapting to the new social reality created by the ... multicultural church”

Taking into account the more recent publications, it would appear that the North American context has a greater offering to be made in the future, not only from literature just beginning to find its way into the marketplace, but indeed churches that represent worthy models that have not yet made their way into print. In terms of the literature available to the author this North American literary review offers a limited but worthwhile instruction beyond the immediate principles listed above. Thus this review confirms the need to balance the universal with the particular as expressed earlier by Van Engen (2004:4) – a point which has also been made on the Southern African stage by Villa-Vicencio (1994:115 cf Taylor 1992:62), from the basis of *political universalism* though – and provides pointers for a multicultural leadership model from churches such as New Song in Baltimore and First Presbyterian Church of Jamaica in Queens, NY.

Within Southern Africa, it is hard to perceive of viable actions that could be taken on a national level to both safeguard the individual cultures while striving for a macro-cultural identity; balancing the particular with the universal. Yet on a localised scale within a Christian organisational context it is conceivable to safeguard individual cultural interests represented, while valuing the staff and members for their uniqueness and gifts and demonstrating inclusivity in employment and leadership within Christian structures. Once these goals are achieved in Christian institutions, the impact of a consistent witness and

thus an authentic platform from which to speak may well be more far reaching than one at first perceives. Surely Bishop Tutu's predecessor in the South African Council of Churches (SACC), John Rees, made a significant contribution to the anti-apartheid cause by calling his own house to order, saying, as Shirley Du Boulay (1988:129) reported:

“We must increasingly make plans, not only in the Church structures, but also within the structures of the Council itself for the voice of our black brethren to be heard....” He was as good as his word, paying black and white staff equal salaries for equal work ... moving blacks into senior positions and giving every white administrator a black secretary and every black administrator a white secretary.

While this section does serve to illustrate that North Americans are battling with similar issues, just how the issue of a multicultural leadership model should be worked out in a Southern African context, with the seismic cultural changes currently being experienced, remains illusive. Looking back to Chapter 6, all the thinking systems mentioned amass to a multi-layered co-existing network of paradigms, any of which can be seen to dominate a particular sector of Southern African society. Here new players with a postmodern-transcultural mindset compete for space with the old guard's neo-colonial, or in other cases, socialist mindset. Perhaps the conflict in African Enterprise helps to sensitise and begin to show a way forward in the multifaceted nature of this context:

[T]he black-white issues are deeply seated and there is a great amount of anger and discontent and people do not see AE as a new South African organisation – certainly not historically in terms of what my experience of it was. It was obviously part of my desire to make it a new South African organisation – it does not necessarily mean a black organisation but it means a new South African non-racial organisation, but at the same time not making excuses for its empowerment of previously disadvantaged people. Because we would not have to make excuses because we were excellent and so empowerment and excellence operating simultaneously – that was my ideal. Sort of a la Albert Luthuli: ‘Somewhere in there beckons a civilization, it will be African but it might not be all black’ (Manley 2005:34).

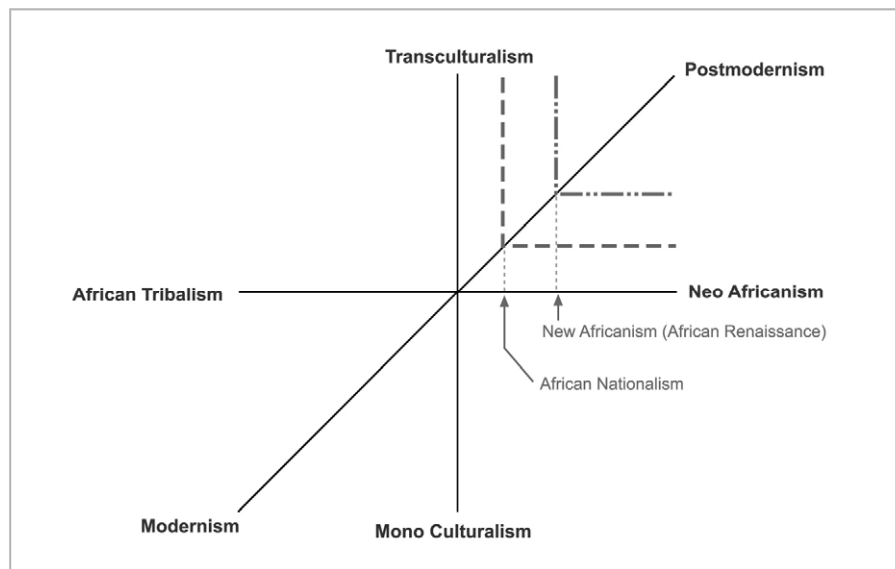
From a North American perspective, Gerard Kelly (1999:47) describes this complexity within postmodernity, along a single cultural continuum with a dual retrospective-futuristic polarity:

Many in the Boomer culture are surprised that young people, with such a new and different future opening up before them, are drawn to explore the past. In particular, the deep history and traditions of premodern and aboriginal peoples are newly and unexpectedly popular. These generations sense two things above all others: that the current culture is coming to an end, and that its replacement has not yet fully emerged. ...In the meantime, with the future unknown and the present unreliable, the past is a storehouse of ideas to explore. In the turmoil of today, the young rummage through yesterday in search of keys for tomorrow.

Yet if the afore-mentioned paradigms within a Southern African context are seen as dynamic and changing, then in some senses (though in reality a blending bowl may be a more accurate model on a certain level) they represent multiple continuums from one

scenario or paradigm to the newly evolving one. Thus the tribal is changing to the neo-tribal, the modern to the postmodern, and the mono-cultural to the multicultural, or that which is even transcultural (i.e. culturally transcendent). More accurately, the intersection of all these continuums happens not just as a one time transition point but is happening continuously as the dashed lines and partially dotted lines would suggest in figure 7.2.1.

Figure 7.2.1: *The Multi-dimensional Matrix of Coexisting Paradigm Continuums*

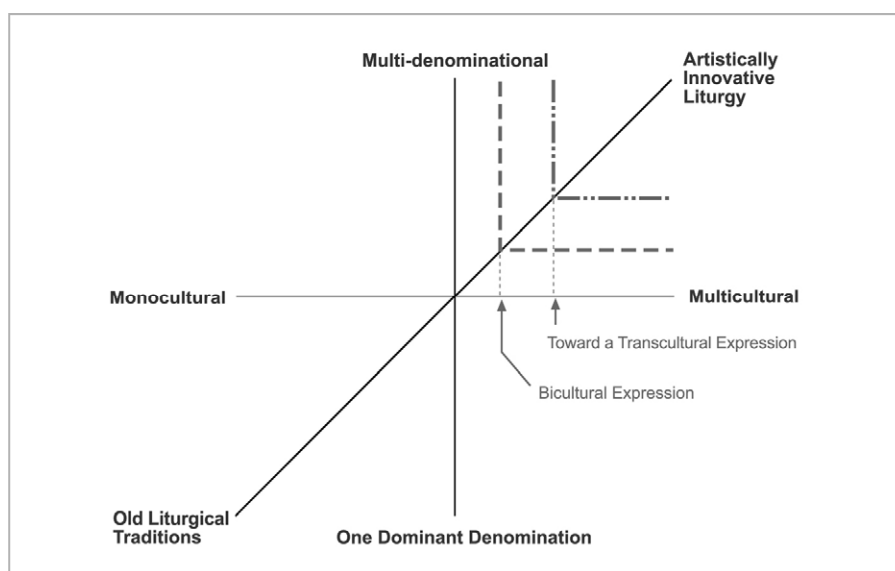


The presence of multiple paradigms in any one urban locality is further accentuated for the church, where a further two paradigm axes or continuums need to be considered. Firstly there is the axis of the individual micro-cultural roots, ranging from tribal through to neo-African and from modern-western to postmodern-global which are beginning to combine and infuse one another synergistically, changing from the old mono-cultural paradigm into a new multicultural sense of identity (drawn as three axes or continuums in figure 7.2.1). Secondly, there is the axis within any one dominant denomination ranging from the liturgical traditions of the past to the innovation of the present and future (particularly pertinent to worship styles and governing structures). Then thirdly there is the denominational axis which in many Southern African situations represents in its colonial-mission roots, a central almost exclusivist denominational ethos (i.e. Anglican, Methodist, Dutch Reformed, etc.) which is fast becoming non-exclusivist and multi-denominational.

In the present postmodern reality, this latter axis or continuum represents multiple denominations where some of the new members have chosen to move between denominations, are estranged from their root denomination, or even do not know what denomination their ancestors may have been if at all. For example, some could have been adherents of an African Traditional Religion, while others could simply be atheistic or agnostic. If these three axes are addressed, a monocultural, exclusively retrospective liturgical and singular denominational practise will not suffice any longer and new innovative and tradition enhancing strategies and modes of worship will need to be sought out in addressing this multi-paradigm meshing paradox. Modes of worship and structures for a church will need to be synthesized which stimulate movement towards an authentic

transcultural expression (as again shown by the dashed and partially dotted lines) beyond simply the old bicultural or monocultural models of church used in the past. Gerard Kelly envisages movement along one axis only, but the situation in Southern Africa, and quite possibly in most large urban environments is significantly more complex. Indeed it will take a transfusion of ideas if the worship needs of the future are to be addressed where the mono-cultural demands of, for example the dominant western oriented culture, are to be balanced with a desire to retain what is of value in the rich traditions of the past in all three continuums. Or alternatively, that the future transcultural richness is not lost to the mono-cultural, singular-denominational, liturgical (i.e. prayer-book led or alternatively hymns and bible reading) practise of the past!

Figure 7.2.2: The Multi-dimensional Matrix of Cultural, Liturgical and Denominational Transfusion



Beyond this conceptual framework for understanding the complexity of a environment in which a transcultural leadership model is needed, a synthesis of such a model to the Southern African context will be covered later on in a tabulated format. But before a more comprehensive picture of this model can emerge, some salient points from the Pauline-Antiochan model need to be re-emphasised, and then placed within a tabulated framework.

7.3 A Brief Overview of the Pauline-Antiochan Model of Leadership

As stated in Chapter 3, Paul used Antioch as his prototype of a working multicultural model and proceeded to exercise this model in planting house churches in the cities of the Roman Empire. Antioch perhaps more than any other city expressed the ideals of the empire most profoundly in its acceptance of the Jews and its cosmopolitan outlook and composition, while the Roman Empire was receptive to the gospel also in its inclusive philosophy. Beyond this openness the Empire provided both the peace and stability of a superpower that puts an end to petty disputes and uprisings while honouring Greek as the language of choice of its inhabitants and citizens alike. These were the salient factors which allowed for the rapid success of the church in the Graeco-Roman world, and together with Paul's bi-cultural heritage and proficient use of both Grecian and Jewish teaching

styles (i.e. his use of Hellenistic and Hebraic diatribe), were to change the Jerusalem concept of messianic believer and church structure such that the Jewish sect of believers were renamed *Christians* (Ac 2:26). So radical was their *Koinonia* that Jew and Gentile ate at the same table and worshipped in one accord in the same home.

Table 7.3.1: Tabulated synopsis of the Pauline-Antiochan multicultural model of leadership

	Factors Gleaned from Antioch (The Pauline Prototype Model).	The Pauline Multicultural Model of Leadership
Structures	Started by laity. Diverse leadership culturally and socio-economically. Social mixing of Jew and Gentile believers. Top tier of leadership comprised prophets and teachers. Team leadership and team teaching	Eldership & second deaconate tier drawn from Jerusalem model. In each place Paul set up at least one <i>house church</i> . Eventually once a number of house churches existed city elders chosen. Congregations self-governing. Complementary role of evangelists, prophets, teachers & apostles on outside of structures, & direct role of evangelists, prophets and teachers on inside. Structures chosen for efficient governance, cultural relevance & strategic advance of gospel. Diversity including women in leadership & in roles increasingly played by slaves/freedmen. Apprenticeship model (trained / equipped / released) for strategic evangelism
Style(s) (Youth)		In Paul's youth, submissive apprenticeship to Gamaliel, but as a young man he was compulsive and forceful.
Dominant		Bold/aggressive/confident/autocratic & predominantly controlled leader. Teaching style –dogmatic/bold/persuasive.
Secondary		Humble/compassionate/self-effacing 2 nd style. Teaching -reasoning/discussing, more compassionate with disciples.
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4		S1 – Commanding young believers. S2 – Persuasive in synagogue and in school of Tyrannus. S3 – Collegiate with Silas and Timothy & Barnabas. S4 – Silas & Timothy often stayed behind consolidating the work.
Situational Apprenticeship Styles AS1-AS4		AS1 – Apprenticeship with Gamaliel (listening); later AS1 & AS2 – learning in apprenticeship with Barnabas; Accommodates AS3 – Barnabas in Antioch & early stages 1 st mission journey. AS4 – Owning role spokesperson / top leadership position midway through 1 st mission journey.
Values	<i>Koinonia</i>	Faith; spiritual discernment. Hope; unity; peace. Love; forgiveness; reconciliation.
Transcultural Ability	The receptivity of the host culture in Antioch (cosmopolitan) & Roman Empire (<i>Pax Romana</i>) & Hebrews more accommodating spoke Greek and taught in Septuagint. <i>Koinonia</i> - mixing of cultures in the church in meals, worship & teaching. Empire had a philosophy of inclusion and Greek was the <i>lingua-franca</i> .	Paul's Damascus road experience impetus for him to reach out. Paul bi-cultural heritage both citizen of Rome & Pharisee who hails from Jerusalem. Spoke Aramaic and Greek fluently. Born in Tarsus (3 rd city in Empire), schooled in Jerusalem (centre Jewish faith). Conversant in Hebraic & Hellenistic use of diatribe. Paul is Empire-conscious. Working model of Antioch. He founded multicultural house churches. Worship forms mixed Paul's complementary apostolic bi-cultural team & in leadership used Grecian Jews, "God-fearing" Greeks & prominent women.
Philosophical /Christian Convictions		One God and Father and Jesus only true <i>Kyrios</i> ; angels & law mediators of Old Covenant; demons, powers & philosophies of the age vanquished. Basis of Paul's reconciliation was the Abrahamic covenant to imply blessing of the nations now fulfilled in Christ – Jews and Gentiles all fellow citizens by faith and the basis of his Theology of Election is the election of a few Jews to effect God's Cosmic predestination of the nations.

7.5 The Evolving Model Screened Against Three Working Multicultural Scenarios

Table 7.5.1: *The evolving multicultural leadership model melded with the Pauline-Antiochan Model and the contemporary North American inputs*

	The Evolving Multicultural Model derived from Chs 4,5,6	Additional Inputs from the Pauline-Antiochan Model –Ch 3	Additional Inputs from Analysis of Multicultural Models in USA
Structures	Working in teams and/or networking structures. Cell/small groups preferably used early in formation of organisation. Use concepts of tribe for congregation & concepts of Kingdom/ Nation employed as the organisation grows into Macro-Structure or connects to wider community. Upper Leader Team diverse culturally & in skills. Use of consensus/ collegiate structure(s) balances final authority figure. Networking and onion-skin structures.	Eldership and 2 nd leadership (deaconate) tier. Once a number of house churches city elders chosen. City churches self-governing. Complementary role beyond apostles of roving evangelists, teachers & prophets on outside & direct role of these three ministries inside the city church leadership. Initiative taken by laity, resulting in a diverse leadership (including women/slave/free /Greeks and Jews). Apprenticeship model used in strategic evangelism. Team leadership and teaching.	Leadership shared with indigenous and outsiders & is representative, with a church ethos of inclusivity. Ethnicities appreciated/celebrated. Balance of the universal-particular. Multicultural model based on right relationships. Historic cultural character of church/denominational tradition maintained. Beyond “bi-cultural” & “assimilation models” to a truly “multicultural model” in worship styles, structures & social life. Foster a peer identity for all ethnicities represented.
Style(s) -Young Adult	Entrepreneurial/pioneering or humble/consensus seeking.	In youth Paul submissive but as young man compulsive & forceful.	
Mature -Dominant	Transparent collegiate/democratic & consensus/ <i>ubuntu</i> style. Strategic visionary can be decisive.	Bold/ aggressive/ confident/ autocratic. Teaching style – dogmatic, bold & persuasive.	Servant leadership; use of humour flexible style; inclusivity of all. Incarnational-low profile; consensus.
Mature -Secondary	Commanding/executive decision making style	Humble/ compassionate. Teaching style – reasoning and discussing.	Intentional leadership/ authoritarian
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	Top leadership (i.e. CEO) of Christian institution should be able to exercise full range styles S1 to S4. Emphasis on power-sharing.	Displayed full range of S1 (commanding) to S4 (delegating) styles.	
Situational Apprenticeship Styles AS1-AS4	Most leaders in the upper levels experience an apprenticeship in various spheres progressively adapted their learning styles from AS1 (listening) through to AS4 (owning), but some may jump the AS2 (learning) stage.	Displayed full range of AS1 to AS4 styles.	
Values	1.Peace/ <i>ubuntu</i> /societal harmony 2.Unity (perceived on a national/ kingdom level) 3.Reconciliation 4. Trust/loyalty 5. Love & also faith; justice; humility; magnanimity & ecumenism.	1. Faith 2. Hope 3. Love & <i>Koinonia</i> 5. Peace 6. Unity 7. Forgiveness & 8. Reconciliation	1. Reconciliation seen as the presence of right relationships. 2. Unity based on commonality as disciples of Jesus Christ.
Transcultural Ability	Influence early transcultural role models. Chiefly/leadership heritage can play role but equally can be based on natural talent. Early exposure to other cultures or bi-cultural heritage – significant factor. Remain open to other philosophies <i>Satyagraha/Ubuntu</i> . Establish common goals/values that foster reconciliation. Share “The Story”. Honour the cultures	Macro-culture of Empire conducive to multicultural dynamics, and common <i>lingua-franca</i> . Paul’s encounter with Lord. Bicultural heritage. Hellenistic & Hebraic diatribe use. Empire-conscious; Antioch (working model). Founded multicultural house-churches using Jews /Greeks/leading women with mixed worship forms. Complementary role of apostolic bi-cultural team.	Reconciliation as spirituality more than as a strategy. Bi-cultural heritage (cf. Moses). Argument/idiom, body-language appropriate to a postmodern/multicultural audience. Transcultural team compliments lead elder. Learn to blend cultures/ability to relate to other cultures. Turn from complicity in culture of anti-poor/black/urban to one of justice & reconciliation.
Philosophical /Christian Conviction	Christian beliefs, with the upper leadership showing an ability to conceptualise a belief-framework or governing theology. Truth found in the person of Jesus and the reconciled community.	One God and Father. Jesus only true Kyrios. Demons, powers, philosophies of the age vanquished. God’s cosmic predestination of the nations. Reconciliation understood in light of Abrahamic covenant.	Reconciliation is not cheap, nor is it the absence of conflict and unity based on the universal message of Gospel of Jesus but not such that eclipses richness of ethnic diversity.

The evolved multicultural model screened against a composite of the three working Christian multicultural scenarios

In considering an evolved model from all the numerous inputs thus far: 1) the three political and three Christian models of leadership, 2) the Pauline-Antiochan model of leadership, 3) the multiple leadership paradigms and socio-political forces impacting on Southern Africa, and 4) from the analysis of multicultural models posited in the United States, a certain amount of discretion needs to be applied. Judgement is used to ensure that all factors are not glibly pulled through in a crude assimilation or extrusion model, but the semiotic model is carefully applied to the process of synthesis. Thus the evolved multicultural leadership model is formulated leaving behind all inappropriate negative and/or contextually incompatible traits, while Pauline or more recently related historical perspectives (i.e. the foundational stages of the ZCC) are adapted for compatibility with the current early 21st Century multicultural conditions in the cities of Southern Africa.

The Synthetic model itself does not simply blend elements of the various leadership scenarios but at times it extracts using comparative analysis. At other times the model blends using an interpretive analysis and still at other times it looks for metamorphosis using a strategic visionary-prophetic or far-sighted approach to the analysis or process of deducing a strategic transcultural model. On these bases, the inputs mentioned in the first paragraph of this subsection are analysed to produce an evolved multicultural model of leadership. Table 7.5.2 lists the three current Christian working models of multicultural leadership. In Table 7.6.1 a composite model of these three working Christian scenarios is used for screening the evolved multicultural model of leadership which is then adjusted to reflect any corrections brought in by the composite model of the three working scenarios.

It is important to remember that conditions can vary from one city to the next and one denomination and/or Christian organisation to the next such that certain generalized language is applied especially when it comes to church/organisational structure(s). In the choice of three working scenarios, a charismatic “independent” church relating internationally to New Frontiers in Britain (Mt Pleasant Community Church in Harare, Zimbabwe), a Christian para-church/mission organisation known for being interdenominational (Youth With a Mission in Worcester, South Africa), and a mainline reformed church (*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* – Arcadia Faith Community in Pretoria, South Africa) were chosen to bring a broad cross-section into the analysis for a balance of perspective. The tables reviewed next should be carefully read before this thesis moves on to comments as to how the adjusted or evolved/mature multicultural model – from now on in its mature state of synthesis referred to as a strategic transcultural model of leadership – corroborates or negates the proposition of this thesis.

Table 7.6.1 portrays the final strategic transcultural model of leadership developed through this thesis. This does not mean that there could not be multiple models of multicultural leadership, but this particular model examines the transcultural abilities and an appropriate system of belief required for authentic multicultural leadership, as well as the structures, styles and values conducive to ethnic/cultural inclusivity. Other models may focus on multicultural models using parallel or assimilation arrangements, or use additional inputs or components, or may be applied in a more strictly localised manner. This being said, it is important to note that other appropriate multicultural models may well be posited, and this thesis hopes in the very least to open up the discussion by positing one such model that may stand among numerous other multicultural leadership models in the future.

Table 7.5.2: *The three Christian working multicultural models of leadership*

	Sibhekinkosi Sibanda (Sibs) Mt Pleasant Community Church Harare –Zimbabwe (Sibanda 2005)	Stefaan Hugo Youth With a Mission (YWAM) Worcester - Western Cape (Hugo 2005)	Martiens Swart Arcadia Faith Community NG Gemeente - Pretoria, Tshwane (Swart 2005)
Structures	Locally networked with "River of Life" churches & internationally to "New Frontiers". Bulletins, songs are in 3 languages. 2 elders operate on a team basis with Sibs as lead elder with room for up to 5 elders. Under the elders is a tier of leaders who do the job of deacons running the ministries of the church. There is a home cell structure also with 3 tiers. 3 cell leaders report to a community leader & community leaders report to lead elder.	Internat. network –YWAM; Region YWAM Southern Africa. Worship in multiple styles. Operate on dual leadership structure. Base Leadership Team (Spiritual oversight) comprising - 2 white SA, 1 black Zimbabwean, 2 Brazilians -married 1 S. Korean & 1 coloured SA. 2 nd tier - management (administration) team also a diverse team with an ex-mayor in charge. The base runs multiple schools & all school leaders fall under one or other team.	Overall NG structure has wards - each ward contributes to a central board. English speaking ward comprises Arcadia Faith Comm. Exec. Leadership -1 Chinese, 2 Zulu, 4 Xhosa & 2 Afrikaners. Ministry leader forum under this comprises - 1 Nigerian, 2 whites, 6 Xhosa & 4 Zulus. Old NG Kerk structure – pastor-centred, but Faith Community ward – shared leadership. Role Pastor now facilitator. Small care group structure just started.
Style(s) Young Adult	Strong teaching gift from early on & assertive but willing to learn.	Arrogant and forthright -tempered by a humbling process and acquired wisdom and gentleness.	In practical matters- laid back; in spiritual matters- aggressive, assertive -took the lead.
Mature - style 1	Directive, upfront & forthright from the pulpit.	Visionary; charismatic; directive leader operating from the front. Strongly prophetic - challenging.	Visionary leader who encourages & motivates; collegiate; keeping balance of all cultures in mind.
-style 2	Pastoral, one-on-one, relational valued humility early on.	Coming alongside, sensitive but persuasive - listening to the Spirit	Strongly convincing / discussing. Commands if situation warrants it.
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	S1 commanding with campus Pastor at first; next S2 - cast the vision; S3 - drew him out & finally S4 delegated to him.	S1 – commanding with young followers; S2 & S3 – he tests them depending on culture/ upbringing. S4 he delegates easily.	S1 –commanding rarely used but in case of youth co-worker has, with whom also used persuasive S2 style –now somewhere between S3 &S4.
Situational Apprentice- ship Styles AS1-AS4	AS1 As a leader he was mentored by P.J. Smythe and went through all four stages AS1-AS4 starting '97; but in earnest 01' listening/ learning/ participating in decisions/took over.	AS1 As a student in YWAM - listening but jumped directly to AS4 - directing & operates most comfortably this way. Frustrated when cannot jump to AS4 - possibly as he led at young age.	AS1 through AS4 experienced soon after being ordained - mentored in the need for evangelism by Campus Crusade and through books which started during studies.
Values	Friendship; integrity; humility; faithfulness.	Hospitality; individuality – uniqueness; spiritual discernment; generosity.	Authenticity; love -compassion; friendship – community; encouragement -to help & motivate.
Ability to cross socio- political boundaries	Exposed to a wide economic spectrum at young age (relatives in communal areas/high density). Went to v. integrated private School; sport was important to breaking barriers.	Parents Swaziland missionaries; taught by dad that each person is different & not to bow to peer pressure. A love for the nations. Use of reformed, evangelical and charismatic styles of worship.	Racism in family – ability solely by biblical mandate & Paul's example & letter to Ephesians. Can adapt without losing vision. Style adaptable but gospel content a constant.
Political / Philosoph- ical & Christian Convictions	Ephesians 2 -"One new man"; His perspective is once a person believes in Jesus as Lord, they identify with all in the household of God and all are considered as "family".	The prayer in Psalm 2:7-8. "Ask me & see if I will give you the Nations". God's heart for the nations. Rev. "Every tribe, and nation and tongue". Gen 12 "I will bless you so that the nations will be blessed".	Obedience to Lord – later became passion for Kingdom. Lordship for him Trinitarian. All ministry built on 2 legs –desire to make a difference & to celebrate. Respect 4 dominant spiritualities – rational; emotive; mystic & participatory. ¹¹
Composition Church/Chr- istian Inst.	50% Shona; 25% white Zimbabwean; 25% Ndebele in attendance.	Over 50% international; 25% white SA; 25% coloured, Indian & black SA.	87% Black SA (Sotho/Xhosa/Zulu etc); 3% Afrikaners; 3% coloured; 4% Chinese; 3% other African nats.

¹¹ Kelly (199:189) also refers to four spiritualities – alternative worship, ancient paths, contextualization and postcharismatism; postmodern, Celtic and other historical expressions, culturally strategic and the emotive respectively – to refer to various modes of worship with which new churches are experimenting.

7.6 Final Schematic and Evaluation of the Strategic Transcultural Leadership Model

Comparing the evolved multicultural and the composite Christian contemporary models

A comparison of the evolving multicultural model with the composite Christian contemporary model (columns 2 and 1 of Table 7.6.1 respectively) demonstrates consistency in the importance of a cell system of house churches/care groups as essential to the health of the overall organisation. However, the composite model (based on the input from the three working scenarios – Table 7.5.1) points to a three tier cell structure in which coaches (community leaders) are used to monitor, mentor and advise on the efforts of the cell group leaders. Ethnic diversity in the evolving model was considered to be an important factor in the upper levels of leadership, the composite model points to its importance at all levels from executive-management to cell structure. An important feature of the evolving multicultural model is the inclusion of the multiple paradigms (Chapter 6 inputs), which demonstrates some differences from the composite model posited, the most striking of which is the presence of the concept of levels of tribal grouping – i.e. three to seven cell (cf family/extended family) groups form a community group (cf clan) under a coach/area pastor (cf Frazee 2001:92, 97) – within the congregational level (cf tribal level), and concepts of kingdom/nation at the macro-networking level. These principles may well be necessary as the organisation grows and/or connects to the wider Christian community. However tribal/postmodern concepts of consensus-seeking and multilayered structures proposed in the evolving model are in fact expressed in the composite's complimentary executive *team* ministry and linkage to international organisations respectively.

The evolving multicultural model points to the best early leadership traits or style employed as a young aspiring leader, as being those of an entrepreneurial/pioneering or alternatively a humble/consensus-seeking style. While the composite model points to a strong sense of leadership experienced early on in the leader's life, to counter-balance this it poses an interesting solution – if the leader has not been born with or acquired very early on a humble disposition – that of a process by which the leader is humbled. In this way all should not be considered lost if the leader's character is not naturally inclined toward putting personal aspirations aside and/or reserved contemplation but is someone who is naturally ambitious and/or forthright. In fact, these aspects may indeed be valuable within strategic transcultural leadership once a humbling process has brought about a more balanced position between the needs of the group and the leader's own. This position is supported by this thesis' limited analysis which indicates that many leaders have a mature dominant style of leadership that is a visionary/directive or bold strategic/decisive style.

What is intriguing is that in every case of both the three inputs to the composite model and the six 20th/21st Century leadership inputs (three Christian and three Political models of leadership) into the evolving multicultural model, all leaders had two prevalent mature styles of leadership. For some the primary approach was the collegiate/democratic/consensus/*ubuntu* style, while for the others it was the visionary/directive/strategic/decisive style. Likewise it mattered not which of these two styles was the secondary for in every case the other showed up as the primary style. Both the evolved multicultural and composite models indicated that it was important for the top leadership to be fully conversant with all four situational leadership styles from commanding through to delegating. While the evolving multicultural model indicated that it is possible for a highly gifted leader to jump the learning phase of the situational apprenticeship model, the composite model indicated that it is possible to jump the accommodation phase (AS3) too.

The values of both the composite and the evolving multicultural models varied significantly, but this is possibly due to the evaluation of the values of the three contemporary Christian working scenarios being on the basis of personal values whereas the evolving multicultural model used personal and organisational-structural value inputs with the focus and accent being on proof of these values by implementation and/or often by extensively quoting as seen in the case of the six leadership models used which form a major contribution to the evolving model. This being said there are no jarring points of value conflict and notably love/*Koinonia* and magnanimity in the evolving multicultural model is portrayed in the composite model's value of love/friendship and community.

Both portray the importance of an early transcultural influence and/or bi-cultural heritage while the influence of sport and integrated schooling and early exposure to economic diversity in the current Southern African context should not be underestimated. This aspect is particularly born out by the input into the composite model in the experience of Sibhekinkosi Sibanda of the Mount Pleasant Community Church in Harare, while Paul's example and/or teachings are often cited as a primary motivating factor in the working scenarios making up the composite model (i.e. as employed by Martiens Swart – Arcadia Faith Community, Pretoria). The evolving multicultural model expresses the need beyond the right societal conditions and a Christian philosophy of reconciliation to be open to other philosophies (i.e. *Satyagraha*; *Ubuntu*). Paul displayed this receptivity in his willingness to use mystery and stoic concepts and terminology in his exposition of the Christian faith. This concept is distinctly absent in the composite model which may be due to an inadequate probing of the three leaders inputting into the composite model, but could possibly indicate a lack of knowledge of alternate philosophies on the part of the three leaders interviewed.

While openness to other philosophies is helpful, what arises as essential in both the evolving and the composite models is the concept of the Lordship of Christ. In addition, the evolving multicultural model emphasises that truth, from a postmodern perspective, is found not so much in a rational Christology (theology of Christ) as in the person of Christ and the ongoing work of an authentic reconciling community. The composite model stresses the need for a *big-picture* beyond the immediate locality – arising out of a Kingdom mentality/heart for the nations – while the evolving model stresses the need for a belief framework or governing theology. In both cases this begins with a concept of the Abrahamic covenant, but in addition to this the evolving multicultural model, places an emphasis on the need for the universality of the gospel and/or a macro-cultural identity to be held in tension with the need for ethnic diversity.

Societal conditions conducive to a transcultural community, both within the church (i.e. the practise of *Koinonia*) and without (the greatest of which is a common *lingua franca*) are important concepts expressed in the evolving model. While the composite model emphasises the need to value individual cultures, often demonstrated in the use of more than one language in a service, what it ranks even higher – an input afforded it by Swart and the Arcadia Faith Community – is the need to respect the four dominant spiritualities: the rational, emotive, mystic and participatory. From an Anglo-Catholic perspective the sacramental and from an independent Charismatic perspective, Spirit-driven inspirational could be added, but both these concepts fall broadly within the mystic and emotive spiritualities. Swart also sees an overarching need, relating to the health of a congregation, to balance service within the church and greater community with the need to celebrate.

Table 7.6.1: *The Tabulated Synthesis of a Strategic Transcultural Model of Leadership*

	A Composite of the 3 Current Working Christian Multicultural Models of Leadership	The Evolved Multicultural Model of Leadership Interpreted from Table 7.5.1	Strategic Transcultural Leadership Model for 21st C Southern African City Christian Context
Structures	Internat. networks. Two-tier structure uses exec. leadership (elders) & secondary tier of ministry leaders (management team) operating on a team basis with a lead elder/pastor & other elders alongside in complementary capacities. Home cell/care group structure using 3 tiers –3 cell leaders report to community leader or coach who in turn reports to lead elder. Diversity of culture/language used in literature; exec. leadership; ministry leadership (management) & cell leaders/composition of cells.	Working in teams and/or collegiate structures. Cell/small groups preferably early on in formation of organization. Use concepts of tribe for congregation & concepts of Kingdom/Nation employed as the organization grows into a macro-structure or coalition networks with wider community. Diverse upper Leadership Team – culturally & in skills. Use of consensus/ collegiate structure(s) balances final authority figure. Net-working and onion-skin structures.	Two-tier of ministry/exec. & multicultural house-church structures linked by employ cell coaches as ministry leaders over 3-7 cells per <i>tribal</i> community (cf clan). Concepts of Kingdom in denominational/interdenom. networks. Ethnic/skill/ministry/gender diversity at all leader levels. Collegiate/multilayered model truly transcultural in social life/worship style/literature & structures. Team teaching & visibly diverse leadership. Foster a peer identity for all ethnicities.
Styles Young Adult	Strong sense of leadership early on but willingness to learn preferably or if arrogant humbling process.	Best traits –entrepreneurial/pioneering or humble/consensus-seeking.	Entrepreneurial/pioneering with a teachable, humble/consensus seeking approach. If arrogant –humbled.
Mature - style 1	Visionary-directive upfront leader. Or alternatively collegiate facilitator keeping the big picture in mind.	Transparent collegiate/democratic & consensus/ <i>ubuntu</i> style. Or a strategic bold decisive visionary.	Strategic-visionary; bold-decisive leader. Or transparent collegiate- <i>ubuntu</i> consensus-facilitator style.
-style 2	Pastoral/relational, humble leader. Or alternatively visionary-motivational leader.	Commanding/executive decisive. Or a humble/compassionate & interactive/reasoning leader.	Pastoral-compassionate & humble-interactive leader. Alternatively executive visionary-motivational style
Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4	Use full range of situational leadership styles from S1 –commanding through S2 –persuasive/visioning, through S3 –testing yet collegiate to S4 –delegating.	The top leadership (i.e. CEO) of Christian institution should be able to exercise full range styles S1 to S4 with an emphasis on power-sharing	Top leadership (whole executive-eldership) able to exercise whole range styles S1–commanding; S2–persuasive; S3-collegiate; S4 –delegating/releasing.
Situational Apprenticeship Styles AS1-AS4	Full range in apprenticeship from AS1/ AS2 –listening/learning experienced through to AS3 accommodating and owning AS4, but can jump AS2 & AS3. Process can be repeated in different ministry areas.	Most upper-level leaders experience an apprenticeship in various spheres progressively adapting learning styles from AS1 (listening) through to AS4 (owning), but some may jump the AS2 (learning) stage.	Most top leadership go through the whole range of apprenticeship styles from AS1/AS2 (listening/learning) through AS3 (accommodating mentors ideas) to AS4 (owning) but may skip AS2 &/or AS3.
Values	Love/friendship/community. Integrity/authenticity/faithfulness. Humility/spirituality. Encouragement/hospitality. Celebrate uniqueness/individuality.	1. Peace/ <i>ubuntu</i> /societal harmony. 2. Unity (national/kingdom) 3. Trust/integrity 4. Reconciliation/forgiveness 5. Love/ <i>koinonia</i> /magnanimity 6. Faith; Hope; Justice; Ecumenism	1. Peace/ <i>ubuntu</i> . 2. Unity-national. 3. Reconciliation/forgiveness. 4. Love/ <i>Koinonia</i> /Magnanimity. 5. Trust/Integrity; humble/real 6. Faith; Hope; Justice; Ecumenism
Ability to cross socio-political boundaries - The Transcultural ability	Early exposure to a wide economic/ethnic spectrum of society. Example Paul & Biblical mandate play a role as can example of parents inspiring love for nations; or sport & private integrated schooling. Understand the big picture in Southern Africa/World.	Right societal conditions –common <i>lingua-franca</i> . Bicultural heritage &/or influence early transcultural role models. Leadership heritage &/or natural talent play a role. Open to other philosophies (<i>Satyagraha</i>). Foster reconciliation. Share <i>The Story</i> . Honour cultures in argument /idiom/body language. Transcultural team complements lead elder.	<i>Lingua-franca</i> & ability blend cultures important. Ethos reconciling inspired by role-models/leaders of bicultural heritage. Leader pedigree /natural talent play role. Open other philosophies ie. <i>Ubuntu</i> , foster reconciliation/restorative justice. Share <i>The Story</i> . Argument/idiom/body-language/complementary team all transcultural. Honour the cultures.
Political / Philosophical & Christian Convictions	Ephesians 2 –once believe in Jesus as Lord they identify with all God's household as family. Kingdom mentality & heart for the nations (Abrahamic covenant). Balance service with celebration. Respect 4 dominant spiritualities – rational, emotive, mystic & participatory.	Jesus as LORD (<i>Kyrios</i>); truth found in person & work of Christ & an authentic reconciling community. Ability perceive belief frame-work/governing theology. Reconciliation (begins with Abrahamic covenant) costly. Universal gospel and/or macro-cultural identity held in tension with ethnic diversity.	Truth found in person & work of Jesus; in his LORDSHIP & ongoing reconciled community. Ability perceive a belief frame-work. Reconciliation (roots Abrahamic covenant) costly. Balance universality gospel (macro-cultural identity) & ethnic diversity; service & celebration. Respect 4 dominant spiritualities.

How the refined strategic transcultural model measures up to the thesis proposition

The proposition presented in this thesis as seen in Chapter 1 is that the *successful incarnation of the gospel into a multicultural context requires models of leadership that both enhance multiculturalism and also promote the underlying multiple cultures albeit from the platform of a common – but not exclusive – language and ethos*. This thesis, as stated in Chapter 1 seeks to demonstrate that the multicultural model of leadership which was first seen in Paul is evident to varying degrees – albeit contextualized – in successful multicultural models of leadership in Southern Africa.

The factors that enhance multiculturalism and in addition promote the underlying multiple cultures of the region within the key elements of the transcultural leadership model are proposed in the last column of Table 7.6.1. Starting with structures of leadership, ethnic diversity at all levels of leadership as well as within the cell group is emphasised (which also mentions gender, skill and spiritual ministry diversity) as is team teaching and a visibly diverse upfront leadership. A collegiate/multi-layered/networking structure – one that is truly multicultural in the congregational social life, worship expression and in its structures of community, belief and leadership – emphasises the multicultural dynamic, but draws on both tribal and postmodern leadership expressions in order to achieve this. While a structure that fosters peer identity for all ethnicities is also emphasised in this comprehensive structure, in which worship expression can make use of both the specific locality's *lingua-franca* and other vernacular languages of the area under consideration, to both enhance multiculturalism and honour the underlying micro-cultures respectively.

At the same time, the mature styles of leadership draw on key elements supplied by the macro-cultural contributions of Western styles of the strategic visionary and its bold/decisive mould – as well as African styles of the transparent collegiate and its *ubuntu*/consensus-seeking mould, which enhances both a macro-cultural (multicultural) identity while at the same time honouring the two major cultural components (the Western and African inputs). Too often a purely Western macro-cultural identity is envisioned and its underlying exclusivist use of English which belie a narrow ethnocentrism of leadership that has not adapted to the new multicultural dynamic. However this model actively works against this limitation by incorporating key aspects of African macro-cultural (or regional) concepts within the styles and structures of leadership employed.

Within the values of leadership, unity emphasised from a kingdom and/or national perspective helps to harmonise the multicultural dynamic as does a strong value of reconciliation and forgiveness. While beyond these aforementioned values that inspire peace and social harmony, the African concept of *ubuntu* is emphasised such that a Western tendency towards individualistic aspirations is offset or counter-balanced by a value for community; for corporate belonging; thereby avoiding the inherent problems of a sense of isolation inherent in a purely Western model. Yet a balance is emphasised thereby avoiding the problems of beholdenness and non-achievement endemic in some spheres and localities utilizing a specifically African tribal model. The understanding of an underpinning *common language and ethos* are upheld in the model by reference firstly to the need for a common *lingua-franca*, which in Southern Africa is often considered to be English (Venter 1999:127; 194-197)¹². But this should not be considered as exclusive,

¹² Dawid Venter (1999) commenting on the results of his own extensive investigation of 60 congregations he surveyed (Venter 1999:106) mentions that English was the first language of preference in over two thirds of

noting for example Bishop Mutendi's Zion Christian Church in Zimbabwe which often uses Shona as an overarching language (Mutendi 2005:18), and could equally be Afrikaans or Zulu/Ndebele in certain regions – emphasises the role of language in forming a common multicultural identity. Secondly a common ethos is upheld in the values, transcultural ability displayed, Christian conviction and openness to learning from other philosophies, of the leadership model. An ethos of reconciliation and a gospel preached which is universally applicable to all cultures/ethnicities which can all join the family of God, also enhances the multicultural dynamic.

Balancing this aspect, an ethos of honouring individual cultures – a key ingredient in the transcultural ability – is applied, and other culturally relevant concepts are incorporated such that in time the mode of discussion/argument, idiomatic expressions, body-language, literature (in multiple languages) and even the executive team who complement the lead-pastor/chief executive officer are all transcultural in their expression and being. By this is meant that the leader and executive team in their ability to cross cultural boundaries expose the congregation to multiple cultural expressions and leadership styles and in so doing assists the congregation over time to gain an appreciation for concepts inherent within other cultures or even those that traverse the cultures. In so doing the individual cultures are honoured, all the while building a new macro-cultural congregational identity (more correctly a *meso-cultural identity* once the national level is effected).

Because truth is ultimately found in the person, work and Lordship of Jesus (the universality of the gospel and the overarching philosophy of Christ) and a concept of a meta-narrative that embraces all – with its foundations in the Abrahamic covenant – means that the gospel is made accessible to all. This *truth* enhances the multicultural dynamic, while ethnic diversity is upheld both linguistically and through respect for the various modes of spirituality, which include rational, emotive, mystic and participatory facets. The ability of the executive leadership to perceive a belief system or governing theology is critical to the multicultural nature of the congregation. This visionary ability goes beyond any one dominant culture to a transcultural perspective of a belief framework that draws on key elements or replaces key areas of cultural concern, thus enhancing the value placed on individual cultures. A truly integrated system of belief also emphasises the new macro-cultural identity of the congregation. A detailed schematic of a relevant belief framework has not been pursued in any detail here as it forms a key component in a contextually relevant structure for belief (which is not the mandate of this thesis) but lessons can be drawn from both Paul's mode of addressing the Graeco-Roman beliefs and in Bishop Mutendi's mode of addressing the traditional beliefs of their days (see Chapter 3 – Section 3.8 and Chapter 5 – Section 5.2, subsection: *Mutendi's Belief System Underpinning His Model of Leadership*, respectively).

In assessing the transcultural model's success in both *enhancing multiculturalism and promoting the underlying multiple cultures albeit from the platform of a common – but not exclusive – language and ethos* the model has succeeded on the basis that every key element in this thesis' model of leadership addresses both aspects. However what remains uncertain is whether a *successful incarnation of the gospel* in every case requires a scenario which promotes both aspects of *multi-culturalism* and *micro-culturalism*.

the multi-lingual cases surveyed, and strengthens this position by citing the effect of congregational culture, popular [institutionalized] language ideology and denominational membership.

7.7 The Application of the Strategic Transcultural Model of Leadership to Today's Urban Southern African Christian Organisational Context

In order to paint a picture as to the application of this strategic transcultural model of leadership to the early 21st Century Southern African urban context within Christian institutions it is necessary to recap this thesis's definition of a *Strategic Transcultural Leader* as someone who:

1. Transcends societal boundaries and encourages others to do so.
2. Presses for racial, political, tribal, cultural, religious and gender equity.
3. Has the ability to turn an institution/nation around in its cultural pride, which in turn affects its institutional/national identity and/or productivity and/or financial output.
4. Is humble yet exhibits a strong determination.
5. Initiates and leads change from an old paradigm of the individual cultures to a new paradigm in a sequential manner for the synergistic advancement of the whole; yet which includes and values all the cultures represented within.

The contrast between the inner-city dwellings, suburban sprawl, high-density suburbs (townships), shanty towns and homeless dwellings is startling in a South African context, let alone the added dimension of the devastation caused by Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation Clean-up) in Zimbabwe, and this thesis will not attempt to address anything beyond the first two situations mentioned. Though the inner-city and the suburb are often considered polar opposites in their economic and ethnic composition, in which amenities and community building structures in the suburban context are popularly (whether true or not) considered to be of a higher standard. Yet what is fast becoming a reality is that the ethnic diversity which has already been seen in middle-income to affluent Zimbabwean suburban life is starting to impact even the more affluent suburbs of South Africa.

If the church is to lead society into a new understanding of itself beyond mono-culturalism, then the church must be a place of belonging for the new suburban immigrant, a place of refuge for the African national from another country in the inner-city, a place of restoration for the one whose cultural identity has been lost due to the pace of urban transformation, and a place of reconciliation that goes beyond the forgiveness offered by yesteryears baby boomers. Beyond the gestures of a simple handshake or embrace, much needed at the time, to a community that offers real *Koinonia*, to one of sacrifice and service. Transculturally strategic leaders can lead the way in founding communities that incarnate an understanding of a transcultural tribal/familial solidarity, one founded in the spirit of *ubuntu*.

Achieving this objective and incorporating the five points of a strategic transcultural leadership model is a present day challenge. This thesis suggests that best place to start is with a leadership team that has a heart for transcultural ministry and in its nature is multicultural in its make-up and even within some of the individual team members (bi-lingual or multi-lingual team members is a good start). Secondly, Christian community – real community, like society at large – is not based primarily on large associations but within small places of belonging – the nuclear or immediate extended family in urban society – mirrored in the Church by the cell. These cell groups should encapsulate what is envisioned in the greater community to be built up, in which the diverse membership forces the cell to traverse the societal (particularly racial) boundaries as modelled by cell leadership that displays this diversity.

The cell/home group or house church should be a place which accepts all people regardless of their background, and builds a pride in the new transcultural identity and a sense of belonging to their new family or micro-community. If the leadership of the cell group is humble yet resolute in its determination to lead the new micro-community into a vision of the future, one laden with synergistic multicultural potential, and yet one that honours the non-*lingua franca* cultures then the genetic code will be instilled at the nuclear level, which once the cell multiplies, will take the genetic code with it. In the suburb or the inner-city, pragmatically speaking, one of the leadership team needs to open up a facility, preferably his/her home to make this happen. Once this is done the cell leadership team can either work from the basis of denomination, peer association or one of locality (i.e. neighbourhood, but this could also include work, society or activity).

The author recommends that neighbourhood is chosen, not as the only basis but, as a strategic basis of cell-planting in a society that is rapidly becoming de-churched and un-churched. In cities fast losing their sense of connectedness, the church can assist fellow neighbours in developing a new sense of community such as a multicultural neighbourhood network which can be an authentic witness to the gospel. In a church planting situation the easiest place to start is one where recent movement has brought a lot of migrants to the immediate neighbourhood and/or a locality adjacent a university where the less prejudiced minds of students and the degree-seeking cyclic nature of the community ensures fresh more mobile minds and hearts.

Once these cells have been planted, multiplication need not happen by division but can be achieved by a cell planning strategy where *missionaries* are chosen from the cell that in their understanding and multicultural being bears the genetic code to be planted. In this way two or more people may be chosen to plant a new cell in an adjacent neighbourhood. Some particularly in a suburban context may argue that it would not be possible to combine traditionally conservative white residents with others, but if they are all relatively new to the neighbourhood then it may well be possible as the novelty of meeting other new neighbours is exploited. If natural gravitation is to ones own ethnic kind, then a strategically implementation of the genetic code can be employed as Sibhekinkosi Sibanda did in the Mount Pleasant Community Church in Harare, in which he started with one monocultural cell and one multicultural cell, but asked two key couples to move across to the monocultural cell, thus ensuring his multicultural strategy was implemented at the grassroots level (Sibanda 2005). In the case where a strong denominational tie exists then the cell can form part of an existing church structure and in a Christian parachurch structure that pre-exists then recruitment of new staff and supporters can be on a new multicultural basis where staff and supporters come together in the place of work in the field or at home.

After an initial period of cell multiplication, in the context of a church, then a service time and location appropriate to the membership needs to be chosen, while worship can engender a multi-cultural dynamic in the songs chosen, and language used in the sub-elements such as the prayers, scripture readings, service format (liturgical, structured or open) and the idiomatic expression and style of delivery used within the directing of the service and the message. However within the sermon and larger portion of the songs it is suggested (but not exclusively recommended) that English or the prevailing *lingua franca* be used to communicate a sense of transcultural oneness. Beyond these recommendations the concept of utilizing the four dominant expressions of spirituality in worship, the rational, the emotive, the mystic and the participatory in providing a balance should be

addressed, all the while the dilemma of balancing the old and the new is sought. The old is re-established by finding one's denominational and cultural roots in the often forgotten traditions of the past while the new is found in the music's lyrics and genre, the worship and teaching styles, the team-networking structures and the innovative technology, dance and other worship expressions of the present generation.

As has already been mentioned in Section 7.3 there are essentially three paradigm continuum axes that need to be considered (two of which have been mentioned above) – the liturgical, the cultural, and the denominational paradigm continuums, which are beginning to combine and infuse one another synergistically – ranging from the traditions of the past to the innovation of the present and future. The third denominational axis which in many Southern African situations in the past prior to majority rule independence (pre-1994 in South Africa and pre-1980 in Zimbabwe) represented, an almost exclusivist denominational ethos is fast becoming non-exclusivist and multi-denominational.¹³ As mentioned earlier (Section 7.2), if these three axes are addressed, bearing in mind that the cultural axis actually encompasses three aspects (the tribal/neo-tribal, the modern/postmodern and the micro-cultural/macro-cultural), then a monocultural, exclusively retrospective liturgical and singular denominational practise will not suffice any longer and new innovative and tradition enhancing strategies and modes of worship will need to be sought out in addressing this multi-paradigm meshing paradox.

7.8 The Relevance of a Strategic Transcultural Model to a Macro-cultural Identity *The allusive nature of a macro-cultural identity*

Given the span of time since the release of Mandela in 1990, and since the Lancaster House talks in 1979 for Zimbabwe, it is amazing that the Church has done so little to correct the racial imbalances and prejudice of the past and to create multiple meso-environments at the congregational level for Southern African society to see what a truly non-racial community really should look like. David Bosch (1978:93), the Professor of UNISA and prophet to the nation of South Africa that he was, had this to say:

The early Christian Church had “a remarkable fellowship. Master and slave ate together. Jew and Greek ate together: unparalleled in the ancient world. Their fellowship was so vital that their leadership could be drawn from different races and cultures and colors [sic] and classes. Here was a fellowship in Christ which transcended all natural groupings and barriers. There was nothing like it anywhere – and there still isn't.” Two and a half years ago, as I listened to Michael Green speaking these words at the Lausanne Congress, I thought of Africa, and of the Church in Africa. And I asked myself whether the deepest need of the Church in Africa does not lie in the fact that, by en large, we have failed to create that new community that really is different community, which should be an alternative to all other communities on earth.

¹³ In an independent survey done by the author in St Wilfrid's Anglican Church, Pretoria, the student congregation at the time (October 2003) comprised 14 ethnicities and 14 denominational groups. This is not a singular phenomenon at least as regards the prevalence of multiple ethnicities in congregations. Dawid Venter (1999:103,107,112) points to the fact that in the post-Apartheid era since 1990 in South Africa, integrating [i.e. multicultural] congregations are on the increase and later on statistically backs this comment up. And of 59 congregations he interviewed, 76.3% of them collectively held 3 or more (up to 11) languages.

This comment could almost as well have been made today in 2005, for progress in the area of authentic multicultural community is still hard to come across in the cities of South Africa, though the statistics are changing in South Africa as mentioned in the footnote earlier (Venter 1999:107). In Zimbabwe progress made in this arena in the past has been somewhat stymied by the economic exodus. Though in the inner cities in each nation, the prevalence of authentic multicultural community is somewhat healthier once the focus goes beyond the issue of black/white integration to the multiple indigenous ethnicities, and their integration in many cases with black nationals of other states.

Before 1994, the issue and heartfelt desire for people of colour in South Africa was to a large extent – “When will I be valued as a human being, equal to the white with an inalienable right to freedom, employment and ownership of land and property without prejudice?” Since independence the Afrikaner male, now lost in a no-mans-land of being African for three hundred and fifty years yet not black, has for the first time lost his status as *baas* and with that his understanding of who he is and where and how to fit in to the new order which puts a premium on darkness of skin tone and often female above male. On a national level the issue remains, what will the macro-culture of the nation look like? This concern is echoed through the pages of Allister Sparks’ book *Beyond the Miracle* when he says this: “What, ultimately, is to be the identifying culture of the new rainbow nation which faces the paradoxical challenge of trying to build national unity while preserving cultural differences and 11 official languages?” (Sparks 2003:6).

The balancing of the desire to see a new Southern African macro-culture emerge while still honouring the individual cultures represented is not an easy task especially for South Africa with so many ethnicities represented. Often the balance falls to the one side where for example individual ethnicity is over-ridden not so much by the drive for a new national identity as by a Western-oriented consumer lifestyle. And yet in Southern Africa, culture is such a delicate subject that the pendulum can easily be on the other side of the macro-culture/individual culture divide, such as the following reference shows:

A recent example of the misuse of cultural diversity in South Africa is that of Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party, who nearly pushed South Africa to the brink of disaster by arguing that a united South Africa would lead to the destruction of the so-called Zulu nation. This misuse of ethnic diversity in order to promote Zulu ethnic political life led to conflict, untold misery and the killing of over 4 000 people between 1991 and 1994. It remains a source of conflict which can be exploited for party political ends. Yet God’s gift of racial and cultural diversity should be seen as a source of strength and enrichment. Indeed, life would be dull and poor if different ethnic groups were to be reduced to sameness or one common denominator (Hulley, Kretzschmar & Pato 1996:44).

Unfortunately, as Sparks points out, this same kind of wrong use of ethnicity, but now at a national level between white and black in the new dispensation can also have a backfiring effect for the ANC. Sparks (2003:9) in this regard quotes Saki Macozoma on the way prominent white liberal intellectuals have been alienated often by false accusations from black politicians bent on accelerating their careers:

“Their alienation has had a great impact on how the discourse between the black political elite and the white community is conducted”, Macozoma writes. “The

casualty of this tension has largely been the project of creating a non-racial society.” Deploring this Macozoma calls on the country’s leaders “to rise above the chaff and the noise” and find ways to build bridges between the races. “The ideal of creating a non-racial society is unique to South Africa,” he adds. “There is no society in the world today that has achieved this ideal, and thus there are not many precedents to follow. Those of us who believe that this is the only type of society that will deliver harmony and prosperity to our people have to be steadfast, patient, creative and committed. We will zig and we will zag in our attempts to create a nonracial society, but we must continue to go forward.”

Desmond Tutu was queried by Allister Sparks as to whether he thought South Africa was making progress toward a multicultural society on his return from a church conference in Germany where he was shocked by the division between East and West, had this to say:

“Here are people who are the same ethnic group, who speak the same language, and yet they are very far from being reconciled” the little archbishop said. “And here we are with our many different races and our 11 official languages. I think it’s amazing that we have the level of stability that we have. Look at Northern Ireland, look at Yugoslavia. We could so easily have gone that way.” But we should not have unrealistic expectations Tutu warns. “It will take time to build a sense of national unity across such a wide spectrum of diversity with such a history of conflict.” ...It is a matter of inculcating a culture of mutual respect and tolerance. The differences of race, colour, culture, of the religious and the secular, of different perspectives and world views, will all remain, but as a society we must learn to contain them within a broad entente and hopefully infuse them with a transcendent sense of nationhood. To mix metaphors, the rainbow nation must be a mosaic society, not a melting pot, and for it to hold together and prosper we must be constantly aware of Isaiah Berlin’s warning about Schiller’s bent twig: groups can live together peacefully and even bent a little, but bend one too far with a sense of collective grievance or humiliation and it will lash back painfully. Like Desmond Tutu, I believe South Africans are learning that. We have made considerable progress along the rocky road from institutional racism to mutual tolerance (Sparks 2003:329-330).

Implications for a national macro-cultural identity from the strategic transcultural model

Can the strategic transcultural model effectively speak into the national context, in its need for a macro-cultural identity? Dawid Venter (1999:202) argues for structural isomorphism, as church and state grapple with the same issues, such as “a growing awareness of and rising levels of ethnic and linguistic diversity”, arising out of the need of both institutions to “organize the same type of diversity in terms of the same globalized norms”. In simpler terms, the church and state mirror each other as they grapple with the same ethnic and linguistic diversity against the backdrop of globalisation.

Various nation states have grappled with the issue of cultural diversity and Steven Vertovec mentions three modes of incorporation drawing on the work of the late M.G. Smith. He alludes to South Africa as having sought to address the issue with a form of *structural pluralism* involving institutionalised *differential incorporation* in which ethnic groupings are treated in a stratified manner as in South Africa’s own apartheid era. This was also seen

in the United States of America and Australia in their policies towards indigenous population groups early on. Other methods have been used such as in Switzerland or Belgium where a mode of *social pluralism* was used which seeks to institutionalise the various dominant ethnicities using “a condition of formal equivalence” and lastly *cultural pluralism* that seeks to incorporate all individuals in a uniform mode, which de-emphasises cultural distinctive, as is envisioned in Britain (Vertovec 1996:58-59).

In the last two modes that various states have chosen to grapple with cultural plurality, such approaches have either fallen to the one side or the other of the argument for preservation of individual culture as opposed to the alignment with the forces of globalization and a fast encroaching global or simply Western culture. Where the strategic transcultural model has something to offer the national scenario in the form developed in this thesis is that it has attempted for better or worse to develop a model that both enhances the multicultural dynamic while respecting the individual cultures represented. Of course some may argue that the battle is a foregone conclusion in favour of a global culture, but the immediate battle in Southern Africa is to preserve the cultural distinctive while also developing a unique national identity and not simply an isomorphic representation of the global image.

The state in a Southern African context can learn from the meso-level of the congregational situation by addressing itself to the need to retain cultural distinctive and the notion that any one individual can hold multiple identities. The *Strategic Transcultural Model* developed here points to evidence of more than one micro-cultural identity as is posed by the model’s focus on bi-cultural leaders and the desirability of early cross-cultural influences. The model also poses the need for a macro-cultural distinctive that overlaps all micro-cultures, from which the state can learn as it seeks to address the need for a national identity relevant to all. Interestingly Vertovec (2001:7) points to the new multicultural model evolving in Britain drawing on the *Parekh Report*, named after the commission’s chairperson, Lord Parekh (titled: *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* – published in 2000) as incorporating the understanding of “overlapping communities” and individuals’ possessing “multiple identities”. This concept of an individual holding multiple identities is seemingly a far more useful concept than a “national identity that is culturally plural” as Villa-Vicencio (1994:125) envisages, for where in this counter concept – albeit in a South African context now – is the unifying ingredient which will stop the “counter hegemonic rivalry”, Villa-Vicencio seeks to avoid?

In today’s urban world of the mega-city in which vibrant or alternate economies to the rural setting are providing – or are even perceived to be providing – a stimulus for new employment, many are being attracted to the larger cities in Southern Africa as in the world at large. Here in the cities, nationals of all different ethnicities in Zimbabwe and South Africa are mingling with others of African and international extraction in an environment where cultural distinction becomes blurred and formally held cultural lines are crossed every day. For example, in today’s South Africa it is entirely possible for a Xhosa man living in Gauteng to speak six official languages (Northern Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa, English and Afrikaans) be married to a Northern Sotho, have children raised whose mother tongue is English and be more conversant with Western business norms than tribal practices.

Such an individual, and more particularly his offspring, would have multiple micro-cultural identities all of which have become blurred and have somewhat merged into a black South African, Southern African and at times continental African macro-cultural identity. This

person may also possess a Western oriented macro-identity and fully appreciates the need for this to be a more integrated South African macro-cultural identity. It is in this world of multiple micro-cultural identities, blurred cultural distinctive, and macro-cultural Western and African oriented identities – this world of multiple identities – that a government in a Southern African context can help to retain micro-cultural customs and language which otherwise may be lost for ever. While at the same time building beyond a specifically white or black macro-cultural distinctive to a truly South African or Zimbabwean macro-cultural identity that embraces all as is implied by the transcultural leadership model.

There are multiple arenas of influence afforded to the state where the model produced in this thesis, and the lessons learnt by numerous multicultural Christian organisations could be brought to bear. However this thesis will contain itself to at most the general application and not to the detail of specific arenas where it might be applied. The model points to a team leadership in state-sponsored structures – whether for example in schooling or in the political domains – which is inclusive in its cultural and gender diversity as well as the skills and passions that its members represent. Leadership of such a scenario can most easily be achieved by an executive team that has been exposed early on to multiple cultures and/or is diverse in its composition.

Beyond going through a list of criteria directly derived from Table 7.6.1, some of which are gleaned in any case by the political inputs to the model, the relevance of leaders as role models who can traverse the socio-political boundaries with a greater ease than is normative to society at large and the instilling of a national philosophy of inclusivity should not be underestimated. This thesis argues that the realisation of a nationally relevant macro-cultural identity requires that individual culture, bi-culturalism and multiculturalism be fostered at the local level through the educational arena or other local structures. This will ensure that not only will the individual cultures be safeguarded but a new macro-cultural identity will arise over time on the national level, and one that engenders a South African or Zimbabwean sense of self-worth. In this regard, the government is not the only player, but is recognised as a co-player alongside, for example the arts and media, both of which can and do play a significant role in fostering both ethnic distinction and a new macro-cultural identity.

In the two nation states of South Africa and Zimbabwe ethnic distinction is fast becoming a thing of the past and nations once rich with cultural currency are becoming bankrupt almost overnight due to the impact of globalisation and local policies such as the mass urban high density housing schemes that in South Africa do not consider ethnicity a critical factor in neighbourhood, nor are cultural structures that build community even planned for. In such dire circumstances, which are reflected to a lesser extent in the inner-city and low density urban environs, an authentic macro-cultural identity – in which one is first for example *proudly South African* and secondly *proudly a Xhosa* – may be achieved, not primarily by some sort of cultural osmosis as may be implied by Mbeki's romanticising of a singular South African heritage in the past (Mbeki 1998), but by cultural interaction; or as Villa-Vicencio (1992:120) describes it, "genuine encounter"; and a diversity role modelled from the top down. The achievement of such an identity requires a strategic inculcation of a series of progressive measures that instils a new sense of nationhood while honouring the individual cultures represented. This progressive vision is instilled not only by policy and political speech, but as Madiba so ably employed, by role modelling in daily situations as well as taking into account various structures of community in society at large.

Societal structures are reflected by the church's micro (cell/house church), meso (congregations) and macro levels (denominations/interdenominational networking). At the micro level the nuclear family could be encouraged to instil a pride in their root cultures while for example fostering a child of another race. At the meso level, schools among other community structures can play a valuable role in racial integration while at the macro level, the state needs to revisit a sense of Kingdom often lost in modern nationhood where individual aspirations of career and wealth are often valued more than a sense of loyalty to King and country. And in a postmodern scenario at least in South Africa and Zimbabwe where Kings are fast fading, even if they do exist in the form of paramount chiefs and tribal monarchs, the Church has the edge. For it is the church singularly that recognises a King whose dominion crosses all ethnic and tribal boundaries and who seeks a loyalty even beyond a national patriotism. And it is the Church who believes it is Jesus as the only true *Kyrios* who can demand ultimate allegiance.

7.9 The Ongoing Synthesis and Vision for a Strategic Transcultural Community

In such an ongoing self-analysis, it may be important to supplement local experience already explored by looking further afield for answers to the questions of how the church can glean for itself strategies for implementing a concept of a *Strategic Transcultural Leadership Model* and secondly a vision of its intended goal. This analysis will look firstly to the strategies that assist a congregation or a local branch of a Christian organisation in traversing societal boundaries and then in turn indicate ways in which the church can help to rebuild culture for individuals who have lost their root culture and for others who seek a new identity beyond the subcultures of their immediate environment. In this respect Kelly provides a startling picture of Graceway Church in Auckland, New Zealand that uses a contextualised form of Communion Liturgy, bearing a bicultural message of peace to a people seeking reconciliation, which may well instruct the Southern African context:

Jan: Waitangi Day,
Where Maori and Pakeha wanted to be one,
Hoping for security,
Dreaming of biculturalism.

Jan: We who are many are one body.
Tony: *Ka whatiia e tatou tenei taro.*

Tony: Communion,
Where God wants us to be one,
Hoping for restitution,
dreaming of full and final settlement.

...

Tony: Communion. [RAISE CUP]
Take this and drink it. This is my blood.
Jesus, broken, that we might be one.
Jan: We who are many are one body.
Tony: *Ka whatiia e tatou tenei taro.*

Jan: Waitangi Day – Divided Day.
 We hear the protest from our margins.
 We hear the rage of the disillusioned.

Tony: Communion.
 And so we are God's body,
 Caught in the projection of bread and wine.
 We are bringers of peace. We are messengers of hope.

Jan: Communion – brokenness that we might be one.
 Take this and eat.
 Take this and bring peace... (Kelly 1999:178-179).

Gerard Kelly comments further on Graceway Church beyond the context of the Eucharist:

Steve Taylor, also a New Zealander, is pastor of Graceway Church in Auckland. Much of what happens at Graceway is geared to a postmodern generation, and running through the church's approach is the thread of contextualization: seeking to live authentically in a nation that is at once both ancient and postmodern. Graceway services are 'strongly aware of the contemporary culture and the need to contextualize: TV advertisements, video and slides are used to introduce worship, as "worship wallpaper" and as sites for prayer.' And many aspects of Maori culture –indigenous to New Zealand since the Stone Age –are explored and honored. The heart of the church's mission is expressed in the ancient Maori cry '*He tangata, He tangata, He tangata*' ('the people, the people, the people') (Kelly 1999:188).

The church in a Southern African city context would do well to find similar synergistic threads that might weave a church. Such threads might include affirming each other's cultural distinctive in song and dance. The New Zealand example demonstrated that threads of combined identity can be woven by integrating the act of reconciliation in the Eucharist and sacrament in a *garment* whose *fabric* displays something of the past while its *new rich threads* show something of the present, and in its *style* something of the future. This may only be possible if men and women truly know what it is to love all as their own people within the context of a community, acknowledge their past (their roots, both triumphant and disastrous), understand their present purpose in life and by faith take hold of where they are heading ultimately/spiritually (their ultimate destiny). It was these four aspects which were displayed by Jesus (Jn 13:1-5), and formed his basis for identity and security, so much so that he could take on a servant role and wash his disciples feet.

In looking to the ongoing synthesis, another arena beyond the Eucharist that can be exploited to enhance both the richness of cultural diversity in the macro-cultural domain and the cultural distinctive within the individual micro-cultural domain is the arena of celebration. Celebration in a multicultural/multilingual context can take the form of two major modes of expressions. The first mode of celebration is seen in a *celebration of trans-cultural distinctive* and of a belonging to something greater than the individual cultures (enhancing the macro-cultural/multicultural identity) which would use as its basis the common *lingua-franca* and Christian ethos of reconciliation expressed within the particular congregation (the universality of the gospel). The second mode of celebration is seen in a

celebration of the cultural distinctive and of a belonging to something local or immediate (enhancing the micro-cultural or individual tribal identities) which uses individual culture and languages and an ethos that respects and values the individual cultures represented. It is specifically within these two acts of Eucharist and celebration that a church can help an individual who has lost their cultural distinctive to reclaim their roots. It is also within these and other acts of community and spirituality that a person who feels dehumanised by excessive consumerism, Western individualism, or a global homogeneity, to claim a new culture for themselves, one that is truly multicultural or even transcultural (bridging or traversing the cultures) and thus claim a new rich heritage for themselves. Charles Villa-Vicencio (1994:122) similarly argues on a theological level for an “epistemology that *integrates* rather than separates the particular and the universal.”

As has already been mentioned, churches seeking to broaden their cultural base should review the whole worship service from the liturgy or open format employed through to the prayers, readings, idiomatic expressions employed and the style of teaching to determine how integrated the components that make up a worship service are. Dawid Venter (1999:110-114) suggests and offers a means of measuring the integration based on the number of languages actually used in any one component and also offers insight by looking at the integration of the various components of community such as the leadership, programmes and home groups. But beyond these factors, the church needs to look at unsanctioned work and how its membership responds to the greater environment in the home, work-place and extra-mural activities as well as the natural social mix and sacrificial service and love – the *Koinonia* – of its membership. These cannot be forced and are hard to measure, but need to be examined, as a measure of the health of a transculturally reconciling community (a label indicating process as no one community has fully arrived at an ultimate expression of this yet).

A transcultural community requires both correction and inspiration. Orlando Costas provides a striking insight into the context of the United States which has direct bearing on the Southern African scenario. He starts by mentioning:

It is a fact that, at a time when important sectors of mainline Christianity have become stagnant and dry, and when leading sectors of the evangelical, fundamentalist, and charismatic movements have embarked on a neo-Christendom project incorporating the illusion of a Pax Americana and an exclusivist, revived “American dream,” large sectors of the church of the poor and disenfranchised are bearing vigorous witness to the gospel – without fanfare, financial resources, and academically qualified personnel. Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American churches and Christians, in partnership with a minority from the mainstream society that has identified itself with the poor, the powerless, and the oppressed of the land, are witnessing to the new world order announced in the gospel – *outside* the realm of economic wealth, military might, and political power, and *inside* the world of millions who are being wasted by numerous forms of social, economic, and political evils (Costas 1982:184-185).

These words of Costas’ as with his ensuing interpretation of the prophecy of Joel (2:28-29), is in the light of North American society in the Reagan era, but its applicability to the present day Bush presidency is uncanny:

“And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. Even upon the menservants and maidservants in those days, I will pour out my spirit.”

Yes indeed, even in the dark 1980's, the old and the young, the menservants and maidservants, the people on the fringes of American society, are beginning to have visions: visions of a more wholesome and fraternal society; visions of a *pax humana*, more enduring, lasting, and inclusive than the Pax Americana; visions of an outpouring of the Spirit on all flesh, the Spirit of the living God – ...the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has pitched his tent among the poor and disenfranchised of the world and has become part of our frail history, suffering for us and with us (Costas 1982:185).

Southern Africa is in danger of visions of a *pax Africa* seen as the salvific component to our existence. Not that a vision for an African Renaissance is all bad, but seen as the be all and end all it becomes an empty vision of a dream without a reality beyond its cultural, economic and human components. In Zimbabwe, specifically, the dream is interpreted more directly in terms of the acquisition of land, back into the hands of Africa's indigenous sons and daughters, a situation in which the President of Zimbabwe in black Africa's eyes has had the courage of conviction to ignore Western demands – British and American *neo-imperialist* dictates – and has scorned the West's neo-colonial offspring even with their gifts of agricultural know-how and versatility. In doing so the vision cast and strategy implemented in Zimbabwe has caused a nation to embark on a course of action that because of a lack of transcultural foresight – which would deem all to have their place and all to be sons and daughters of Africa – has ended in a self-destruction of a once prosperous nation. In seeking the peace and indeed the land of Africa, nationalistic visions of exclusivity threaten to shipwreck the nation-states of Southern Africa even as Zimbabwe bears witness to the fact.

Instead a peace should be sought which is not based on African tribes and nationals regaining their heritage and land, national power, regional prestige or even the economic upliftment of the African subcontinent south of the Sahara – though these are all worthy aspirations in their place – but in a transculturally based peace. The peace would ideally be based in an understanding that crosses all racial boundaries, and yet respects the sensitivities of the individual cultures within a *rainbow nation* as Mandela and Tutu envisioned, and with a humble understanding of, for example, South Africa's role within the family of nations as Smuts would have us see. This understanding of role within a greater family, but on a city-wide or urban level can be aided by the invaluable, but primarily rural, work of Samuel Mutendi, which assists us in painting a vision of what can be within the newly evolving multicultural urban environs. This picture begins to emerge, when a teachable spirit is adopted – once prejudice over real and supposed syncretism is put aside, better still confessed, for it truly exists in us all – due to the significant contributions of the African Initiated Churches (AICs) in bringing about a trans-tribal community among the poorer sectors of society. Their work is creating a people out of multiple tribes with a sense of new tribal focus in the *New Jerusalem – Zion City* – that starts here on earth by addressing their pressing socio-religious needs. In doing so they have set the standard for the newly emerging transcultural model of church in the cities of

Southern Africa, that sees in them – the AICs – the hope for a reconciled community on earth as the very basis for a new Jerusalem that in its final expression is yet to come.

The penultimate level of community is the family of humanity on a global scale. Tom Sine, envisioning God's plan for the future of humanity – avoiding the trap of a consumer driven global culture – sees a different kind of globalism, which impacts the grassroots of community. A global culture that has “more to do with making a difference than with making a dollar, ...more to do with creating a new reconciled global community of justice and celebration than with the production of a new global community of consumption, ...more to do with coming home to Jerusalem than Babylon” (Sine 1999:22).

Beyond even the global, perhaps a cosmic sense of reality and of Kingdom, as Cassidy would espouse, is a fitting final image of community. An image which perhaps the closest thing on earth that has represented this is the creation of the Kingdom of Lesotho out of many peoples by its founding King, Moshoeshe. The Revelation of John captures the essence of this final image, a vision of a song sung by the Angelic host accompanied by the heavenly creatures and the twenty-four elders – are these the angelic and human leadership teams who act as councillors for all creation and the new Jerusalem, at least in metaphorical expression? Each holding the prayers of the faithful yearning for something more than has already been tentatively expressed by a fallen community. Prayers of hope that they on earth will reflect the great heavenly throng – just as promised Abraham, as “the sand on the seashore” – in a Kingdom bearing both the mark of the *Lord of the Cosmos* and the mark of “every tribe ... people and nation” – offering these, each in their own tongue, to the Lamb:

“You are worthy to take the scroll and to open its seals,
for you were slaughtered and by your blood you ransomed for God
saints from every tribe and language and people and nation;
you have made them to be a kingdom and priests serving our God,
and they will reign on earth.”

Then I looked, and I heard the voice of many angels surrounding the throne and the living creatures and the elders; they numbered myriads of myriads and thousands of thousands, singing with full voice,

“Worthy is the Lamb who was slaughtered
to receive power and wealth and wisdom and might
and honour and glory and blessing (Rev 5:9-13 NRSV).

7.10 Concluding Remarks

Was the thesis proposition substantiated and were the thesis' objectives achieved?

The proposition presented at the beginning of this thesis was that a *successful incarnation of the gospel into a multicultural context requires models of leadership that both enhance multiculturalism and also promote the underlying multiple cultures albeit from the platform of a common – but not exclusive – language and ethos*. This thesis sought to demonstrate that the multicultural model of leadership, first seen in Paul was evident to varying degrees, but in a manner conducive to the times, in successful strategic transcultural models of leadership in Southern Africa. In Section 7.6 and subsection: *How the refined strategic transcultural model measures up to the thesis proposition*, the author sets out in detail how

a transcultural model of leadership can both enhance the multicultural dynamic while also promoting the micro-cultures, within every element (structures, styles, values, transcultural ability and philosophical/belief systems) of the *model of leadership*.

However, what cannot be conclusively proven is that a *successful incarnation of the gospel into a multicultural context* requires the promotion of both multiculturalism and the underlying micro-cultures. For though these aspects were present to varying degrees in all the six Southern African leadership (three Christian and three political) models analysed, as seen particularly in the structures employed, the substantiation of this by interviewing only three overall leaders within only three working scenarios (Table 7.5.2) was not seen as reasonable grounds for justifying the proposition of the thesis. Indeed, this would have required an analytical survey, which was not the purpose of a thesis attempting to break new ground such as this one has endeavoured to do. Nor can it be conclusively said that in order to achieve this dual cultural goal that a common language and ethos is necessary in every case. However what can be said is that in every case, including the three working scenarios used as a litmus test and in the leadership model of Paul, all the models analysed drew a following and/or had a leadership executive team beyond just one culture, seen as evidence of a Christian ethos of reconciliation – enhancing the multicultural dynamic.

Balancing this ethos of reconciliation, an ethos of honouring individual cultures/people and a culture of tolerance is employed, thus promoting the micro-cultural expressions. The honouring of the individual cultures (micro-cultures) was seen in Mandela's tolerance for other cultures; in Smuts' bi-lingual schooling system; and in Moshoeshoe's acceptance of other cultural practices in the outer marches of his Kingdom; in Mutendi's acceptance of Ndebele leadership; in Tutu's use of Zulu Bishops in negotiations with Buthelezi; and in Cassidy's utilization of grassroots styles of evangelism in reaching the cities of Africa. In every case a common *lingua-franca* (in most cases beyond Mutendi's border churches, this was English) was also employed. These aspects of a Christian ethos of reconciliation and honouring the micro-cultures, as well as a common *lingua-franca* were also present to varying degrees in the model of Paul and the three working Christian scenarios.

The Christian teaching of reconciliation was surprisingly evident in all six Southern African leadership models, a teaching which was strongly evident in Paul's life, enhancing the multicultural basis of community, and yet was not immediately evident within the three working scenarios, but nevertheless was inherent within each model used as a litmus test. Notably this ethos of reconciliation was seen within the need for a "heart for the nations" – Hugo; "the household of God" – Sibanda; and a "passion for the Kingdom" – Swart. An ethos of honouring all the micro-cultures was seen in Sibanda's use of bulletins and songs in all three languages (Shona, Ndebele and English); in Hugo's use of multiple worship styles (reformed, evangelical and charismatic) and in Swart's emphasis on celebration and the four dominant spiritualities (the rational, emotive, mystic and participatory).

This aspect of honouring all the micro-cultures was also evident in the Pauline model, as expressed in the Corinthian church's use of Psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, which this thesis perceives to be the Jewish song-forms, widely held Christian song-forms and more contextualised inspirational song-forms sung in Greek, respectively (cf Gilliland 1998:226-227). The concept of a truly multicultural or transcultural worship expression is particularly pertinent to the Southern African context in which a mono-cultural Western, or bi-cultural parallel model is often uncritically employed even within a multicultural setting.

Even though the thesis proposition cannot be conclusively proven, the analysis of the six (three political and three Christian) Southern African leaders in terms of a pre-set model of leadership not only fulfilled one of the primary objectives of this thesis, but together with the analysis below added substance to the thesis' proposition. It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that if this proposition was correct, "then the key aspects held within the elements of these models ... of leadership, present in both Pauline and the Southern African multicultural leadership models analysed in this thesis should also be visible in growing multicultural church models today." It was found that not only did the all six leadership models analysed have a high degree of correlation within the key elements they displayed, that made up this thesis' concept of a *model of leadership* (Tables 4.5.1 and 5.5.1), as they did with Paul's (Table 7.3.1), but the three Christian working multicultural models (Table 7.5.2) also showed many of the same key aspects in this regard.

Some of the correlating aspects of each element within the models of leadership analysed were that all, without exception had two aspects to their leadership styles, which were the bold-decisive-visionary style and the collaborative-consensus-collegiate style. Although these two styles were not in the same order of dominance in each leader, both were always present. In a similar regard most expressed all the situational leadership and situational apprenticeship styles (S1 to S4 and AS1 to AS4 respectively), with the exception that Smuts does not appear to display the S2 style (persuasive-consensus) and possibly jumps to the AS2 style within his situational apprenticeship styles if his early childhood relationship with his Khoi mentor – Outa Adams – is seen to be too far removed from his subsequent leadership training (possibly this is an incorrect assumption though). Interestingly only one other leader within the three working scenarios – Stefaan Hugo – showed this ability to jump in his apprenticeship, but again this may well have been a function of his early learning as the son of missionary parents, while the lack of an S2 leadership style is also seen in Cassidy, who along with Smuts struggled to delegate. However apart from these exceptions all quadrants of the *Situational Leadership* and *Situational apprenticeship Models* were present in each leader.

Secondly, though the structures utilised by each varied substantially, within these structures all six Southern African leaders showed a propensity to work in small cell structures and/or small bands of dedicated followers initially as was the case with Mutendi's and Cassidy's evangelistic bands and indeed was also seen in the Pauline Apostolic teams/house-churches. This concept of cells/house churches was seen in the two working scenarios headed by Sibhekinkosi Sibanda and Martiens Swart respectively, but appeared to be absent at first in the leadership model of Stefaan Hugo, except that it was experienced early on in his own training with Youth With a Mission (YWAM) and later in his own base leadership team in Worcester. All six Southern African leaders showed a propensity for networking beyond their own immediate arena of influence, or were by virtue of their structure networked into a transnational community, which is also expressed in the three working cases and in Paul's networking of the city house-churches, and with the Gentile city churches and Jerusalem. In all six models analysed there was a multicultural basis to their membership/following, and in most cases there was found to be a multicultural executive leadership, also seen in Paul's Apostolic teams comprising people of bi-cultural heritage or cross-cultural experience, and was present too in all three working scenarios.

Thirdly the values did vary substantially, an aspect possibly of personal prioritisation, but they were not seen to clash in any respect. Unity (noting Cassidy's ecumenism and

Christian fellowship) and reconciliation were expressed in all six Southern African leadership models and also Paul's model of leadership, which were seen to a lesser degree, but still evident in the three working models of leadership (reconciliation has already been accounted for and it can be seen that they displayed unity in their values of friendship-community and hospitality).

Fourthly the respective transcultural ability of all six Southern African leaders was strongly associated with their Christian beliefs and to a lesser degree in an appreciation for other philosophies – particularly *Satyagraha* and *Ubuntu*. Though this appreciation for other philosophies was seen within Paul's use of mystery terminology and Stoic concepts, this was not substantiated by its presence in any of the three Christian working multicultural models. In every case an early transcultural exposure and/or a bi-cultural heritage, and/or a cross-cultural foster role, played a part in their transcultural ability. This was present in Paul's own bi-cultural heritage, and was seen in the leadership models of the working scenarios, with the exception of Swart who acknowledges the racism experienced early on in his family, and that he managed to overcome this based solely on the biblical mandate, Paul's example and the Pauline concepts portrayed in the letter to the Ephesians. And lastly the political/philosophical beliefs of all six leaders analysed varied greatly except that in every case they adhered to a foundational Christian belief, as was also seen in the three working leadership scenarios and fairly obviously in the life of Paul.

Another objective of this thesis was to make initial suggestion into the arena of a macro-cultural or national identity based on the perception that the transcultural leadership model developed in this thesis should give an initial indication of the basis for an integrated national identity. This was achieved and is laid out in some detail in Section 7.8 above, and specifically addresses the need to appreciate that more than one identity can be held at one and the same time. While an ethos of inclusivity is also an important aspect of a national identity, the concept of an individual holding multiple identities, with a single macro-cultural identity that covers all, is seemingly a far more useful concept in a Southern African context, than a "culturally plural" national identity as Villa-Vicencio (1994:125) portrays. For how would a model reminiscent of Belgium's *social pluralism* or *formal equivalence* (Vertovec 1996:58) help nations such as Zimbabwe and South Africa avoid, in the future, the same kind of racial violence of the past?

The example within the Christian organisational context of the influence wielded for a macro-cultural identity using the micro-level of the cell group, the meso-level of the congregation and the macro-level of denominational/interdenominational networking has direct implications for using a broad-based means of influence in state structures for the same end. It was also noted at various points throughout the thesis (cf Tables 7.5.1; 7.5.2; 7.6.1 – "Structures" and notes on tribal/multi/three tier structures) that these three levels of cell, congregation and Kingdom were given new synergistic meaning as they reflected the family/extended family, clan/tribe and nation/kingdom within the tribal setting. In a similar vein, the respective societal levels of the nuclear family, community structures and a sense of Kingdom within modern nationhood need to be addressed by the State.

A third objective of this thesis was to propose initial concepts of Pauline structures of belief and community as a basis for future investigation into the structures required within the context of Southern Africa for growing effective multicultural structures of belief and community. This tertiary objective was achieved in that an initial concept of Pauline

structures of belief and community were posited in Figures 3.8.2 and 3.9 of Chapter 3 and again in Section 7.4 of this chapter. Concepts of contextualisation inherent within these Pauline structures of belief and community (see Sections 3.9 and 3.10 respectively) have been portrayed but not dealt with in any significant detail beyond Paul's method of addressing the multiple beliefs inherent within the Graeco-Roman worldview (see Section 3.9, Figure 3.9.1) of Paul's day. While Paul's influence in effecting a cultural transformation which demanded ultimate allegiance to Christ and emphasised Christian values and beliefs and a multicultural community, was clearly seen in the evolution of a *third race* whose transcultural nature was seen supremely – theologically speaking – in the triumphal declaration of Jesus Christ being the one true Kyrios and also in Paul's theologies of reconciliation and election. While pragmatically, the coming to the fore of a *third race* was seen in the Christian community's unprecedented widespread expression of fellowship – in the house-church's multicultural expression in worship and in the sharing of meals – a *Koinonia* which broke the Jewish-Gentile divide. This however has been left in a semi open-ended state for future research, and thus this objective was also achieved.

Areas for Future Research

As mentioned above, the Pauline structures of belief and community require further research, especially if they are to be used as a basis for exploring how contextually relevant structures can be employed within the Christian organisational context of the cities of Southern Africa. The concept of a relevant belief structure was dealt with most clearly in Mutendi's belief system in Chapter 5, but is also evidenced partially within the beliefs/philosophies employed by each of the Southern African leaders analysed, as was the concept of a relevant structure of community within the structures each employed.

Each of the three political leaders and three Christian leaders might easily warrant independent studies as to their models of leadership, if the value of their life's work and contributions to national and/or tribal change is to be done a greater degree of justice than a thesis of this nature has done, which uses multiple leadership models as a means to give a reasonable grounds for an initial understanding of what a transcultural model of leadership might look like. Initially, six different denominational leaders were to be addressed and a greater degree of understanding of the comparative strengths and inherent weaknesses of different denominational models could have been afforded by such a study. However, three political leaders and three Christian leaders were in the end chosen as the value of this from a historical basis (understanding the context) and the postmodern dynamic of not dividing church and state, but rather placing a value on the impact of Christian teachings on political leaders, and their impact in turn on Christian leadership, was deemed to far outweigh the benefit of analysing only Christian leaders. The value of this, particularly within a Southern African context, where such a strict division of church and state, for better or worse, has not really at any time existed was seen to be particularly pertinent.

Lastly, another area of research left for the future could be the extension of a more thorough analytical questionnaire or series of questions posited in an interview setting to more than the three overall leaders of the three Christian working multicultural models analysed. More than one leader per organisation could be analysed and a greater number of churches and/or para-churches interviewed, such that a statistically based analysis of a transcultural model/models of leadership within a thesis could be conducted in the future, which could be used as a means of corroborating or negating the proposition of this thesis.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMINOLOGY

- Apartheid* – Separate development
agape – God’s unconditional love
Amandla ngawethu! – The power is ours! [Nguni]
amakhandas – royal homesteads
balimo – ancestral spirits
Basotho – the Southern Sotho People
baas – boss
bohali – cattle paid as the bride-price / the marriage cattle
burgers – comrades; soldiers; commandos; “rugged outdoorsmen”
carpe diem – seize the moment
charismata – spiritual gifts
Chimurenga – the Liberation War.
Cosmic – Universal; all-encompassing
cosmos – world; the human or created domain; visible and invisible universe
cum laude – with distinction; with honours
dare – court; church council (of Mutendi)
dei filius – Son of God
die Swart Gevaar – the Black Danger
domas – atrium houses
Dominee – Church Minister or Pastor [Afrikaans]
eikon – icon
ekklesia – the town assembly
ekklesia theou – the assembly called by God
episkopoi – bishops
familia – extended family network or Roman household
familia caesaris – Caesar’s household or extended family network
gravitas – a persona of seriousness
Harambee – pulling together (Swahili)
he kat`oikon – house church or home fellowship
hole he ekklesia – the assembling of the whole church in any one city or place
huis toe – go home; return home [Afrikaans]
hy of sy is, tweetalig – he or she is bilingual [speaks fluently in Afrikaans and English]
imago Dei – image of God
Imana – God
imprimatur – imprint; insignia
insulae – apartments
Induna – Chief or state officials [or *izinduna*]
kairos – the moment of truth; divine timing
Komotso – the one who comforts the afflicted
koinonia – fellowship or sacrificial service associated with the voluntary societies or Christian House Church
kugadzira – the traditional rite of the veneration and communion with the deceased
kupira midzimu – the worship of ancestors; ancestor worship
Kyrios – Lord; Divine One
laager – larger; an enclosure that traditionally was formed by circling the wagons
lekhotla – the Sotho chief’s court
Letlama – The binder

letona – a councillor [plural see *matona*- councillors]
lifaqane – the period of savage raiding [Sotho]
Lingaka – a common word for all herbalists, diviners and rainmakers
lingua franca – universally recognized language of choice
logos – word
mafisa system – the state was the technical owner of the cattle which in theory was incorporated into the national herd, but in practice its subjects retained them in a stewardship arrangement.
Mai – Mother; Mrs
Mambo – King
Maranatha – Come, Lord
Matla ke a rona – The power is ours! [Sotho]
Matlama – The binders
matona – councillors [singular see *letona*]
Melimo – The deceased chiefs having served their people well, who are given divine status
Melimo e mecha rapelang Molimo oak hale – New gods, pray for us to the God of old
Messiah – The Christ
mfecane or *mfekane* – the period of savage raiding [Nguni]
mhondoro – senior tribal spirits or “hero-gods”
midzimu – ancestors (plural)
moderamen – executive (of the General Synod)
modus operandi – mode of operation; model of life
Molimo – the Supreme Being; the God of old; the “Creator”
Morena – Chief
Morena e Moholo – a Great Chief, or King
Mosuto – a Sotho person
Muali – God the sower; the God of Fertility
mudzimu – ancestor (singular)
mufundisi – minister
mukuru – senior; elder
musterion or *mysterion* – mystery
Mwari – God; Lord of the Heavens; the Highest God
Mwari vaMatonjeni (or *Mwari waMatonjeni*) – the God (or the high god) of Matonjeni
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk – Dutch Reformed Church (*N G Kerk*- DRC).
Nkosi – King
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica – God bless Africa
oikonomia – the community of a household
oikos – family or household
pater patriae – father of the country
Paulus – Paul in Greek
pax (of Augustus) – peace (during the reign of Augustus)
Pax-Romana – the Peace extended by the Roman Empire; the “Peace of Rome”.
Pax-Humana – the Peace of Mankind.
pitso – a tribal gathering where Sotho men participated in a process of decision making that affected the whole tribe or the whole nation.
polis – public affairs
politeia – public life of the city-state
potestas – the authority of a husband/ married man over his family in Roman society
runyaradzo – a ceremony of consolation and conducting the deceased to heaven

Ruach – spirit; wind; Breath of God
Satyagraha – Philosophy of non-violence (used by Gandhi)
Saul – Paul in Hebrew
Sekuru – elder; senior
Shema – A Jewish holy saying: “Hear O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord.”
slim Jannie – clever (small) Jan
Soter – Saviour
Swart Gevaar – Black Danger
Tertium genus – a third race
thiasos anthropon – human association
tsotsis – bad people, thugs, bullies
Tu Quoque – you also
ubuntu – one exist because the people exists; you can do nothing apart from others
Umkhonto we Sizwe – The Spear of the Nation
Umteteli Wa Bantu – Spokesperson for The People
Unkulunkulu – the Great/great/One [Zulu for God]; the Greatest of the great [Ndebele]
Vafundisi – ministers
vahosi – the lead women
vanyai – messengers
vaRosvi – the Rozvi
volk – people [often referring to the Afrikaners]

BIBLICAL REFERENCES

All biblical references are taken from the New International Version (NIV) unless otherwise specified or unless they appear as part of a quotation. Other translations as specified in the text were used to provide clarity or emphasis where the NIV was seen not to provide the necessary concepts or perspective, or for comparison or contrast, and are the:

NRSV- The New Revised Standard Version

Author’s Paraphrase- The author of this thesis has deliberately paraphrased

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Interviews Regarding Moshoeshoe

Interview with Prof Naomi Morgan, Head of the French section, Dept. of Afrikaans, Dutch and French for the University of the Free State, on Friday 11th March 2005 at 11:30am in Bloemfontein, South Africa (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Professor Morgan, an expert on French Missionaries, Casalis and Arbousset, has also done a significant degree of research into Moshoeshoe and his relationship to the missionaries.

Question by the interviewer: “Was there ways in which Moshoeshoe’s thinking as he imbibed a western thinking actually permanently changed the way the BaSotho looked at life. Or do you think it was mostly a ‘semi-state’ [of thought] for while he was still alive?”

Prof Morgan: “I think the answer is pretty complex. I think on a religious level the change was pretty permanent. Lesotho today is a very religious country. ...It is a Christian country and interestingly if you were to compare the present day King Letsie with for example Mswati from Swaziland, Letsie is a monogamous king, which is not the case with the Swazi king. So in a sense it has come full circle – the one problem that Moshoeshoe had and Moshoeshoe did not want to give up (a hundred wives) either. And in the same way that cattle were part of your riches, so were your wives. And it did take time, there was a permutation process, but if you look at where we are today, the fact that it is virtually a monogamous society, maybe there are social circumstances in which people have affairs or whatever, but it’s no longer part of their culture to be polygamous. In many instances I can understand that from a leadership point of view polygamy is a good thing. Just because in a polygamous society women are in a sense protected. You have no unmarried women. They may be ill-treated within their own marriage, but you don’t have to worry about women living alone, women having to fend for themselves. Everyone is in a sense sort of within a framework and the idea and social concept of celibacy does not exist. In a sense ... I’m trying to understand why polygamy exists and I think the original idea was not just because men have exaggerated needs, I really don’t think so. I think its because its just a way of having close knit community. ...And it is a way of genetically drawing people into the same tribe.”

Professor Morgan then went on to compare what happened with the French Huguenot settlers in Stellenbosch and there integration into the Dutch community by the insistence that their daughters marry outside their immediate community.

Morgan: “...The best way to integrate is cross-cultural marriages.”

Professor Morgan then related the well known account of how Moshoeshoe sent two hundred head of cattle to appease the Ndebele invaders whom he had already beaten off.

Morgan: “The concept of sending cattle, which is also in a sense almost a Christian value. It’s turning the other cheek, but you don’t even need to because you were the one that slaps. Which is unthinkable – there had been no precedent, no model – where did this shrewdness come from, this diplomacy. But at the same time it is really pragmatic – he knew that there would be more battles, and that a small kingdom such as his was in dire need of allies. He was shrewd, but also pragmatic as well as innovative: there were no role models who could have inspired such behaviour. Once again if you remember what

happened in Shaka's time – remember that episode where he's interested in the way human life develops within pregnant women and he cuts them up alive to see. And you take another example – the Xhosa prophetess Nomquasi – who says they must kill all their cattle and then new cattle, will come from the sea....”

“So on the one hand you have these scenes of complete desolation, cattle skulls and whatever, and this doesn't seem to bother the chiefs, and on the other hand you have these really wonderful descriptions in the missionary excursion by Arbousset where he travels with Moshoeshe. And Moshoeshe is absolutely pained and says: ‘When I was a young boy this was fertile land, look at it now and look at the skulls, look at the bones. This is complete desolation, this cannot go on, we have to change the ways’. And that to me is real statesmanship! In other words: ‘I will have to make concessions’. And he really makes them! He includes people from other tribes, he invites missionaries, he accepts a religion that goes contrary to everything that he knows and believes, like polygamy. He even changes the way people are buried.”

Talking about the controversy surrounding Moshoeshe's turning or not turning to Christianity, Professor Morgan went on to relate the following:

“There is the idea that if he were to convert he would have gone the Catholic way, because he liked the idea of spectacle, the incense, the music and the colours, these things that really appealed to him, as he had a sense of theatre. I don't mean in a frivolous or superficial way.”

Interviewer: “Where do you see his values /model of leadership coming from? Traditional world view/ belief system or some from slightly Christian inputs? How do you see that?”

Morgan: “I see his style as being very pragmatic. And his pragmatism to me is a mixture of many things. I think he was (sometimes nations are lucky and they get) the right man at the right time. Even if it didn't last, Lesotho had its golden era or its golden century and many countries only have that once. For many it was the seventeenth or eighteenth century, at least it had that! He did come from a traditional background but at the same time he was never hampered by traditionalism. ...If he were a pure traditionalist it implies not changing, keeping to the known paths, but at the same time he realizes this isn't going to help him much. Once again if we take the comparison with Shaka, Shaka also evolved as far as his military techniques were concerned but in a sense it was within the traditional framework. There is that famous horn formation and we know he did some research on the spear and the shield [modifying both] – evolving existing weaponry. But Moshoeshe – he makes this enormous jump, he's never seen a horse before and he has this idea that he could have cavalry. They have always used assegais and their spears and he sees what guns can do and Shaka did not do that. He [Shaka] probably saw them being used by the English but he did not make the jump across. A traditionalist yes, but [for Moshoeshe] pragmatism always has the last word!”

As far as the Christian religion is concerned it is always difficult for us to see whether he did this out of a certain belief or just because he saw the good effects of religion. And maybe we need to be pragmatists ourselves and tell ourselves if a leader can see it's better to have the good effects of Christianity even if you are not a Christian yourself, then it's the next best thing! If we can compare what Napoleon, who converted cathedrals into temples

of reason and then brought back the Christian religion, even though he probably thought it's just a lot of humbug, because it was easier to rule people not because it's the 'Opiate of the masses' but because it gives them a moral code. He can appeal to their sense of moral responsibility. Whereas without that you've got nothing – this I think Moshoeshoe saw as well. What is extraordinary is that Napoleon came from a Bourgeois family, so he was exposed to Catholicism, so he knew what it could do. Moshoeshoe just didn't know – he came into contact with the Christian religion via the Christian missionaries from the 1830's onwards – and for him to realize that this can have a beneficial effect! To me its pragmatism.”

Professor Morgan went on to explain that though much can be attributed to traditional values, where does a value system start?: “Often values may in other instances have been Christian but through evolution such as in socialism the roots are lost. So it could have been with some of Moshoeshoe's values, that they may well have had roots in Christianity, especially when one is talking about inclusivity.” Morgan later relates: “Moshoeshoe's shrewdness and leadership resided in the fact that he was not arrogant about his victory, that he respected his opponent (this is obvious in the case of Louw Wepener, for example); in fact, he did the unthinkable: he treated the opponent as the victor. Ironically, the conduct of this 'unconverted' man was almost biblical to the letter.”

Morgan next commented on the long term benefits of Moshoeshoe's policies for the nation of Lesotho: “In the material things they probably lost a lot. They lost land, they lost power, they lost many other things. But what they gained in the end is what they did not loose – their pride and their autonomy. Many writers and historians often remark that there is a difference almost in the gait, in the body language of a Sotho, in the South African mines and in going back to Lesotho when he comes across the border he is his own man again. There's a sense that although the price that was paid was extremely high I think there was always self respect. South Africa was always the richer brother, there was autonomy even if it meant relative poverty – there was a sense of self respect and there was a sense of pride. They were their own people even though they lost a lot; they were reduced to the poor brother in the Southern African context.”

Interviewer: “There is such a high value attributed to land in Africa. I look at my own country Zimbabwe –would you say that land even though a critical issue, that maybe possibly a higher value than land is actually self esteem for Moshoeshoe.”

Morgan: “The two are probably linked, a little bit. They lost a little land but they gained self esteem. ...Lesotho remained independent, it never was a homeland. I don't know if you can really separate the two. Isn't that what the whole Palestinian question is about? Can you go and be proud and independent somewhere else with no land? Can you be landless and independent?”

Interview with Jacobus Dreyer, Archaeologist, University of the Free State, Friday 11th March 2005 at 9:00am, in Bloemfontein (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Dreyer: “The story goes that Moshoeshoe went to this seer or diviner by the name of Mohlomi and he told him not to kill people, to provide a safe haven and so on during these wars of devastation – that was one of the things you mentioned – is one of the differences between Moshesh and Shaka. There is that story that Moshesh’s first wife – that she died tragically of a nock on the head because there was this rumour that she had an affair with somebody else. But the Basotho people don’t want to hear this story!”

“The other thing I picked up was that there was this guy living on the mountain; on Thabo Bosiu when they came there in 1824; a guy by the name of ‘None’. Now to this day if someone where to take you to Thabo Bosiu, they will tell you that this area [pointing to ruins at the base of the mountain] here where you can see the ruins are the remains of None’s place. But I stumbled on a report that is published by the British government in the 1850’s. Probably what they did was – the ‘Tommies’ they kept a record of everything and that is my experience when I did the research on the Anglo-Boer war – they would take all their [meticulously] written records and they sent them home and they were published in thick volumes. Incidentally I got hold of one of these volumes and there was the story that None, after the occupation of Thabo Bosiu by the Basotho; Moshesh’s people; this None was actually killed during a beer-party that was held on his behalf – that he was murdered – the Basotho don’t want to hear this story. It’s one of the skeleton’s in the cupboard [of the Basotho] and so even the great King Moshoeshoe has them.”

Interviewer: “What was Moshesh’s leadership style?”

Dreyer: “On some occasions he acted in a very humanitarian way, but in other cases he also had people shoved off the cliffs and so on, so it is difficult to give a final answer to.”

Interviewer: “... Sometimes a founding leader puts his mark on whatever context, was this true of Moshesh in the founding of Lesotho?”

“If I think of more recent times from my experience, the Basotho people feel very strongly about the fact that the nation was actually made by the Great King Moshoeshoe. If you look at all the different tribes today which you can still identify amongst the people in Lesotho. They have Nguni people from the other side of the mountain and even Tswana people from the west came in to take refuge and so in that case I would say yes definitely. And the way he structured his set up by marrying into senior lineages and so on and also to put certain people in charge of certain areas – so I think there was quite some motive in his madness to get the people together – to keep the people together.”

Interviewer: “He incorporated a lot of tribes in the Basotho – did these separate tribes change at all or did they retain their distinctive tribal customs, languages etc.?”

Dreyer: “I think they must have. For instance Moshesh himself was not a real Sotho; he was from the Bamokoteli tribe which is more or less Nguni. They must have changed because the people started to use what we know today as Sotho. ... Also he encouraged his people to attend church but he himself was never converted into Christianity, you know that.”

Appendix 2 Interviews Regarding Smuts

Interview with Mrs Arina Kock, Curator of the Jan Smuts Memorial Museum from Oct 2000 till February 2002, conducted at her home in Gasfontein, Pretoria, South Africa on Friday 11th February 2005 at 10:45am (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “How would you describe Jan Smuts’ style of Leadership?”

Mrs Arina Kock: “Jan Smuts was rather autocratic. He was an extremely hard worker who expected the same of all his staff. He would rather do the work himself, and was a leader who did not have the confidence in his underlings – for example when he was on commando. He did not plan with his junior officers. When he was a young man and he was an extremely pious young man he always read the bible and was very fond of the New Testament which he only read in Greek. Holism with Smuts already started [to take shape] as a young student in Cambridge.”

“Pantheism was possibly Smuts’ final position but not as worshipping the created, but in that ‘God is all’ or ‘all is God’. But others would say he was a Christian with a very far sighted perspective and deep insight into Christianity.”

“Smuts was not good in a team but was a brilliant individual. He started in June 1900 as a commandant – already a year later he was a General. He had extremely brilliant leadership qualities and had an aura around him.... He was a strategist and tactician and kept on evading the British and he had perseverance.”

Interviewer: “What can you tell me about the structures of leadership that Smuts used?”

Mrs Arina Kock: “He was appointed state attorney by Paul Kruger and had to get rid of the head of police almost immediately. He seemed to be able to make the tough calls with ease, even early on, and was most comfortable with top down command.... He, Smuts pushed General Louis Botha, he was the brains but he couldn’t bide fools! Botha was by no means a fool and he had great respect for Botha. [In like manner] Paul Kruger was not a well educated man, but religious and Smuts had great respect for him. He was perfectly bilingual.”

Interviewer: “And his values?”

Mrs Arina Kock: “Smuts was an honest man but at the same time he was a shrewd man. His weakness as a political leader was that he never addressed the racial question. He was of the opinion that the educated black man should be ‘liberated –emancipated’, by going out and uplifting the blacks they could be gradually brought into the democratic process. He left this in abeyance [and largely] took his view point from the electorate. He however was seen as a ‘kafferboetie’ which was held against him in 1948. He was loyal to his fellow Boers but was non-partisan and looked beyond his immediate culture. He did not like to live at enmity with his enemies, a value he had from his Christian early beliefs. Smuts was the only one who came out of the Anglo-boer war unscathed by the experience. ... Lastly he was a difficult man in the house but they [his family] adored him!”

Interview with General Deon Fourie, expert in Smuts' military leadership, conducted at his home in Lukasrand, Pretoria, South Africa on Wednesday 20th April 2005 at 10:00am (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Gen. Fourie: “Hancock himself wrote a pretty poor biography from the point of view of his military life.... I have a suspicion that Smuts like a lot of other Boer Generals, I say a lot – some of the other Boer Generals had had military training before hand. They all went to Stellenbosch University which was the ‘Victoria College’. They had had –it was a social thing – what in England was called the ‘Officers Training Core’ and at Stellenbosch they had the ‘Victoria College Rifle Volunteers’ who all wore scarlet jackets and white helmets and did things for the Queen until Oct 1999, then resigned en-mass. That would be with officers for the most part from the English with a few exceptions were lecturers. A lot of the officers for the most part were clerics; it is very interesting they were lecturing traditional subjects, not necessarily theology.”

“...They had a pretty thorough military training – they weren’t just ‘being drilled’. They learnt things that sort of built leadership and the model of leadership that Smuts would have had –it would have been in the first place a leadership model of command. And so Smuts’ model really would have been a command model. And being, if they were trained properly there and I think his experiences in the war showed him to be. And I think if one takes account of the military training he had he probably would have learnt to plan and to think ahead and so on, which might have been part of his personality as well.”

“...When he was involved in the outbreak of the Anglo-boer war he got ill, and he was confined to bed around about August or September, and he sat down with a pad of foolscap paper and wrote out a plan for the war. Which is fantastic, it didn’t take account of the fact –it didn’t take account of realities but since he was only twenty eight years old, one could barely scorn him for that. But it’s a master plan for the war –it looks at economic things, agricultural aspects of the economics, war production, total mobilisation, pre-emptive attack on the British in the Cape and Natal before they could bring out their troops that they were bringing out to reinforce. All those factors and that carried over in later life. And you find as you read about him odd things appear –when he went to the constitutional conference in Durban for example he sat down there with virtually a written constitution in his possession which nobody else had done.”

...When he became Minister of Defence he wrote the defence act. ...So he sat down and drafted the act himself, which shows again that he was taking the lead in the situation. So it is very much a command model, what he’s actually doing is to say, ‘I know more about this than you, so I’m taking the lead, you can come back with a counter draft, but this is what it is going to look like.’”

Interviewer: “Is there also an essence of the legal background and of course his unique genius, the ability to do it that way in the first place and some upfront command model leaders may not have had the ability in the first place to write a constitution?”

Gen. Fourie: “The fact of the matter is that he did have the brains, he did have the intelligence to sit down and know what it was going to be.”

“...This is the important thing about Smuts is that he had the knowledge and the determination to impose his will in the Boer war. Imposing a future set of circumstances on people – he’s planned for the war, although he was only state attorney or Attorney General as they called it, but he was an advisor to the president. So twenty eight years old or not he was a clever guy and in many ways he was right.”

“...The preamble to the United Nations Charter is really Smuts, but the fact is he did draft a preamble, and he wrote a booklet proposing the ‘League of Nations’ along with a lot of other people, after the first world war and in the course of the first world war. So he had that sort of capacity in the political side. You know to pre-empt that, to take the lead and to show the way to go. This is what the future should look like.”

“... His long ride down to the Cape involved attacking the British and fighting a guerrilla war, but that wasn’t his vision. His vision was to go down to the Cape and say to the Cape Afrikaanders, the war is not over and if you all rise in rebellion we will win this war. ...Not just a few chaps who were leaving home and going to fight with the British with the nearest passing commando, but he wanted big numbers, and he got big numbers, there were about ten thousand who eventually joined up. But the Brits were clever too, they had read this kind of possibility so they took the horses away from the farmers, so it wasn’t any use becoming a rebel if you were going to march into the middle distance and everybody else was mounted, so it failed. And yet it was his vision, if only you could create the war in British territory – which the Cape was, that’s why he said pre-empt the war, fight in Natal, fight in the Cape before the Brits get here. Get to the landing places and stop them landing there with reinforcements. You know, in many ways not really practical because all you needed was a cruiser to sail into town and start firing big guns and the idea might have flopped.”

“...Quickly under Botha he learnt from Botha what to do in the field. He made one plan for the invasion of Southern South West Africa while Botha was in the north. And Botha said to him ‘I don’t agree with that’ and explained to him why and then he learnt his job. Once the South West Campaign was over in mid 1915 he was off quite quickly to East Africa where they gave him command of British regular troops and Indian army troops and people like that and this was a hateful thing to these Brits because the British regular army can’t stand colonials at the best of times, and when its someone who has been fighting them a few years before, it was an even more bitter pill to swallow. And they loathed this guy, the fellow generals. I don’t know whether they changed their minds, the fellow generals and the fact that he had been made the Supreme Commander [of the East African Campaign] upset them a great deal. But that’s what he did there, he took over East Africa and won a conventional war against the Germans, drove them away from the settled part of East Africa into the south which was really bush and mud and horrible condition.”

“Francis Brit-Young describes this one case ...They would get to a river ...and everyone would say we can’t cross here we will have to go back and suddenly this green car would arrive and the general would say hang on. And if he couldn’t go any further in his car he would be on somebody’s horse and he’d be off and would go and do a personal rekkie and he’d be back half an hour; an hour later and say; ‘there is another way, we go this way.’ And off they went. Taking the initiative and real personal, Smuts was a leading from the front kind of Rommel general.”

“...He had to do a lot here, because we had no arms. We started the war with fifteen Bren guns – light machine guns – and about seventy eight artillery pieces –but they were of mixed kinds, very old – we didn’t even have ammunitions for a mornings shoot on the range. We had two tanks that were unusable and two or three armoured cars and that was all. But he got into the declaration of war and then he got Dr van der Byl to start an arms industry in the country and in less than two years we were building armoured cars, ordinary military Lorries, all with the help of Ford chassis and things like that. But they were being constructed here. We were producing small arms, ammunition; we eventually produced shells for British cruisers and battle ships, sights for guns which is quite a job because it’s all optical stuff. When the war started the only thing electrical industry in this country was large scale armature windings, for these things you put on the corner the street [transformers]. By the end of the war we built radios which even went to Russia.”

“...Again leadership, by finding the right people during the war and getting them going and developing. The arms industry has an interesting feature. It was the first time we had produced a real secondary industry. Before the war we were a few large repair things, Stewarts and Lloyds, the railways and things like that. All of which were pooled into arms. And agriculture and mining, that is all we had.”

Gen Deon Fourie then went on to talk about Smuts’ political career when he joined the SAP together with Hertzog and formed the United Party: “Hertzog had that sought of very gentle public manner, although he could loose his temper very quickly and loose control of the situation which Smuts did not do. Smuts was ice cold, kept control of the situation and knew how to massage egos as well but without being a buddy. His friends were his intellectual friends -the people he could talk to.”

“...There was Beeves who was a colonel in the Union Defence Force ultimately. He was a British attorney who had come out here during the war and come into the South African ambit, still British army and Beeves did studies of the Australians and the Swiss and various things like that and Smuts could understand that and use it and he knew why it was there and so that is why the Defence act was amended in 1923 to sort of change the permanent force structures –the original permanent forces were pretty vaguely structured, very unsatisfactory structure. There was no chief of staff, everyone spoke to the minister, and it was a ridiculous thing. I’ve got a diagram of that it shows it looks like a spider’s web, so many channels of communication. So those things were changed and he [Smuts] could understand those changes. [“Then it became much more hierarchal pyramid?” the interviewer asked, Fourie concurred] and then from 1917 [date blurred] the chief of staff was appointed, gradually that expanded.”

Interviewer: “What was it that enabled Smuts in his values to be almost all things to all people and at the end of his political career to have been almost “twee-talle” in his political outlook and in his electoral following.

Gen. Fourie: “I think he was honest with people; in his experience of war as a soldier. In the Boer War and the First World War, he lived in exactly the same circumstances as the people he was commanding. Somewhere here I have a slide that shows a little shelter he slept in, in East Africa, a bed on the ground and a shelter to keep the rain off that was all. And he lived with the men exactly as they were in the Boer war and I think that accounted for the great following he had. So he was honest with the people he was dealing with

directly, and he had this technique of leadership of not expecting more of the people he commanded than what he expected of himself. He wasn't politically honest I noticed this in the debate over the Defence Act. He would jump into some change in the Defence Act just like that and I could just see in my opinion that he was doing this for political reasons."

"...And people regarded him amongst the Afrikaaners as being duplicitous because of the way we entered the First World War. He and Botha really slipped on that because they had agreed, or Botha had agreed in 1911 at the colonial Prime Ministers conference to enter war against Germany with no consultation of his cabinet or anything. When the war came Britain sent us a cable saying would we take care of South West Africa so that the radio stations there would not be used to tell German shipping what was happening to British shipping. And they just went ahead and they didn't place this before parliament from August until I think its 9th September 1914. Things like that were regarded by people as highly dishonest and also to keep political power he tended to sought of play the political game. And that was unfortunate. Smuts' other weakness reflected in a certain value was he found international relations fascinating and that was an important thing. It made him someone who could draught a preamble to the United Nations; write about a future League of Nations and so on. He found internal politics bored him out of his mind. So he wasn't a success there. He didn't have values that said balance them."

General Fourie went on to say that as an eight year old boy he can still remember with sadness in listening to the inauguration of the Voortrekker Monument that people were getting up to leave and talking among themselves as Smuts spoke. Malan had to quiet the crowd whose disturbance was clearly heard on the radio. He then went on to conclude that; "...His weakness was that he drifted away from Afrikaaners, and he didn't see that it was that important because he said in the future we would all be together. But if he had had an interest in the internal politics he would have said we must work towards being together, its not just making speeches or alleging."

Appendix 3 Interviews Regarding Mandela

Interview with Michael Cassidy, founder and International Team Leader for African Enterprise, conducted at the African Enterprise Training Centre Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday 25th May 2005 at 5:30pm (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “What impacts on your life have political leaders had, maybe the negative impact, but particularly the positive impact, in terms of reconciliation?”

[Cassidy, also mentioned just prior to this, other important political figures in his life –see Appendix 5 –then went on to talk about FW De Klerk and Mandela before turning his full attention to Mandela.]

Cassidy: “Botha never did cross – he could only put his foot in it; dip his toes in – the Rubicon; he never could cross it! But I think people like De Klerk did cross it. I never knew him well but we went to government buildings in ’93 to pray with him in order that, that story’s in “Witness Forever” which I think you may have seen. And I thought that was an act of phenomenal courage because he must have known on one level that was committing political suicide. To release Mandela, to un-ban the liberation movements including the communist party, I mean he knew he was history. And so I think I would definitely say that he – I found him very inspiring – obviously, it goes without saying! Mandela’s reconciling spirit, spirit of forgiveness was the flip side of that coin and De Klerk had a moment, I like to believe a kind of a repentance and a readiness to seek forgiveness. Then mercifully for South Africa there was a Mandela figure ready to accord forgiveness. And the fact that Mandela could come out of prison after 27 years and talk reconciliation was really something.”

Interviewer: “Do you think ... with Mandela, that part of that ability is found not only in the 27 years that somehow faired him well rather than injured him, but also is there an element of his churchmanship being a Methodist in that? How do you read that?”

Cassidy: “On that occasion there [pointing to a photograph of himself and Mandela] in March 1993 when that particular picture was taken, I had another time with him in 1996 ... but he told me at that time when he was in prison that he never missed a bible study or a service or –you know something that was happening in the prison. He read his bible, I believe, faithfully and there was some kind of infusion of the Christian spirit there. I remember him telling me a very moving story about the *Dominee* who used to come to prison and whom he saw quite often and they began to strike up a bit of a friendship. And he said that one day he – when the *Dominee* was coming – he kept a piece of fruit that he had been given for his lunch, a guava, and he presented this guava to the *Dominee* to give to his wife. And the *Dominee* was just overwhelmed by this act of graciousness and generosity. And then Mandela said the prison authorities realised that he was building up a relationship with this *Dominee* and he never saw him again. That sort of thing just made you want to cry and made you realise, you know, what culpability we have to answer for - what we did to black people, and where would we be but for the spirit of forgiveness that is in blacks generally and in Mandela particularly.”

Interview questions posed to Prof P.G.J. Meiring, Missiologist with the Faculty of Theology, answered by way of a written record in his office, University of Pretoria, on Thursday 20th October 2005 at 9:00am (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interview questions posed to Prof Piet Meiring, to which he provided a written response as follows directly after the questions below, which has been left in the original format without any adjustments to the format used, and thus speech marks have not been included save for a heading to indicate that this is Professor P Meiring who is answering, and reporting on various meetings between the N G Kerk (The Dutch Reformed Church) and a reported conversation between Bishop Mvume Dandala, who served as presiding bishop of the Methodist Church in Southern Africa, and Mandela.

Interviewer: “What were Mandela’s political/Christian convictions?”

Interviewer: “Did these extend or emanate from a personal faith for Mandela. Did he have his own personal belief?”

Professor Meiring’s written reply:

Many have asked the question since Mr Mandela’s release from prison. To the majority of South Africans it was (and is) important to know whether the man they held (and are holding) in high regard, is a committed Christian.

During the 1990-1994 period, Mr Mandela often invited church leaders - as well as the leaders from the other faith communities – to discuss the issues of the day with them. From time to time he wanted to explain his position on some of these issues and to test some of his ideas on them. At other occasions he discussed with the religious leaders the role that the faith communities may play in the New South Africa, often challenging them in this regard.

In 1994, just after his inauguration as president, he visited the General Synod of the N G Kerk in Pretoria – the first national leader ever to do so. He addressed synod in Afrikaans. He did not mince his words when he mentioned the apartheid past of the church, but he was also very gracious in honouring changes that had, at that time, already taken place in the church. He invited the N G Kerk to play its part in the New South Africa, living up to its own creed and convictions. He received a standing ovation. The hundreds of dominees and elders spontaneously sang: “Laat Heer U seën op hom daal” (May the Lord bless you). There were tears on many faces, in the pews, among the visitors, as well as in the press gallery.

Is President Mandela a committed Christian?

During the above mentioned period Mr Mandela visited the head office of the N G Kerk on a number of occasions, meeting with the moderamen (executive) of the General Synod. I, as Director for Ecumenical Affairs of the N G Kerk, had to organise these meetings – and had to liaise with Mr Mandela and his office in this regard. At lunch in the church office in Visagie Street, after one morning session, one of the dominees raise the million dollar question; “Sir, forgive me for asking, but we *do* want to know: Are you a committed Christian? Have you accepted Jesus Christ as personal saviour?” I vividly remember the future president’s answer. With a quiet smile, he put down his knife and fork, looked the

dominee in the eye and said that the answer was “Yes” – but that he had long ago in prison decided that he will never use his personal faith as a political argument. That has too often happened in the history of our country, with dire and often very painful results.

Subsequently many close friends and associates of Mr Mandela have confirmed this to me. Bishop Mvume Dandala, who served as presiding bishop of the Methodist Church in Southern Africa, once told me of a conversation he had with the president. The bishop explained to Mr Mandela that he should not only be a member ‘in general’ of the church, but that his name should be recorded in the books of a local church.

“I am aware of that”, the president said. “Will you please see to it that it is done”. With a smile Bishop Dandala answered: “I have already done so”. “You have already recorded my name?”, Mandela reacted with surprise. “Of which congregation am I a member?” “Mr President, your name is recorded in the books of the Qunu Congregation in the Eastern Cape”. “That’s correct. That is how it should be”, was Mandela’s reaction. “That is where I grew up as a young boy. That is where my home is”.

Mr Mandela has very high expectations of the role that *all* the faith communities may – and should – play in the future of our country. He made a point of it, to ensure that the ‘other’ faiths – although they constitute a minority in South Africa – are not left out. At state occasions they needed to be present, to help conduct services, and in discussions around the table their advice and input were frequently sought.

Appendix 4 Interviews Regarding Mutendi

Interview with Bishop Nehemiah Mutendi of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) in Zimbabwe, conducted at his house in Harare, 1024 Mt Pleasant Heights, Harare on Wednesday 13th September 2005 at 9:45am (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “Can you tell me when he was born and a little about his early background?”

Mutendi: “To try and trace the date of his birth, we proceed by saying that anyone who could have joined the BSAP, the British South African Police force, and quitted in 1913 (1913 is so significant because that’s when he had his vision for the founding of this church and that is when he quitted the BSAP). So he could have joined the BSAP in 1910 or so, and for someone to have joined, they must have been in their early 20’s, so we can presume that his birth date is around 1890 from this. In 1913 he would have been about 23, and yet for someone to have left home in our culture and to have been married again he normally would have been over 25, so we are unable to get at exactly what date he was born on [this secondary comment gives Samuel Mutendi an approximate date of birth around 1888].”

“He was interested in social activities like traditional music, he was good [on a traditional instrument] and he would lead his group ... and he would really perform. He was not known for anything else besides entertaining his people; you would say he was an artist. Those people who were trained in the forces were tough people, he must have been a tough person, and he must have been strong.”

Interviewer: “Can we assume that he received some kind of schooling to have been in the police force, or in those days was this not a prerequisite?”

Mutendi “He did not. He talks about his schooling when he comes back from the police. That’s when he has been in a spiritual trance, he speaks in tongues, and he dreamt at that moment. He had to be still on parade, you must not sway or speak in tongue, so they asked him; ‘What is wrong with you, don’t move if you speak’ and he was still speaking in tongues and they said no, no, no you are not fit for the force and they dismissed him. But now he was spiritually inclined, he was searching, so he went to school. His brother was a teacher in the Dutch Reformed Church, and he said; ‘My brother this is what I saw and I am searching for a church.’ But the young brother said; ‘My brother God would not want you’, and he [Samuel Mutendi] says; ‘Why would he not want me’, and the brother replied; ‘God would not want someone with two wives – and so he can’t accept you.’ [Samuel Mutendi replied] ‘What should I do’, the younger brother replied, ‘You send one of your wives away’ and so he sent his first wife away.”

“The brother went to the missionaries saying; ‘My brother wants to learn to read and write. But [ultimately] he is seeking baptism. ...He sent his wife away. He describes how he bid her farewell, he cried, and she cried. He explained this to his wife by saying; ‘I don’t know when I will meet you, (he did not know where she was going to go) but I want to go to heaven so you must go.’ They part, only to join when I was a big boy.”

“...After his catechism they prepared to baptise him, but he said; ‘No, are you going to baptism me on my forehead, I want to be baptised in the river now.’ And they said, ‘No, we will baptise you here.’ ...And after all that, while he was in the church he would speak

in tongues and they would say; ‘No we don’t speak in tongues in the church.’ I think he struggled, so he says for ten years, from 1913 till 1923, so he decides to go – he sees other people who are going to look for work in South Africa – so he goes south to look for work. He asked people along the way about the church he sought, but there was nothing like ‘Zionist’ in southern Rhodesia. They went to sleep, in his sleep, a man he saw in his dream appears to him and says; ‘You have been arguing about the church of God!’ [Mutendi]; ‘Yes we want to know the right one’, so he shows him a card and on that card is written a word. He wakes everyone up, and says; ‘Hey, I’ve got the right church – Zion. ...The man [angel] who came to me in 1913 is the one who showed it to me.’ [The ‘man’ from this first encounter in 1913 had said that he would one day have his own church – mentioned as an aside]. When they get to South Africa, there is this church ‘Zion’ Apostolic Faith, and he says yah this is it and everyone is speaking in tongues, and just like that he was baptised. He was caught in a powerful spirit and in tongues and the other prophet there said; ‘You go back to your country, go do God’s work.’”

“He started it in the Shona area; the first people who were against him were the chiefs, the traditional chiefs. They said [of Mutendi] to the *n`anga`s*, the spirit medium; ‘There is someone who can pray with his stick-rod, his staff and the rain falls. [How can this be], they must brew beer, they must go to Matopos, the spirit medium must give them the rain.’ That’s what every chief and tribe must do, the *n`anga* of an area, or the chief of that area must go the medium and ask for rain. But here is this person who says they must pray for rain, and it falls! The *n`angas* were against this! But he said; ‘You must believe in the Holy Spirit and if you seek you will be prayed for and be healed.’ The first miracle was a crippled woman, whom I also saw when I grew up, they pulled her [close to] her baptismal pole and when she got out she walked. There was this chief, this headman, whose daughter fell from a tree and she died. ...And he arrives, and the Spirit says that they should not take the women for burial, bring her back into the house. When they queried this, he [Mutendi] said that he wanted to pray for her. The people said; ‘This is the chief’s daughter and if you play funny games you are in trouble – really.’ Then when they brought her in, he prayed, he prayed and she came back to life and he said, ‘This is your daughter’, and they were amazed.”

“The chiefs in Gutu or Bikita did not interact, but then they finally came, all of them. ‘What is the use of going to Matopos to ask for rain when we can do that here?’ They all came together. My brother used to make a joke and say that when you want to practice love, don’t behave like chiefs!”

Nehemiah Mutendi carried on by saying the chiefs tried to send him back to South Africa under the pretext that that is where he got this “speaking in tongues”, but he argued with them that he was doing that before he even left for South Africa.

“The DC [District Commissioner] was such an important man in the area, but he would come to his home and eat. It was strange to see a white man eat in a black man’s home [in those days], some of the missionaries would come and sit with him, and the priests from the Catholic Church, and from the DRC [Dutch Reformed Church] would also come. It was those early days when a white person and the race relations between the whites and blacks were better than between the Matabele and the Shonas. His church spread to Matabeleland, but then the Shona people would see all these Ndebele preaching and ask,

‘Why do you get all these Ndebele people, they have taken all our cattle.’ He said no, ‘They are worshipping God now, it does not matter’, so they would worship together.”

Interviewer: “There was the *Mhondoro* and the *Mwari* cult in the Matopos (the cult of Matonjeni), how did he deal with these things?”

Mutendi: “They were resentful of him. He preached openly against them, our ancestors did what they did before they knew Jesus, now we have more of the light, now the heavenly kingdom is recognised. Because this ‘Kingdom of Heaven’ has replaced all others, these have been replaced now with this Holy Spirit, and he said to the dissenters; ‘Now you go to Chaminuka and ask for rain, you takes days, you brew all this, we don’t brew beer here, we only call on the name of the Lord Jesus here and the rain comes. Now what is the point of going there, of brewing all that beer, of doing all the killing all your *mombies*, when you can get it for free in the name of Jesus?’ And all of them were very ‘hot’ but he insisted that what they had, mixed with what they saw should be dealt with – the things that belonged to the spirit mediums that would harm them. He would say bring all those sticks, bring all those blankets and cloths, and put them here, I’ll burn them and let us watch and see what will happen? Those traditional things of the *n`anga`’s*, their ancestors, and the traditionalists believe that if you touch it then you will be afflicted. He said; ‘Bring all those things that are of your ancestors, that are powerful and in the name of Jesus we will burn them and we will wait to see what will happen!’ Nothing happened.”

Mutendi then related a story about his father when a man brought his magic, his witchcraft which was used to kill and he instructed one of his juniors to burn it. However a man went with him and asked to look at it, without the permission of the “Man of God” and once he had his mouth was fixed open. The object was duly burnt but the man remained with his mouth wide open. Mutendi challenged the *n`anga`* whose magic it was, was asked if he could do anything to remove the curse but he said that he could not, so the “Man of God” gave him water to drink, his mouth was freed, and was told not to do that again!

Mutendi continued: “There were two powerful forces, fighting against each other, it was not like the other one was useless, or had no power, and there was power in it. ...Joel the prophet said, ‘I your God, you must know, I caused the drought, I caused the pestilence to eat your crops, and I can stop it!’” So this is what he was proving. But some of the chiefs said, if this is what you say, what you are doing and there is drought then we will go to Matopos. But they go to Matopos, nothing happens there and the Man of God says; ‘this year is a drought, it is the plan of God, but if you want to prove that God is there it can rain, but it won’t help your crops.’ And it rained – proof that God controls everything! No other medium, no other spirits could work while the Kingdom of Heaven was in operation, which is depressing every other Kingdom. He would often preach about the idea that; ‘we are not fighting a warfare of flesh and blood, but against principalities.’ That is what he was fighting against.”

Interviewer: “What was his style, was he a strong preacher, was he a gentle man, or both?”

Mutendi: “He spoke very softly, and when people went to him for help, went the women went with their problems, they would say that he had spoken to them very quietly. As if nothing was going to happen, but when they were going, then things would happen. But even if he spoke so softly, you could not change his mind. All of us as children, we would

knew if father says no, that's it! No-one could then persuade him. He would say, 'I'm a servant of God', he would not normally use the word Bishop, he would say 'I'm a servant of God, don't ask me to change God's approval or direction.'"

Interviewer: "Did he have many ministers around him to advise him, or was he one of these men who spoke forth?"

Mutendi: "He had ministers, he listened to his wives, he listened to his sons, but most of all as a prophet he heard what the Spirit would say, and then it would be finished. But he would consult everybody, even us."

Nehemiah then went on to explain how during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe it was difficult to cross the border, but there was a problem as he wanted to go and see his people in Zambia but he could not easily get there, but there was a need for him to go for it is only the Bishop who serves communion and Mutendi made everyone discuss this issue. In general, decisions were reached through a series of meetings, and as the sons would know that even if their father had met with them, but he had not consulted his *vafundisi* or his wives, then the decision was not final. If however they were the last to be consulted then they could rest assured that the decision reached by the end of the meeting would be final.

Interviewer: "Did your father have anyone between the ministers and himself to help him with the ministry, and on the administrative side did he have a large competent staff as you have today?"

Mutendi: "It was not that big [in the administrative staffing]. However when he moved, he moved with many people, and you would not find him without some of a group of ministers. If he moves he would move with others, but now, look at me, I am here on my own. The people at the Masvingo office now, they know what they are doing, the people at Mbungo, in Harare, they have their own committees."

Nehemiah Mutendi then went on to explain that between his father and the other *vafundisi* was a minister called the "Minister in Charge" or "First Minister" and in fact this same person is also Nehemiah's "Minister in Charge", who has an office of about ten ministers. This person is a *sekuru*, what Nehemiah would call an Uncle, but in English he is actually a slightly younger cousin to him, or nephew of his father, born to his father's older sister. In the administration there are professionals in charge of certain areas, one in charge of finances, one in publications, and someone with properties, and also as per an earlier conversation, his staff mentioned spiritual training and education, as well as agriculture.

He then went on to relate how they were disadvantaged by the mission schools not wanting to accept their people, and there were very few government schools at the time, so they put up six of their own schools. He then related how he himself attended a mission school, he was number 6, but all of the five before him were too busy wanting to drive around in cars and ended up in mischief borrowing the headmasters motorbike and so on. His father wanted him to go to school, learn how to be a teacher and to teach in their schools. Apparently six of the Zionist schools had been burnt down but they planned to reopen at least one of them. Samuel Mutendi opened the new community school in 1965, it was a beautifully built school according to Nehemiah, and his father was commended even by the Catholics. They were so sad to leave that beautiful school when they were moved; the first

thing when they arrived at their new destination [for Zion city] was to put up a school. He – Nehemiah – went to teacher with the Seventh day Adventists, he had mislead them that he had been baptised in Selous, but later on when a very good friend of his told them that he was not baptised he was asked to produce his baptismal card and he could not! From there he went back to his father, who said to Nehemiah that it was just in time for now he could teach for the church! Nehemiah, in contrast to his older brothers was very obedient and did not cause his father any grief, which he points to as a significant reason for him being chosen to succeed his father as Bishop.

His father's title was superintendent of the church. So when it came to opening the new school, the Minister of Education wanted to know once they opened it who would be their superintendent of schools? So Nehemiah was given the title, but no-one at the time realised the significance of this! Years later when he called his elders together to choose a successor, and they were focused on Enginasi (the number two son), he pointed out that Nehemiah's title was already superintendent and that they were the ones who had agreed to put his name forward a long time back, so they had already agreed as to who should succeed Samuel Mutendi, saying to them: "That's what you have agreed!" [i.e. already agreed]. This meeting occurred in 1962 and Nehemiah took over the church in 1977, fifteen years later, and in this manner Nehemiah showed how his father was a shrewd leader who could use long term foresight in planning and cunning negotiating to bring about the desired result!

Interviewer: "What were the most significant values in your father's life?"

He answered this by saying that each of the sons and the daughters would argue that the father loved them most. One person once asked how each of the wives could love each other so much, infact like sisters. Nehemiah said that this had something to do with his father's fairness, how he treated each of his wives. Samuel Mutendi was known for his love, he loved his people and this was particularly sensed by his ministers, for whom he loved, the elders would stress that Nehemiah's father loved his ministers more. Yet as Nehemiah's son went around and asked various people who all said (even the ministers) that he loved them more, the pointy that Nehemiah made about his father was that his heart was so big that everyone thought that he loved them the most!

Nehemiah in contrast to his father is an impatient man, and has high expectations of his leaders to make timely decisions and deliver "the goods", especially at this time when they are preparing to build a huge auditorium and building costs just keep escalating. He was not impressed when they sat on a decision to buy certain materials (actually the window frames required) – for which they set aside \$400 million – that had already been made for two weeks, now the same materials would cost \$700 million and he was understandably impatient and unimpressed by then, but afterwards his wife told him that he had been too hard on his Harare leaders. "My, father was 'cool', a man of peacefulness, who hardly ever raised his voice. He ... fought for justice for his people; he wanted schools for his people."

Interviewer: "How has your father brought lasting changes to the tribes and the nation?"

There was a witchcraft suppression act passed sometime after 1923 when the government in Southern Rhodesia became a "Responsible Government" which Nehemiah likes to associate with his father, because he was denouncing the *n`angas* as they were pretending

to be providing relief and healing and some of them were instead bewitching the people. For the first time the *n`angas* were denounced for their witchcraft, for their evil and the government decided to implement a witchcraft suppression act. While the Catholic and the Dutch Reformed Churches did not approve of it they did not go out of their way to actively denounce it.

He was uncompromising in his stance against the witchcraft of his day and he would also be outspoken against the missionaries saying that they were not giving the true Christian message to the people of Zimbabwe. He would say in this church we don't tolerate the brewing of beer for the dead, God does not want this and he will not accept you to enter the Kingdom of God. Then he continued; "They once told me that two wives will stop you going into heaven. I don't think that two wives will stop me going into heaven, but I think that the worship of other gods will. These spirits – the Holy Spirit is a God, these other spirits and gods, and if you worship them [the spirits] there is no way you can see heaven. ...In the past we used to have to kiss a dog's parts in order to have a baby, we would do weird things, now there is a change in the way we live."

He went on to say that another area that Mutendi brought in was in the area of agriculture. To use modern techniques that the government was advocating like contour ridging he added his weight to and also to use cooperative farming. He infact stated this way back and got his people to form groups in a communal farming operation.

Interviewer: "How did he view God the Son (Jesus) in his preaching but also personally?"

Mutendi: "He Believed in Jesus as the 'Son'. Now we believe in him as [the] real God, but he knew God's son as being close to God. But my mothers have told me that they have heard him sing a song about the crucifixion of Jesus, and everyone knows this song, and they would say every time he went to pack for a trip he would sing that song. And when he sang it, he would break down. And we would ask him about it and he would say; 'I cannot sing without imagining the pain, the pain ... I cannot imagine someone dying for someone the way Christ did, for us!' Yes he knew him as his saviour, and he preached this."

"Although the people would want to emphasis and say; 'You are just like Christ', but he would rebuke them there and then! And he would say; 'No way, there is no way any person can be just like Christ, Christ was the son of God!' But people would insist, 'When you do your things it is just like Christ did.' Christ wanted us to do more than him, yet not to be him. We [the Zionist people] talk about the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; we also say the Christ of Enginasi and Samuel. The men who introduced this God, this Jesus to us. This Jesus who they talk about is the Jesus who does not smoke. But the other people talk of a Christ who does not mind smoking. ...But we know that Jesus is for everybody, even the Chinese, they would eat even snakes, and they love them!"

They have a congregation now in London, one in Indiana, one in Massachusetts –Boston; one in Indiana and many in Mozambique, DRC, Botswana, Namibia and the whole of the SADAC region. Many of the boarder towns and major city ZCC churches in Zimbabwe use Shona as the overarching language, but in the present context, many of their people have had to go and find employment elsewhere, even as far afield as New Zealand! The current membership includes both rural people right up to a CEO of a commercial bank such that their church is beginning to reflect the whole spectrum of society in Zimbabwe.

Interview with Prof Inus Daneel, Missionary to Zimbabwe with the Dutch Reformed Church, conducted at the University of South Africa (UNISA), Pretoria-Tshwane on Friday 23rd September 2005 at 9:30am (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “Could you let me know what happened towards the end of his ministry in the handing over to his son and do you have any record of when he would have died?”

Daneel: “While I was doing the final stages of my research in the early sixties I was in the community – the Holy City at Bikita when he made together with the chief a court case against the District Commissioner, the Provincial Minister and the Minister of Internal Affairs. He was a resistance figure, he was a Moses figure, and they knew they couldn’t win it, but I was praying with the ministers. There were CID [Central Intelligence Department] people running around all the time observing what was going on and his stature grew just before he moved his headquarters to chief Chireya’s place in Gokwe, around about 1967. ...The District Commissioner had decided in favour of Mukangangwi, who was chairman in the chief’s council in the government. And Mutendi was far too influential and he had more than 15 Paramount Chiefs in his church and they would roll in the dust at his feet, recognising him as a Rozvi Mambo, so Mutendi was appealing to the dynasty of the Rozvi in earlier centuries and which has a very politically strong unifying effect. So the District Commissioner told me, he was very scared about Mutendi’s influence in the country being weighed above what it should be, so they were trying to cut him down and sending him, together with the Rozvi chief, Chief Jiri, up into Gokwe which was a way of neutralising him.”

“So when I came back in the 70’s, and while I was doing Fambidzano ecumenical movement I visited him, and that’s the last [time I saw him]. He was then old and frail, he was not embittered, he had actually grown in stature as a liberator, as a resistance figure in relation to the white administration. So even at that stage still hanging back from total support of *Chimurenga* – the liberation struggle – because in the 60’s he was actually having the prophets detect the political cards of ZANU and ZAPU and they had to burn it to retain membership in the church. So it was also that conflict, on the one hand he was a total nationalist and appealed to the past, on the other hand he did not want too much political involvement, but I think he was already leaning a lot towards supporting a *Chimurenga* towards the end there. But then, after his death I visited, I went there and visited his two sons, Reuben is an older son who had a lot of followers go after him, and this other son was a younger teacher, more modern – Nehemiah.”

“But going there was interesting because they were then in the phase of monitoring what Mutendi’s influence was in his state of death, through prophets dreaming about him, in visions about his directives to the church. So there is something of the old again, like spirit mediums, but they were prophets and the guidance they were getting was not that of tribal politics but how to run the church.”

Interviewer: “Who were they seen to be getting the guidance from?”

Daneel: “Direct from him, from Mutendi, having passed away but sort of mediating the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In other words his directives were aligned – they were very concrete things that they had to do – but aligned to the work of the Holy Spirit. And of course it is very similar to ancestor veneration, but in a Christianized manner I would say.

Mutendi junior himself said that they go up every year to charge their batteries, meaning establishing through these prophets direct contact with the deceased and gaining a lot of inspiration from it for their outreach. Because Samuel Mutendi was a great missionary, he was sending out – after each of the three big meetings they call Pasika – he would send out these missionaries all over the country, so for them to maintain that momentum, that's why they went up to ... their new church headquarters."

Interviewer: "Was Samuel Mutendi's link to the royal Rozvi Mambo's a direct link or was it more tenuous, and you speak into that?"

Daneel: "I have not been able to penetrate that very much but I know it was enough for them to establish their own genealogy, in which they went all the way to the top, Dombo Dhlembewu, which was one of the best known Rozvi Kings, and after that came Chirisamuru. Chirisamuru, meaning the sympathetic one, who was looking after the calves of the cattle, but meaning of the people under him. After that comes Gumboremvura, which means the rain foot, which means the one who was very much involved with the rain because at that stage the headquarters was in the Matopos area, and so that indicates involvement with the 'Rain Cult'. After Gumboremvura, then comes Ngweremweze, Mutinhima, and then Jiri Zihumbwa, the one that Mutendi was relating to, but he claimed that whole genealogy of Rozvi Mambo's directly. But where his father's house, his grandfather's house appears in relation to the different Mambo's I could not establish, some people said that it was a sham, but it worked for his people. And so that's the more important thing, that it established a link in the past that they could be proud of."

Interviewer: "Moving on with some leadership questions, what would you say the late Samuel Mutendi's style was? Did he have a predominant, and also a secondary style?"

Daneel: "He was a policeman when he became a member, then actually when he became a co-founder with Enginasi Lekhanyane, who was Edward of Basutoland. So he was a strong leader, very capable, fairly soft spoken but very decided and insisting on his authority and that the people would follow him. He also had a side that was very interesting, his own sense of humour, he made all kinds of asides, sometimes even a bit brazen, and when he was not only humorous, but also very serious when he was talking about the people's relations to the whites, that they should not be docile, that they shouldn't sit down and cringe, that they should stand up for themselves, which of course was important in the white-black relations in Zimbabwe. And religiously he had a great influence; he knew the needs of his people to relate to their own religion. He understood that it was their identity. So he was preaching a lot about ancestral spirits, but as a threat or as a way of deviating from the scriptures. So he tried to adapt to the needs of the people – for example for rain – because working in the rural areas with people of a subsistence economy totally dependant on rain. He substituted the Matopos things, where the chiefs are always sending their delegates to go and ask for rain, with the Zionist equivalent, but then replacing the God of Matonjeni, whom he then called Satan with the Biblical deity."

"And I think many of the chiefs played a double role, they would send traditionalists; because they had Traditionalists and Christians within their area of jurisdiction; there [to Matopos], they themselves would bring some gifts [to Mutendi] and ask for rain. And then the sermons, during the 'Seed Conference' in October just before the rainy season, they would use that for witness sermons by the chiefs and other prominent people how they did

get the rain from the ‘Man of God’. So in that way; he sort of established himself; reinforced his position regularly, and that was just before sending people out with the ‘Good News’, which is how God was working through the bible, but in an African situation now. So it was very well adapted, but also Christianised, the way he Christianised the ‘Cult of Matonjeni’, it showed the intent of saying very clearly; ‘No!’ even in spite of him knowing that the chiefs are probably making compromises.”

Interviewer: “How would you describe the way he went about asking for rain?”

Daneel: “He was very influential. It was totally a comprehensive approach, one on one he would talk about it with conviction; he would talk about it in his *dare*, in his church council, quietly but with a lot of charisma. He was a quiet charismatic man, but make no mistake, without flinching, he was courageous. Seldom would he brag about it, but he saw to it that he gave enough scope – that when his old elders were talking about his feats – that he did not undercut them but he capitalised on the loyalty of his followers who themselves were senior people. And he gave them amply time in the *dare* to talk and to build his image as a resistance figure against white domination. So he had a lot of Charisma, but he was not a braggart.”

“He was much more persuasive than domineering, he did not come across as a domineering figure at all, he seldom raised his voice, but he was very serious. But he also knew when he could see people were getting restless, how to use comic relief – throw in a joke, you know! And he would for example say if something is predictable and bound to happen he would say that is as certain as a man going and taking a pee after sex, for example. That would draw roars of laughter because it would be abrupt and sudden, and one could say in a sense in bad taste, but it is so true to life that I think even the Lord would smile sometimes at some of those things. And then he would, after having brought in a little bit of humour, carry on again, and he could carry on for a long time without raising his voice very much. And then he was a good background figure that he allowed his key figures in the court to talk. He patterned his leadership on the chiefly [model], in other words the chief that does not talk all that much. He is sitting there, allowing the councillors to give their opinion and then he would summarise towards the end and be the wise one, and in doing that endeared himself to his own people.”

Interviewer: “In a one-on-one situation how could we describe his leadership style?”

Daneel: “I would say it was more by example, he persuaded his people. He would not in a one-on-one indulge in a very long conversation with them. He would be cutting pretty close to the bone, if there was a problem with a particular leader he would tell the person what it was and what he expected, and then leave it there, but make sure the others were aware of what his verdict was. He would give encouragement, but not only that he would also say what his expectations were, so that people knew that if they kept antagonising him, he would get rid of them.”

“He had, according to his own account, 17 wives and more than seventy children, but every day he had a meeting with all his wives and urged them to live a life of witness, particularly because women often get into serious conflicts in polygamous households. And so he was insisting on that, and he was praying with them, and reading the bible with them. And he knew that there was some of them accusing each other privately of

witchcraft.... But the fact is that he loved his children a great deal and was very caring of them. And because I became adopted into his household myself, I was often invited for breakfast, and then his *vahosi* which is the lead woman, she would bring in the food, and she would do something that African women would never do in a white man's presence, she would sit on his lap for a while and you could see that they were totally in love and it was good to see! It was private but I was allowed to see it. It was not a game, it was something very natural and when some of the other women came in, she would take their feelings into consideration and stand up and stand to the side and allow them to address him. So I would say there was a lot of compassion. I think some of the conflicts were kept private, understandably so, but it's a whole conglomerate of things, you can't pin point it on one thing, but I would say compassionate, caring and really loving his family and taking good care of them. Where he lived he had two nice huts built for each of his women, where the one was a cooking hut and the other for her and the children to live. Also the inter-relations were well organised, with a common plan as to who sleeps where and when and so forth."

Interviewer: "Did he undergo any leadership mentoring process or learning curve. Was there any point at which he was 'a student' before establishing the church in Zimbabwe?"

Daneel: "I think like most of the Independent Churches, because they don't have theological facilities, it is an in-service training. With Mutendi, he was party to establishing a specific pattern, together with Lekhanyane, where the leader would always be in the presence of a number of senior minister and through expressions of wisdom or discussions of a certain part of the bible. Teaching them – so it is very praxis orientated, reading the bible, bringing up verses that could relate to a specific situation, and which the group will discuss, in which there is scope for the other leaders who come from various churches, to also bring in their own insights."

"So he was from an early stage he was dependant on Sotho people he was relating to and Lekhanyane, being mentored by them probably, as well as making his own contribution, because he was a co-founder of ZCC here in South Africa. [In some ways he was junior to Lekhanyane but in other ways he was a co-founder] and so creating an offshoot, but wasn't an offshoot because it was a branch, a legitimate branch of the ZCC, it still is actually. He obtained total autonomy over the course of time but in the beginning it was more like a fledgling group with a lot of communications, virtually belonging to Lekhanyane, but also to Mutendi. Because Mutendi was the missionary and leader who had gone out to establish what Lekhanyane was establishing, but in Zimbabwe, then gaining in autonomy because more due to geographic distance than intentions in my view to establish his own ZCC."

Interviewer: "Was there any apprenticeship of Nehemiah as he took over the church?"

Daneel went on to say that a lot of the sons were there for spells. Nehemiah was a teacher but during some long weekends he would be at the church participating in the proceedings, and sitting in the *dare*. Such that there was a degree of apprenticeship or in-service training. Reuben was the older one, and had been placed in Gutu and was establishing churches, and was himself a 'Bishop in the making', but obviously the teacher in a modern world was viewed as someone who could lead in modern times. Reuben since has established his own branch, but this is also called the ZCC and Daneel relates how there are times when the two brothers still relate as brothers without antagonism to each other. This

is in like manner to the two sons of Lekhanyane who have their own branches of the ZCC [but are perhaps more autonomous].

Interviewer: “What were Samuel Mutendi’s most striking values?” [Daneel starts with some of his chief qualities or character traits].

Daneel: “I would say for his own context he was marked by courage, regardless of opposition. He was determined, so its perseverance, courage, and he was determined to have his own educational facility. He collaborated for some time with the Dutch Reformed superintendents, who supervised him for some time, that was the condition, but he kept going and at an early stage was repeatedly put in prison. ...He was determined like all the missions to have his own autonomy, his own church, his own hospital – he had two hundred huts where all the patients came and the prophets working with them, and his own school. And he was imprisoned a number of times and that boosted his image, he was courageous, he was not afraid of the whites, and there is a certain consistency and integrity in that! That was his image and he lived according to that.”

Interviewer: “He quickly moved out of the Rozvi and established an inter-tribal church, but what gave him the ability to cross tribal boundaries? What leadership did he have between the first minister and himself? And, was there some form of Belief System that he had?”

Daneel: “I think that for African people the lineage and therefore the clan is very important, and so the nucleus of the leadership is built around lets say the Rozvi for the ZCC to a large extent, but not with such exclusiveness, and I think that is the influence of scriptures that they very quickly realised that this is not only for Rozvi, and if it was only Rozvi it would be a very limited church, the message of Christianity is for all people. And since African people have an ability to operate well beyond the boundaries, I think that they were able, partly because of their own ability and partly because of the conviction that Christianity is about Christ and that crosses boundaries. And they were willing to do it, and if their need for expansion, and there may have been a motive of self-promotion, how do we discern that – we have our own ambitions too. ...In that way they crossed the boundaries, established congregations all over and appointed people who were senior in their own locale.”

Daneel went on to say that he had a number of senior advisors who would sit in the church council with him and help in decision making, and on the female side in spiritual matters he had *Mai* Solomon, and in practical matters it was his *vahosi* – his lead wife who would advice him. Some of his senior councillors were Rozvi and some were his relatives – brothers of his, and there were some advisors in Gutu who supported the chief on his behalf and played a significant role who were not and so there was a degree of Rozvi influence but this was by no means total.

Next Daneel mentioned that they visualise their Zion city as an African understanding of the ‘Kingdom of God’, of ‘Jerusalem’ and they read scriptures as directly applying to their ‘Holy City’. Here widows and orphans are housed and fed by the produce brought, which is like a tithe but more than a tithe and is also used to feed areas which got insufficient rains. “It was a compassionate manifestation of God’s concern with people which comes out in that colony through a black man, through a ‘black Christ’, he personified Christ for them in a very special way, much more than any missionary could have done, and that is why it was so effective.”

Appendix 5 Interviews Regarding Cassidy

Interview with Michael Cassidy, founder and International Team Leader for African Enterprise, conducted at the African Enterprise Training Centre, Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday 25th May 2005 at 5:30pm (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “In all the ministries you have got involved in what are the major values, the passions that drive you, that drive your ministry and underpin what you do?”

Cassidy: “Well everything that has happened in my life in terms of ministry emanates and comes out of my conversion back when I was a university student, back in Cambridge. And that was where it happened for me.”

Cassidy then went on to describe the two influences in his life, politics and conversion.

“In South Africa there were a lot of Christians that professed to be converted people, committed Christians and yet they were supportive of apartheid, they were supportive of racism they had segregation and all that sort of thing. And that led me into a struggle with the issue of the relationship between the vertical and the horizontal. The relationship between the personal faith and a socio-political expression of him. I was much influenced at the time by two leaders. The first was Billy Graham who came to Cambridge not long after my Christian commitment and I saw evangelism in action and was inspired by it. In 1957 I was in New York and Billy Graham was preaching night after night in Madison Square Garden and I was inspired and at the same Martin Luther King was preaching in the streets of Montgomery Alabama and all these sorts of places and it was all on television. It was at the time that Eisenhower was sending troops into Arkansas and all this kind of stuff to try and sort the place out. And I thought – what do I make of this, Billy Graham on the one hand and Martin Luther King on the other, who was going up and down the streets of Montgomery Alabama and other cities of the South calling for racial justice.”

“The penny sort of dropped for me in those years for me between 1957 I suppose and about 1958 /59, when I was a seminary student, that these were two sides of the same coin. That became a very powerful value, a powerful commitment in me, in my life. The gospel spoke in both directions. It spoke of a vertical relationship with the Lord and the importance of calling people into that vertical relationship. And secondly it spoke horizontally into the contextual issues that were around us. In terms of race; in terms of justice and all that kind of thing. I saw to put it differently, that on the one hand we were called to love the Lord, and we were called to love other people. And that love of other people was not just at a personal level but at a structural level. And that justice was love built into structures. And in a way from that time on the formula was very simple and plain to me. I never struggled from the time I did my first mission here in 1962, the coming together of the personal and socio-political, it was almost second nature to me and to the team I was with at that time. So our ministry over the years has been an expression in a sense of these two commitments. We are evangelists but our ministry has to be contextual, therefore the issues around us whatever they are, we need to address them in the name of the Lord. In South Africa it was race and injustice, our team in Uganda were involved in hunger relief, in the immunisation of people against disease. Because people are not going to respond well to the gospel if they are hungry or are sick. And our other kind of deed

projects. Whether it's our team in Ghana with prostitutes or street children or our ... reconciliation ministries."

"Now people do say Michael's passions are Evangelism on the one hand and reconciliation on the other. And in a sense, yes the evangelism yes that is accurate, but my concerns though profoundly embracing reconciliation, they go beyond reconciliation to what the issues are. So if the issue is a gap between black and white then reconciliation is a need. If the issue is tribal struggle between Hutu and Tutsi, reconciliation is a need, but we believe the gospel applies itself to all sorts of other issues than relational breakdown. I mean it speaks to poverty; it speaks to crime it speaks to sexism; it speaks to family and sexuality issues. All these issues the Bible addresses; it speaks to ecology; and unemployment. I think if I had to sum up the two particular driving forces they would be expressing and working out the vertical dimension of the gospel and then the horizontal dimension, not only in terms of the relational side but in terms of the issues and the needs that are on the ground in the places we go to."

After answering the question what the beliefs were that drove his passions which was very similar to his views expressed in his book; "The Passing Summer", he then continued along the theme of the "Cosmic Christ", but first he mentioned that:

Cassidy: "The first and most basic conviction of my life and what has driven me more profoundly and passionately than any thing else is a conviction that Jesus is the Christ, is who he claimed to be. In other words the deity of Christ is something absolutely fundamental to my conviction." He then continued by saying;

"I wrote to a prominent politician in South Africa, I wrote to a member of parliament of Botha's cabinet and said that the issue in front of you is not whether apartheid is particularly good or bad, the issue is whether we live in a moral universe or not and whether Jesus is the 'Cosmic Christ', that's what you've got to grapple with. Because I said that if this universe is random, unpredictable, irregular, chaotic – does not have Jesus behind it, you can go ahead with apartheid and get away with it. But I said if it is a moral universe and has Jesus behind it, you'll never get away with it. You will produce a mounting fury that is like sand in a watch, it starts to foul up the works and there's a kickback when the watch stops working. You'll have a mounting social fury – a kickback which will disintegrate the South African society. And that came from my understanding of Jesus as the 'Cosmic Christ'."

"Now the second thing I would say is that if I believe that Jesus is the 'Living Word' and the 'Cosmic Christ', the second absolutely key conviction that holds my life together from the time of my conversion until now, is that I believe that the Bible is the 'Written Word'. Jesus is the 'Living Word'; the Bible is the 'Written Word'. I have a high view of the inspiration and authority of the bible. And I believe that if one studies the new testament, one can see that Jesus had a very, very high view of the canon of scripture which bound the Jewish society at that time. And I look at that view and I say I want to embrace that view. If I look at the Apostles view of the old testament, if I look at the Apostles view of their own writings and each others writings, I believe one sees a very, very high view of the inspiration of God and of the Bible. I believe that when the canon was closed in early 4th Century or something, that that was that. Not to say that there can be no other living words from God passed to people. But in my mind that was where the scriptural canon was

closed and our job now is to understand what the Bible says, to exegete what the Bible says, to obey what the Bible says, to hold onto its authority and to stand by it. And so as I look at issues around me, you know, whatever those issues are, I bring them to the touchstone of scripture and that for me has been absolutely key.”

Interviewer: “How would you say that your value of reconciliation, as the flipside of evangelism, has impacted the structure that you built within African Enterprise, within the relationships in African Enterprise?”

Cassidy: “Well I don’t think you can look at the New Testament with any seriousness or thoroughness and not realise that it gives a vast amount of time within its pages to the relationships that are within the Church. The very fact that Jesus started out telling his disciples to love one another. What he was telling his disciples was; ‘By this will all men know that you are my disciples if you love one another.’ So the most distinctive thing about Jesus that probably any non-Christian would pick up who knew almost nothing about him was that he preached love and was a loving person. As soon as you talk love you talk relationships, you are talking the horizontal, you are talking human relationships as an outward expression of an inner love for the Lord. ...In the wider developing community in the book of acts, you find that the thing that was distinctive about them, they were an alternative messianic community. I mean it had people in it who were government people, system people, it had people who were zealots bent on overthrowing the system by violence –like ‘Simon the Zealot’. You find when you step into Acts 13 that the church in Antioch it had whites and blacks. It had Niger or the black man, it had Simon of Cyrene, probably an Arab and I mean an Arab-African. He came from North Africa, might have been a black person out of that world back there. You had Jewish people, you had old you had young you had government people, someone had worked in the court of Herod. And those were the people there, those were the leaders. And that was why in Antioch they had to find another name for people who had these incredible relationships, could not call them Jew, could not call them Gentile, and they called them Christians, ‘Christ-ones’.”

“...And of course as we came back into South Africa, in 1962 and then full time at the end of ’64, we came back into a drastically polarised society. Because we were committed to a gospel in word and deed we had no option to begin applying ourselves to the problem that stared us in the face. Around every corner this was the issue, around every corner it came. People tried to tell us that we could not have interracial meeting, people tried to make life difficult when we added interracial components to our team. So the circumstances thrust the relational issue into our faces. We found English-white and black at odds, we found English and Afrikaner at odds; we found several of the tribal groupings at odds. And if you were to carry out a gospel with any credibility at all, it had to be relational, you had to talk reconciliation and you had to take your Lord’s word in Matt 5:23 for example; ‘If you are bringing your gift to the alter and you find that your brother has something against you (not even you against him, but he against you) go and first be reconciled and then come bring your gift to me.’ ...So we began to preach it, we began to get into trouble for it, we found ourselves hounded by the security policy, by government people giving us a hard time, and by whites giving us a hard time. But we were very sure of our ground; we were not people who arrived at this late in the day.”

Michael mentions here the many impostures in the Church of late who say they never believed in Apartheid, but where were they when AE was being grilled for its stance?

“You mention Festo, 1968-69 we were preaching in Nairobi and it was logical for the two of us to preach together. Then when we went off to do our first ministry tour in the States, the theme that the Spirit of God seemed to give us was the one from 2 Corinthians 5: ‘God has given to us the ministry of Reconciliation’. And we did not plan that to be the theme song of our first tour, but it just happened everywhere we preached. And it was a big thing may I say for Festo, to take me into his life, much bigger than for me to take him. Because I was a white man, I was young, a lay person. I came from the pole-cat country of the world and he now already had a world ministry, but he saw that if he had come to Jesus and I had come to Jesus then we had to come to each other. Then out from there that ministry began and the Lord prospered it wherever we went. And of course our team here we saw very, very early – we started Full time in ‘64 and within months we had our first black person. That became our commitment, so we became a non-racial or interracial ministry as well as interdenominational. The very fact that AE is together today as a team and a ministry after 44 years, is a testimony to that commitment. Because Africa over those years has had massive fragmenting forces at work within it, and if you bring people in from every background, from East Africa, from West Africa, from South Africa, you bring in whites from South Africa, you bring in old time white Rhodesians you know and the developing black Zimbabweans from those early years. And then you bring in a couple of touch Aussies and some rather sensitive gentle Englishmen and a few rash Americans and you really stir the pot to almost impossible levels of requirement. And I need to be absolutely honest it was not all plain sailing.”

“There were times when we had to struggle, there were times when there were tears, there were times when there was misunderstanding, there were times when there were probably suspicions, there were times when we lost each other, but we knew that the rendezvous point was the cross, and if you got to the cross you could find one another. It was a place to repent, a place to say I’m sorry. It was a place to put ourselves together again and become reconciled. And it was really out of those struggles that AE still exists today. Any non-racial ministries in Africa that are honest probably would acknowledge the fragility that will always be there. The wounds from this racial thing in the past, they don’t just heal overnight. Just ask white and black Americans! They had their civil rights legislation first passed in ’62 and they are still working it out. So you know it all flowed from the love requirements of Jesus and then the context we were in. You could get nothing [evangelistic crusades/ missions] to work unless you based it on reconciliation.”

Interviewer: “Backtracking slightly to Festo, can you describe how that worked structurally and relationally how that worked. Did you see yourselves as peers, as father and son, who reported to whom? Describe the relationship both structurally and relationally?”

Cassidy: “Let’s take the structural one first. The structural relationship when Festo came into the work was that we became co-leaders. We weighed in each at 185 and $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds, I mean we were absolute peers structurally. We were co-leaders of a ministry; neither was more senior than the other, and neither reported to the other per se in like an accountability line. That was structurally how it was and it was considered a pretty unique kind of set up across the world. But we had basically a very good and a precious and a very sound relationship. But the practicalities of working it out were really quite difficult. Because Festo lived in Kabali and I lived down here (Pietermaritzburg), it was very hard and expensive to get together in those years phones and that were not at all reliable. We did not

have e-mail things; you know the way that you can communicate today. So that what really happened was that we came together when we did ministry and when we met for inter-team meetings or our international council, or with our international partnership board. And in those times we would connect, we would share, we would pray. We would seek to orchestrate together, and I think both for him and for me it was difficult, the structural arrangement was difficult.”

“Because what often happened because many people saw me as the founder of the work or else as more easily accessible because I was in a place that phones and systems worked a lot of things landed on my desk as if I were CEO, but I wasn’t really organisationally CEO. So what it meant was that I couldn’t make any decisions till I had got hold of Festo or tried to talk to Festo, and I found it very difficult at getting to Festo. It was an arrangement that as we went along I found it personally increasingly difficult and I think he did to. There would be sometimes that I would go into Nairobi and Festo would be up in Uganda and many people would perceive me to be like the founder of the organisation. So if there were problems in our teams in Kenya or some staff issue or money issue – when I would go to Kenya people would start rocking up and say can I talk to you off the record. Then that of course became difficult for Festo, because it almost looked like I was stepping into his bailiwick and trying to almost take over his turf, none of which was ever my intention or desire. But people found him hard to access, not only was he in another country –in Uganda – but he wasn’t even in Kampala, he was in the boondocks down in Kabali and beyond that he was an Anglican Bishop as well.”

“So I need to be honest and say that structurally I found it difficult. So that when Festo died, I took a very deep breath and I knew it would be misinterpreted by some and there were some people who said, oh Michael is just in a power grab, but when Festo died I started to say to the ministry I actually think you need a single leadership. It’s really a very very difficult way practically to work [a dual leadership]. Although we a successor in a wonderful brother called Bishop Graceford Chitema, we were kind of co-leaders for a while, but the point came when just so much was happening it needed me to make decisions, and Graceford was in Tanzania. I finally just said to [my board] listen, either downgrade me to something else or upgrade me to a single leadership because I’m finding this very very difficult and stressful.”

“Now as far as Festo and my relationship goes, we had many years that were fantastic years. The decade of the seventies was really a great decade, but towards the end of the seventies, we began to get into some hassles. It never meant we could not preach together, but so many issues were coming at us, money issues, medical issues, Idi Amin, all of that and we never fell out, but we got into some tension relationships.”

Interviewer: “Was it an unusual relationship where age did not really factor in? Was there some situations when you would advice him, were there others where he advised you?”

Cassidy: “That sort of thing happened all the time we were an interchange, interface with each other, the sharing of ideas and I honestly think a high percentage of the time we had a good synergy. As we went around the world ministering I was definitely the junior partner, in terms of the perceptions of the public. He was the real starter and the people acknowledged that we were together and be were an unusual combo, but he was older than I, more senior than I, he was a Bishop, I was a ‘layman’, and he had this world-wide fame

through this Idi Amin thing. And I remember once when we were in Australia in 1978, one of the ministers saying to me, isn't it a bit difficult for you sort of being in the shadows, being like sort of an also ran with Festo. And I was so thankful that I was able to say to him, I am junior to him in spiritual maturity and accomplishment, it's just a privilege for me to carry his briefcase round the world and be with him, be an associate, be a colleague and how much greater a privilege to minister with him. ...So that's how we went, we would preach on the reconciliation message, one of us would take the horizontal, the other the vertical and people were quite captivated with this sort of thing. We shared together, he was an awesome colleague to have and to be around, and you know I loved him, really, really profoundly. And Festo in full flight – I've never ever heard another preacher or colleague like that.”

Interviewer: “What impacts on your life have political leaders had, particularly the positive impact, in terms of reconciliation? Often we talk of the Church's impact on the State, but on a personal level has there been an impact back from some political figures on you?”

Cassidy: “I could never answer that question without talking about Patrick Duncan. Cause he was my childhood hero. They lived next to us, he and his wife, his mother lived opposite us, she was the widow of Sir Patrick, you know the Governor General of South Africa under Smuts. And um, people would say to me who was the most interesting human being you have ever met, I would say without any hesitation Pat Duncan. He was incredible, he was captivating, exciting, inspiring, energising, but the dominating passion of his life was to see justice for black people, and the dominating antagonism of his life was apartheid and all its works and its injustices. So Pat politicised me at age about 10 or 11 and he explained to me as a little boy and he explained to me in 1948 when Malan came in and Smuts lost. He really explained to me what a tragedy this was for South Africa and how we would pay a dear price. So he was quite significant. Then I suppose I would have to say people like Alan Payton made an impact in my life because ‘Cry the Beloved Country’ came out when I was a school boy and Michael House at the time was really quite a liberal school. My house master was involved in anti-government politics – the schools posture was very clear where it stood against apartheid. So Michael house was a positive political influence on me. And of course I also began doing bits and peaces of reading and Patrick Duncan had inspired me with Gandhi – Mahatma Gandhi. Because Gandhi was the man of peace. Gandhi was a man of passive resistance, of sole-force what they call *Satyagraha*, which was Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence. People say Gandhi loved the British out of India, and Pat for most of his life until the very end when he did become converted to violence and we parted company then. But he had really proclaimed the way of Gandhi and I took that subconsciously into my heart and life.”

“As I got to Cambridge I was quite a bit influenced by Trevor Huddleston, who although he was an Anglican Monk in the Community of the Resurrection he was also quite a powerful political figure as well. I met him and found him quite inspiring, and you mentioned Smuts I found him quite inspiring. I never knew Smuts, but the Duncan family all knew Smuts. And I had a letter today from John Duncan, Pat's brother, who is still alive and we go to the bush together every year. And John Duncan can regale you with stories of Smuts because they lived all around government house, up there. And one of the things I was intrigued about Smuts, he had a global vision of how the world should go. He helped I think in forming the “League of Nations” and things like this. He was bigger than South Africa and that was something that I thought was good. I don't know whether I

consciously thought I would like to be bigger than South Africa. I would like to have interests that go beyond the parochial. I'd like to think more about the continent, about the world."

"I must say also I was very inspired by Louis Botha, because although he failing in taking up racism, he had a tremendous heart in burying the hatchet after the Boer war. He and Smuts were such key figures in that, magnanimous, gracious, Statesman-like. And they were also joined by someone who interested me a lot, but right there you see a letter from Deneys Reitz written to my grandfather. He was a Boer War General and a mate of Smuts and of Louis Botha and writes there to my grandfather in which he says that my grandfather helped him get a bigger vision and swallow the pride and hostilities and bury the hatchet from the past and begin to rebuild a new South Africa. And my grandfather used to speak to me with incredible affection about the role that Deneys Reitz had played in his life. So I found Deneys Reitz a very inspiring figure, he brought some political influence into my life. And I've mentioned to you 1957, Martin Luther King, that I got from his wife [she had signed a photo of Martin Luther King]. I went to see her when I was writing 'The Passing Summer'".

"I believe I was also touched and affected by De Klerk. I think history is going to be kind to De Klerk. There wouldn't have been a Mandela happening had it not been for the De Klerk happening. I mean FW De Klerk came to some sort of light bulb, some kind of political Damascus road. I like to think that the spiritual played into it as well. And he realized that apartheid was wrong. I think the 1986 decision of the Dutch Reform synod, my friend, he was a very good friend to me –he was assassinated after that verdict of the NG Kerk synod in '86. He led the charge, he was much affected by SACLA I in 79' and then he kind of led the exegetical studies that brought about the conclusion in the Dutch Reformed church that apartheid was wrong."

Interview with Jamie Morrison, Personal Assistant and “Editor-Writer” for Michael Cassidy, conducted at the African Enterprise Training Centre, Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday 25th May 2005 at 3:30pm (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “What Style(s) and Structures is Michael comfortable with/ uses regularly, in the AE ministry?”

Morrison: “I think he’s quite an informal, relational, hands-off kind of leader. His way of operating is that he’s a very motivated self-starting sort of person. And I think he sort of expects other people to be that. The structures of AE, the thing is about AE is that it does not really have any middle management. There is Michael who is ‘International Team Leader’ and then we have 10 teams in Africa and each of those have a team leader and they also have a board of directors in each country over that team leader. [The team leader is] answerable to the board and to Michael. There is not really anyone between the team leaders and Michael. In the same way we have support officers in six countries overseas including Australia and New Zealand and those people also report have boards that they report to, but they also report to Michael as International Team Leader. I don’t know what all the management and leadership literature says but I think that’s quite a large number of people reporting directly to him as head of the ministry. Then there are a couple of other people who they call ‘Pan African Executive Officers’ – there is a guy in Tanzania who does ‘Reconciliation Ministry’; we have a guy here who does ‘Training and Leadership Ministries’; technically our director of our Australian office handles ‘Aid and Development in Africa’ even though he’s an Australian; then we used to have a guy who was ‘Human Resources and Organisational Development’ although he just left a couple of years ago.”

Interviewer: And do they each relate to all sorts of people in all sorts of countries. Do you have a matrix structure where the “Pan African” leader relates to people concerned with for example ‘Reconciliation’ in all sorts of countries outside of Tanzania or is that not really the case?”

Morrison: “I think in theory that is how it would relate but he has done most of his work in Burundi where we don’t have a team. But we do have one in Rwanda. He’s done work in the Congo as well, though we do have a team, it is a very new team, so those people also report directly to Michael. So probable there is about twenty people reporting directly to him.”

Interviewer: “You say his style is pretty ‘hands-off’ but does he get more ‘hands-on’ when you are running a campaign somewhere?”

Morrison: “Some missions are Pan-African where we call on members of quite a number of AE teams across Africa and some missions are more a national mission where one country will do a mission. In either situation really Michael does not get too intimately involved in the preparation for the mission. That’s the job of the Pan-African Missions Department or that’s the job of the national office in the country that they are doing the national mission. Mostly his role in a mission is to be there – to preach and to speak. ...The top leadership is who he normally speaks to. Normally in our missions they try to end it with a big stadium type rally and normally Michael is the one to give the main message at that stadium event.”

Interviewer: “What are his passions – like his involvement in ecumenism, and reconciliation – and what do you see as Michael’s underpinning values?”

Morrison: “I do think evangelism is got to be the underpinning value. He is probably an evangelist above all. ...You had mentioned reconciliation, and he’s done some pretty amazing things in reconciliation but I would say he has gotten involved in reconciliation as an outflow of the gospel – of bringing the gospel to bear in whatever situation. And the fact is he’s lived in and worked in South Africa for most of his life – it has been a situation that has so needed reconciliation with all the alienation and divisions here. I think that’s one of the main reasons he has got so involved in reconciliation. I think that if he had worked and grown up in a context that was not so divided I’m not sure that he would have gotten so involved in reconciliation. He still would have been preaching the gospel and he still would have been bringing the gospel to bear in a way that related to the issues wherever he was.”

“But I think that evangelism is his main thing and probably a very close second is a relating to and gathering the church. When you think of spiritual gifts I think that Michael has the apostolic gift and he’s able to call the church together. You see that all the way from ’73 and the ‘South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism’ in Durban when he got the church together there and from all across the spectrum – from Pentecostals to the real conservative evangelicals to the main-line churches and everything; to PACLA in ’76; SACLA I in ’79; ‘The National Initiative for Reconciliation’ in ’85; PACLA II in ’94 and then SACLA II in 2003. It seems like in Africa and in South Africa – I may be wrong – but I don’t think there has been anyone-else who has been able to call the church together as fruitfully and as successfully as Michael has.”

“...The other thing is that evangelism has been his main thing but evangelism targeted especially at leadership. I mean not exclusively but especially at leadership. I think from the beginning at Fuller Seminary, leadership was one of the things that he got hooked into, especially into the prayer-breakfast ministry in Washington DC.”

Interview with Mark Manley, Team Leader for African Enterprise –South Africa from 2001 till 2003, conducted at his home “the Knoll”, Hilton on Thursday 11th August 2005 at 5:30pm (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Mark Manley: “We had a very good two years, able to turn the ministry around. When I entered it was in a state of serious decline, financially troubled, I wouldn’t say crisis, but troubled. So financially we were able to turn that around to a 25% year on year funding improvement. We were able to increase the ministries, the actual ministries themselves, so for example the opening up of a new reconciliation ministry (well it was not new it was revitalising something that had been defunct for 12 years or so. We were able to set up a new leadership development; we were able to increase the evangelistic ministry of African Enterprise by probably 50% on what was expected –so great things! We were able to extend the net work of African Enterprise to a lot of places where it hadn’t been, particularly some of the church streams where AE had not penetrated effectively. So ministry overall probably increased by about 50 to 70%. Staff increased by about 20%, which is not necessarily a good thing but in the midst of transition it is quite a good indicator. The attrition rate because of the changing culture –we lost 2 people”

Interviewer: “You have been referring a change in organisational culture here, away from a ministry-appeasement culture to one of a business culture where leadership can be unpopular. Do you think that there was also a change in the makeup of the staff and so in that sense the overall dynamic of culture from a staffing point of view in AE?”

Manley: “... But yes, new staff came on board it was younger it was guys that had a different type of orientation but the thing is that the people that were in the positions of power were the people that had been with the ministry on an average for probably about 30 years. So the culture was changing outside of the realms of the powerbrokers and that lead to a certain amount of tension”

“The culture was essentially tactical or short term as opposed to strategic. And that probably was the greatest change that we brought about – was moving from a tactical culture – responding to that which is going to make us successful and hopefully still pay the bills, to being strategic – saying here are our long term goals and our objectives which defines what I have to do now. It means also going out and doing unsolicited ministry and that was different and was very uncomfortable for those who were more reactive as opposed to being proactive.”

Mark then discussed the changing culture made up of many new particularly young people whose individual culture was at first bound by the old but found wings, a liberty and expression!

“I think what started to emerge, certainly amongst the youth is that they found a voice, certainly for the first time, and even after I left, up until last week I had people who were given liberty to express their new culture and their new paradigm orientation been given wings within a new AE kind of framework – suddenly there was that new kind of framework – that new found success. That yes we can embrace the new as opposed to just forcing you to conform to the old. So as a result of that within eight months of me leaving most of the new people had left, most of the youngsters had left and were asking me for

jobs! Please start up another AE, please start up another ministry which I have been very reluctant to do.”

“I don’t know if this in answering your question, but the black-white issues are deeply seated and there is a great amount of anger and discontent and people do not see AE as a new South African organisation – certainly not historically in terms of what my experience of it was. It was obviously part of my desire to make it a new South African organisation – it does not necessarily mean a black organisation but it means a new South African non-racial organisation, but at the same time not making excuses for its empowerment of previously disadvantaged people. Because we would not have to make excuses because we were excellent and so empowerment and excellence operating simultaneously –that was my ideal. Sort of a la Albert Luthuli: ‘Somewhere in there beckons a civilization, it will be African but it might not be all black.’”

“I think what had emerged in the people’s pursuit of non-confrontation –making sure people were happy as opposed to accountable was that people who were not competent and who were not leaders were given a position. And so you had this very top heavy situation where many people were called funny things which amounted to being managers and had a voice on the “Exco” [Executive Committee]. So it was a bit like a sky-scraper as opposed to a pyramid, which is a very unhealthy situation. But now what that should have allowed for was greater expression because now everyone’s got a say. But we all know it does not work like that because it did not have a formalised matrix approach. It was still hierarchical, very hierarchical. More disturbing was the unofficial hierarchy, the one that operated in parallel to the hierarchy that was in the formalised structure and this had to do with access to the power, and the power in this instance was Michael and those who could influence Michael and the old cleek – the old boys club. Those who could influence, these people, although they might have had no structural power, were the people with the power.”

“One of the things I did was to flatten the organisation and we had three levels. If the Catholic church can operate on five levels from the Pope to the person in the pew there is no reason why an ultra-tiny organisation like AE of (when I got there something like) 23 people needed to have levels of management-supervision – it was bazaar! And so we flattened the whole thing. ... It didn’t work, it was essentially sabotaged. Look within me leaving, let me tell you within two months, every new ministry had been shut down, every new initiative had been sidelined – it is as simple as that. The 67 year old previous interim leader had been re-established as the leader and the funding was once again in trouble. It was like I never happened.”

Interviewer: “What is Michael’s leadership style?”

Manley: “So Michael comes in as this fresh faced youngster and brings in this new paradigm –this brings in this breath of fresh air. And starts doing things ‘busking’ to a large extent because no one has done it before. So he comes in with this new way of doing things and its great and people respond and people get behind it and its wonderful and Michael has an anointing and he is an evangelist and nobody can ever take that [an anointing] away from anybody, even though they might want to. He is a very effective evangelist. And so his ministry if seen in terms of Ephesians 4 would fall on the evangelism side, he is not a very good administrator. He is not so pioneering or prophetic

– there are certain elements to his evangelism that are prophetic – yes and we saw that in the context of striving for justice in South Africa. I think he does not fall into the justice side of the political spectrum, he falls more into the liberal side. I think that [his political persuasion] is more a function, not of his prophetic nature but more of a function of his Lesotho childhood culture and then finding a theology to support it as opposed to being prophetic and saying this is justice and it fits into this theology, rather he found a theology to support it – he actually said as much to me! And so he’s not a great teacher, and he is not a great pastor. His primary gifting in ministry is as an evangelist – that is where he functions best.”

Mark explained, summarised as follows: The change in the initial style, from the style that has sustained AE over the last 45 years or so, it has been a damping up and impounding of those initial heady days, where there was an entrepreneurial-pioneering style, now there is a style that “maintains”. This was explained by looking to Michael’s roots and his Lesotho childhood culture: “In terms of his world-view its essentially colonial – ‘we have to do the right thing on the basis of what is right’ as opposed to a more contemporary view – ‘you have to do that which works.’ Michael comes out of ‘Systems 4’, I come out of ‘Systems 7’ and there we couldn’t see eye to elbow. ...He probably thought I was ‘Systems 5’, and ‘Systems 4’ folk are very threatened by ‘Systems 5’. Part of the sadness I have is that they are still clinging to power, still unable to make the transition.”

“Michael’s style is now autocratic or directive. I was in disbelief – here’s Michael the champion of democracy and he’s behaving like a dictator – this cannot be, and yet you scratch the surface and there it is, and it is done in the nicest way and I think that fools everybody. ...So here we have SACLA [II] and it is all the “old toppies”, speaking and hogging the show, nobody young with a new idea or paradigm. And so that’s the juxtaposition, that it is done in such a nice way but it is still dictatorial. Even in SACLA [I], when I spoke to the black guys – Caesar Molebatsi had to do the keynote address at the end of SACLA I – now he is now older than me, but he was then this black young buck, but he has no real time for Michael, he tolerates Michael but there is bad blood there. ...He told me that when he was given the platform for this keynote address, wrapping up SACLA, Michael sat down with him and tried to influence Caesar in what he had to say. “No you can’t say that ...” and so on, it was like a censorship sort of thing, a one man censorship. So Michael is a control freak, but he’s so nice about doing it, because he has a desperate desire to be liked. He has a fragile ego.”

Interview with Michael Nuttall – retired Bishop of KwaZulu Natal, conducted at 238 Johan Rissik, Waterkloof Ridge, Pretoria-Tshwane, on Saturday August 2005 at 5:00 pm (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “How do you see Cassidy’s style of leadership within the context of AE?”

Michael Nuttall: “Well in the nature of things it has been a very much Michael Cassidy lead organisation, and he has had his team surrounding him. The big challenge as I understand it, and I know they have been wrestling with it themselves is what is going to happen when Michael Cassidy moves on or out? And they are talking about it as a second generation leadership. And my perception, frankly for what it is worth, I am not in on the inside of the workings of AE, I’ve never been on any of their boards or committees, but my perception looking on from the outside as it were, is that they are having difficulty working on that one. There have been quite a few fairly strong characters who have come in, second generation leadership, the most recent being Mark Manley. But there was an Anglican priest actually from Singapore, whom I got to know quite well as I had to relate to him as one of our clergy in Natal, who came a ‘cropper’ for whatever reason – I’m not quite sure. His particular style, what he had to contribute was not acceptable, so he had to move out! So I think they are having some difficulty. I said to Michael at one point: ‘How is it Michael that you are on the SACLA executive representing AE and Mark Manley isn’t. Because my understanding is that you are ‘International Team Leader’ now, not the South African leader. Michael just looked at me.”

“I know nothing about what happened, Mark Manley as far as I am concerned just disappeared off the AE map and I don’t know why, and it was never made public, perhaps it couldn’t be. Naturally one drew one’s own conclusions –there had been a clash of some sort. I think AE and Michael personally are finding it difficult to let go of the Mike Cassidy *imprimatur* – imprint, style in relation to AE. And it is going to be an enormous challenge for AE to continue and to survive, particularly in its South African face when Mike moves out. Michael says he does not believe in retirement – he’s going to be leader emeritus, he’s made that public. They have just appointed a new ‘International Team Leader’ though, who will take over in two years time – Stephen Lungu who is in Malawi. Michael has had this extraordinary mission, and he has persisted with that vision and that has been a very positive thing and has lead to the expansion of AE, essentially as we’ve seen it. But it has had its negative side, in that it has brought with it such a strong Cassidy mark – water mark as it were – into the organisation that the challenge for the organisation and indeed for Michael himself, I think, to move on without him.”

Interviewer: “How does this style differ when he is outside of his immediate organisation?”

Nuttall: “I don’t want to give the wrong impression; he likes to work with colleagues, very definitely, colleagues who are congenial, theologically, there is an interesting co-patronage with Cardinal Winfred Napier, the leading Roman Catholic in South Africa at the moment and with a Cardinal no less. They are co-patrons of this marriage alliance and they are fighting these contentious issues through to the constitutional court to try to safeguard the traditional understanding of marriage in South African society. And he’s got his co-hosts of SACLA and all of that – so Michael likes to work with colleagues, but he plays a very definite prominent role in that he himself is almost the leader number one in those working relationships. My perception is that the situation Michael is involved in with Cardinal Napier and others is very much Michael’s main arena with others in support.”

Appendix 6 Interviews Regarding Tutu

Interview with Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Emeritus of the Church of the Province (Anglican), conducted in transit between Pretoria and Soweto in the interviewer's vehicle, Tuesday 15th March 2005 at 11:00pm (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: "What are your primary values?"

Tutu: "I think that the values that one has are mainly ones that one has unconsciously assimilated over the years, informed by one's faith. What the bible says about God, about human beings, the things that our Lord says about things [such as]; 'If you want to be first you must be last.' They are there without always intruding [consciously thinking about them], you hope they become part of your life, you hope that it could become as normal as breathing. And so I suppose all of us would say we try to take our Lord as our model, a person who affirmed others and is constantly looking for ways to serve others as the highest form of leadership."

Interviewer: "You are known for a value of Reconciliation, would you say that you draw your inspiration for some of the things you do from the Lord Jesus himself?"

Tutu: "Yes, I mean our faith which is fundamentally a reconciling faith, I suppose one of the most devastating things you could say about the first five books of the Bible is the image of a world that is torn apart, a world that is alienated, that needs atonement, at-one-ment, and how it is Falcrano or whoever, who says that the proto-history shows how sin happens and God punishes sin and then gives grace, and then this is seemingly broken with the tower of Babel with sin and punishment and grace has not appeared. But then you realise – they say that it is first the patriarchal stories but ultimately the call of Israel is the "Grace". God's project is seeking to restore the primordial harmony. I think its Gocal they say who says that the end time becomes like the beginning time. When you read Isaiah and he has that vision of the lion and the lamb lying together, and a child playing over the hole of a snake and not being harmed. Our faith is one that is one that is fundamentally reconciling, reconciling human beings to God, human beings to one another, human beings to the rest of creation. And our Lord says of his coming crucifixion: 'I, if I be lifted up I will draw all to me ...', and St Paul speaking about how we have been given the ministry of reconciliation."

Interviewer: "On the style of leadership that you use?"

Tutu: "It is because I don't have all the gifts, I'm very smart at getting good people around me; they then make me look good, able. No that's quite true, even at the TRC it was that way – we had wonderful commissioners, committee members and staff persons – they did the work and I got the credit. Even as Archbishop the other bishops were just outstanding people, most times, and I was a very good captain because I had a winning side."

Interviewer: "Would you say that in areas of disagreement that you tried to find out your staff's opinions?"

Tutu: "I tried. There have been times, I hope infrequent, where you have to say well this is what we have to do even when it might infact not be popular. For instance the bishops

decided soon after the political processes were being normalised that our clergy should not become card carrying members of any political party because whereas in most societies that would be a matter of indifference, at that time for us it was that we were in a very volatile situation and wanted to have priests who could minister to everybody, and have their ministrations accepted. Because you can imagine if you had a man who was known to be an ANC and he had to go and minister in an Inkatha area, it would be very, very difficult! It wasn't a popular decision, especially quite rightly people were feeling that they had been held back so long and now that you could become a member of any political party without any penalties being imposed by the government, that they thought that the church was being reactionary. And we just had to be firm and say we believe – and I think we were right for that particular period – that it should be so.”

“And so yes, there would be times when you hold on to a particular position which might not have been so popular. And my own position say over things like sanctions, not everyone agreed with me, that's putting it mildly, even in our church, even the bishops, we were not of one mind for a long time. They did come to a point where they were saying, they could agree to some extent.”

Interviewer: “Would you say from your position that you allowed some consensus to come through, as eventually if I remember correctly the whole sanctions was targeted toward investment sanctions?”

Tutu: “Well you try to be inclusive as possible, I think that looking back there must have been times when I was insufferable, because it is very easy to become self-righteous when you do look like, I mean, that you are right. I think that there were times when I could have been less abrasive than I was. There is a lot of truth in the saying that, ‘you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.’ And I say that maybe we lost some people, alienated some people by not always being accommodating and being tough.”

Interviewer: “As an Anglican coming up through the ranks, your structure is chosen for you and is fairly hierarchical. Was there any difference in the structure you adopted for the TRC, or in any of your other dealings?”

Tutu: “The first thing to say about the first months, the first part of our time together – very difficult, very, very difficult. I think each one of us wanted to establish themselves and lay out some of your turf, they were some of the most difficult meetings I have ever had to preside over. I had been accustomed to our church meetings, where yes there was consensus, although I think there was deference also for the Archbishop. At the beginning [of the TRC], some of the women for instance took umbrage that some were addressing me as ‘father’, and they said that now they were not going to accept all that paternalism. It was rough, but I think some of the things that I had learned in the church did infact come in handy. We were Jews, Muslims, Christians, Hindus and Atheists and we had to be welded into a team and in addition we were all of us people who had been wounded by apartheid. In the end I think we came to be more united than we had been at the beginning.”

Interviewer: “With the context you have just described did it tend to be a flatter structure?”

Tutu: “One of the things, that I hope to some extent is a gift of mine, was the fact that I like to give people space, I like letting everyone to have the opportunity to show-off their

ability, and I have mercifully learnt that I am not omniscient and omni-competent – that other people know certain things a great deal better than I. For instance, we would really have been up ‘Queer Street’ if we had not had Alex Boraine as the Deputy Chair. His managerial skills are superb. It was really because of him that we were able to have started as quickly as we did. He was good about putting down the structures that we needed and calling the staff that we should have had, because we had to start from scratch and I don’t want to wish that on my worst enemy. Other governments if they want to have a TRC should ensure that they have a structure in place. We didn’t have any of that, we had to find our offices, we had to find staff, and I would quite frankly have been completely out of my depth if we had not had someone with the considerable skills that Alex Boraine had! And the people who headed up our regional offices they too, turned out to be just out of the ‘top draw.’ I think I have got to the point where I am not too threatened by the competence and skills of others. And so allowing people to have space, and they came to realise that I really like affirming others and letting them take the bit between their teeth and to run with it.”

Interviewer: “So would you say that while you were the overall leader, you and Alex Boraine made a very good ‘team of leaders’ at the top, almost co-captains?”

Tutu: “He is quite outstanding and you can see he left the TRC and went and set up an institute for transitional justice – “The International Centre for Transitional Justice” – in New York. He got 30 million from Ford and now it is a flourishing concern. He has now stepped down as President and he’s now the ‘Chair’. But they are working in eighteen different countries. It was one of the wonderful things that we were able to work so smoothly together and it helped that I didn’t have to be looking over my shoulder, to know that he was loyal to the hilt and would not do anything to subvert me. Which isn’t something that you could take for granted, because we were – as I said – as wounded and brittle as our whole community, and we could have fallen apart.”

Interviewer: “How has your leadership both in the church and the TRC affected the nation? Has there been a felt positive impact from the church back into the nation itself?”

Tutu: “It is always interesting to find that they appointed an Archbishop to head up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was a quasi-legal body. That it is an interesting thing that they didn’t, as you could have expected, go for a judge, and I think that that says a great deal. And once we were meeting as bishops in our church and we were meeting in the Free State and we invited the Premier of the Free State to come and talk to us. And he said that he is surprised that we are surprised that they should have chosen to walk the path of reconciliation. Because he said the church is to blame if you want someone to blame [for choosing this path] because most of them were educated in church schools, and most of them are practicing Christians and therefore all of this should have been natural. Now if that is so, then one could expect that the results of the TRC would have been percolating through society and percolating through the leadership. But that does not mean we always obey or do the right things, when we may know that this is what should be happening.”

Interview with Michael Nuttall – retired Bishop of KwaZulu Natal, conducted at 238 Johan Rissik, Waterkloof Ridge, Pretoria-Tshwane, on Saturday August 2005 at 5:30 pm (Interviewer –Richmond Williams).

Interviewer: “Talk me through a brokering situation that comes to mind, that you and Tutu were involved in between Mandela and Buthelezi, or something similar?”

Nuttall: “We managed to get Mandela and Buthelezi to a joint meeting that went on for nine hours with their delegations in June ’93 if I remember correctly. And that was the point where Buthelezi had called the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] out of the CODESA negotiations because of the Nationalist Party and the ANC had reached a “Record of Understanding”. And they had agreed on a date for the elections, 27th of April 1994 and the IFP had not been part of that decision, and they pulled out of CODESA, not for the first time! So when we met, the IFP was standing out side. There was this terrible violence going on between the IFP and the ANC, in Natal, on the East Rand and so on. It was a desperate, desperate situation – and I think the hope in the media was that we would be able to persuade Buthelezi to come back in on the negotiations. Well Mandela and his team didn’t manage to persuade him to do that, but our view was that the fact that they were meeting in that way when the IFP was currently out of such discussions was a significant moment.”

“As I said in my book, “Number Two to Tutu”, my view is that the best thing we did that day was to arrange for Buthelezi and Mandela to have lunch together on their own. We don’t know what went on between them over that lunch but I believe they were able to find each other person to person, not just politician to politician, because they have a profound mutual respect for each other actually. It was the political dynamics of the situation that made them sought of “enemies” in adverted comas. And less than a year later, April ’94 the ANC wins the election and who comes into Mandela’s cabinet, Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Minister of Home Affairs together with others leaders of the IFP as well, there were three or four in his first cabinet. So I think that meeting played an important part in unlocking the doors to reconciliation.”

“Three times Mandela appointed him [Buthelezi] Acting President [when Mandela was out of the country], and I’ve spoken to Buthelezi about that. In fact I saw him here in Pretoria, when these new Bishops were consecrated here this year, February I think it was, and I commented to him on this, and his face just lit up he was so proud to have that trust place in him three times, okay short spells. But during one of those spells – you know – the decision was made and he had to make the decision, he obviously consulted with Mandela, you remember our troops went into Lesotho, post ’94, Buthelezi made that decision, they were asked to come in by the government because Lesotho was in an uproar. So three times Buthelezi was Acting President of this nation.”

Interviewer: “Is there something you can tell me about Tutu’s style, his brokering, what is it about Tutu’s style that he is able to get people to meet together?”

Nuttall: “He has got an amazing knack in which he uses his humour, he allows himself to be nudged to take advantage of an opportunity. I mean the way he got that meeting together; because there was a certain reluctance we were aware, not so much between Mandela and Buthelezi, but by some of their colleagues for this meeting to happen at all.

And it all happened over one weekend in Pietermaritzburg in my home town. Desmond Tutu was up for two events, on the Saturday the new bishop of Zululand was being consecrated in the Cathedral in Pietermaritzburg and Desmond came to do that consecration and because it was the bishop of Zululand who was being consecrated, Buthelezi was in the congregation because he is from Zululand. And during the peace, we were giving the peace to one another, Desmond goes straight to Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was sitting in the front of the Cathedral, gives him the peace and says to him in passing, ‘If I were able to get a meeting between you and Mandela would you come to it? Are you willing to come?’ To which Mangosuthu Buthelezi says, ‘Yes I would come, yes your Grace, I would come.’ He called him ‘your Grace’ and then we carry on passing the peace; he’s got his acceptance right there in the middle of the service. That’s part of Tutu’s style – ‘seize the moment’ – *Carpe Diem*.”

“Next day the city was unveiling a wonderful new statue of Mahatma Gandhi, you know Gandhi was kicked off the train on the Maritzburg station in 1893, on a cold night, because he was in the wrong compartment, he was sitting in the first class. In the cold night of the station, that’s when he thought up his philosophy of *Satyagraha*, non-violent, passive resistance which he eventually applied in India to great effect but he also applied it in South Africa, and this was 1993, a century later when the statue of Mahatma Gandhi was unveiled, and Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela were invited to come and do the unveiling. So no he’s got this contact with Mandela and Buthelezi the day before. So he said we are going to speak to Mandela over lunch, and he took me with him, got Mandela into a corner of the room over lunch, and said, ‘Look I saw Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday and he’s agreed to meet with you, are you willing to meet with him.’ ‘Oh yes, yes of course I am’, says Mandela. Right, now he says, ‘I’ve got to go overseas tomorrow, I’ve got a commitment overseas, so this Bishop Nuttall, he is your contact.’ And Mandela gives me his personal phone number to set up this meeting. Now that is Tutu’s style.”

“When we get to the meeting itself, about a month later, when we eventually managed to arrange a date and a venue, and those things are not easy to arrange! As co-chair, we involved Bishop Stanley Mogoba as well, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, a very well respected leader at the time and we thought lets involve him as well. So we brought him in on this, and he was very willing to cooperate. Stanley and Desmond co-chaired the meeting; I just sat on the edges as a little consultant and a listener. Stanley and Desmond chaired the meeting, and if I remember correctly they were fairly laid back in the way they did it, because the politicians were essentially talking to one another. But Desmond’s style is that he does not hesitate to nudge, to make a suggestion – ‘perhaps this is the way to go now’, or, ‘Don’t you think...’ He can be almost forceful but he does it with a humour that enables him to carry it off. Now look at the way he brokered that meeting. He just took advantage of those circumstances that weekend, and thought: ‘This is now God’s opportunity, I cannot let God down on this one.’ And he pulled it off.”

Interviewer: “And yet in the meeting itself, if I am understanding you correctly, he understood his as a facilitating role, so then he pulled himself back, but not so far that he could not interject when he wanted to.” (Nuttall responded; “That sums it up well.”) “Talk me through the styles and structures he was comfortable with in his many different capacities he lead in and any new structures he may have created that I am unaware of?”

Nuttall: “My experience was the more he came to trust me as a colleague and a friend alongside him, the more he was willing and wanted to consult as well. And to delegate tasks to me, he would freely delegate tasks, like he would leave me to prepare with one of our executive officers, he would leave me to prepare the agenda for a senate of bishops, and he would not interfere with that process at all, and would just receive it as something we would have done for him. He did not enjoy being engaged in that sort of thing, it wasn’t that he was weak on administration as some leaders are on that sort of thing, he was I think a good administrator, an efficient administrator and was very particular about keeping up with correspondence and that kind of thing. But he would be very willing, as soon as he trusted somebody to say, ‘You take charge of that and prepare that and I’ll come in at the right point.’ So he would preside forcefully and strongly, but he would work with an agenda that somebody else had prepared for him and he would not interfere with the process of that preparation, he would take it on trust. In our meetings, for example, as bishops, and any Synod that he presided over, he had an eye – he had a desire – for people to participate. It was a strange paradox in a way because his leadership was very much from the front, he was forthright, and would take a lion [lion’s share] himself, but he would also want to involve others in a participatory way.”

“And so it was a paradoxical thing really, it could have been the one or the other, but rather a laid-back leadership style. And he would sometimes catch the look on somebody’s face and say, ‘I think you want to say something don’t you?’ And he would thereby encourage that person not to hesitate but to speak. And very often he would be right on target, that person was a little bit hesitant but as soon as he got the encouragement from the ‘Chair’ that person would contribute. So it became a very participatory experience working under Desmond’s leadership and chairmanship of meetings, while at the same time making room for this diminutive person coming across with very strong contributions of his own. Not that he always won every argument, sometimes he lost, but he definitely had points of view that he would not hesitate to express from the ‘Chair’. And you had to take the measure of him, and give as much as you got, and not to cow-tow. It was something we bishops had to learn, because after all, here we were with a ‘Nobel Peace Prize’ winner. A famous international figure becoming our archbishop, now he’s one of us and we are working with him for the wellbeing of the church for which we all share a responsibility in leadership. And we had to learn to adjust to one another and do that [leading the church] together.”

“The person who was his deputy on the TRC, Alex Boraine, who became his next number two, he said that Desmond had quite a sharp learning experience after his first meeting with the TRC. And he makes the comparison of him leading the bishops of the church because he said, he now found himself with a much more objectionable lot, and people who are far less willing to fall into line under him than would have been the case in the church where his bishops would be far more willing to fall into line. And I was struck by that comment and said well you must not just assume that the bishops were just yes men because we weren’t. We had a great range of – a difference of – opinion. For example on the next question we struggled on in the ordination of women, a great range of opinion, and it was not just an easy ride for Desmond with the Bishops.”

“But with the TRC it became an even more difficult ride, because he had to deal with a more varied group of people, of different faiths or no faith at all, and coming from different professions and not quite as willing as we Anglicans tend to be to acknowledge authority in the life of the church. Not all Anglicans maybe but many Anglicans are very willing to

acknowledge the place of authority especially the bishop in the life of the church. Put him on a pedestal, we tend to do that in our church and it is not necessarily good for the bishops to have that done to them, but it is a feature of our church. But he came up against a different kind of environment with the TRC, the colleagues he was working with. But Alex Boraine goes on to say how brilliantly he moulded that group in all their diversity into a team. And he did exactly the same with us, it didn't come immediately, he had to work at it, he had to work with us and win our confidence, and he did. And he did the same with the TRC, as far as I can tell, winning their confidence. And then Boraine says; 'If there was any one person who was essential to the success such as it was of the TRC, that person was Desmond Tutu as the leader.' His skill was fairly considerable in moulding a team of people, especially for someone who had such strong views himself, non-the-less accommodating other people – and other views – and making them all feel important, making them feel that they belong and have something to contribute."

Interviewer: "You have mentioned a lot to do with 'teams', yet the Anglican structures are very hierarchical, what would you say are the structures he was most comfortable with?"

Nuttall: "When you go to a Synod, there you have got clergy and laity equally represented, presided over by the bishop, yes, but the bishop can't outvote them or anything like that. And he would preside over Synod, but he said openly he most enjoyed his meetings with his fellow bishops, he felt most comfortable at those meetings. They were consultative, they were not meetings that made decisions that governed the life of the church on the whole, they were influential, but they were not like Synodical meetings, which makes the canon of law that governs the church or something like that. The Synod of Bishops is a different kind of meeting for mutual encouragement and council, one from another and he was most comfortable – he was most relaxed in those meetings. You should also remember, Rich, his role as a prophet, because that was part of his style, speaking out as the prophet: 'Thus sayeth the Lord.' Which is what he did visa-a-vie society, visa-a-vie the state. So he was fulfilling that role quiet stridently, perhaps sometimes too stridently, but the circumstances were such that we needed to hear a stridden voice, knocking them [the politicians] back on their heels if necessary. So he was doing that with his strident call for economic sanctions, his leading of protest marches, his statements to the media and all of that. And then he had to hold together, with that prophetic style, a more consultative style among his fellow bishops in the life of the church, and a more democratic style himself as he presided over Synods in the life of the church. He had to actually adjust; he had to make room in his own qualities of leadership for these different elements of style [required in the varying situations]."

Interviewer: "We talk about his prophetic style or role, but is there also a pastoral style, is there a Pastor Desmond Tutu?"

Nuttall: "Desmond Tutu is first and foremost a pastor actually. He is not first and foremost the prophet, in my view. It was the circumstances in which he found himself which launched him into his prophetic ministry. Long before that he had already been the pastor, and he remained the pastor. He was in some ways the reluctant prophet, he was first and foremost the pastor, and what makes him the authentic prophet is precisely the fact that he has a pastoral concern for individual people, and for crowds of people. That is what galvanised and kept his prophetic ministry going, carrying for people. And that is what lay at the heart of his work for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, because he cared for

victims and perpetrators alike. And came alongside them pastorally. I call him in my book, ‘the Prophet, the Pastor and the Pray-er’, because undergirding both the pastoral and the prophetic ministry is an incredible work of prayer, of intercession. He is a great intercessor. He is always taking his intercession book with him wherever he goes, he takes it out whenever he can, he dives into it. So those are the three characteristics of Desmond.”

Interviewer: “What would you say are his main values?”

Nuttall: “He is utterly human, very humane, and compassionate. His concern is with the human family, not just the church family, so he is utterly human. He has an ardent doctrine of creation. The doctrine of creation is so utterly important to him. Every human being is made in the image and likeness of God. That is what galvanised his prophetic ministry as well, he called apartheid a blasphemy, not just a mistake. [Tutu says,] ‘Why have you got into conflict with the fundamental belief of Genesis 1, that we are all made in the image and likeness of God, therefore how could you treat people like that? It is a blasphemy.’ So he is human, he is humane, he represents *ubuntu* supremely, that difficult concept that is difficult to define. It is close to hospitality, it is close to sharing, compassionate. You know Descartes said, ‘I think, therefore I am.’ *Ubuntu* says, ‘I belong therefore I am.’ He is a representative of *ubuntu*, and *ubuntu* is very close to the Christian ethic of compassion, of sharing, of togetherness, of belonging to one another.”

Michael Nuttall the goes on to say ...

“One of the remarkable things about Desmond is that very often his jokes are at his own expense. ... He was born in Klerksdorp and yet in the mystery of it all, with the integration of gospel and culture, of *ubuntu* and his Christian faith and life he has become a person very secure in himself. And out of that personal security he had been able to give this leadership, as pastor, prophet, pray-er.”

Interviewer: “Was there any process to the development of Desmond’s theology that you are aware of?”

Nuttall: “His churchmanship reflects an essentially Catholic theology, strongly sacramental; he will celebrate the Eucharist every day of his life, provided he can find someone to do it with him. When we went overseas for example, to the Holy land, we stopped off in Frankfurt and had a few hours there, first things we were doing, we were looking for bread and wine to have a Eucharist right there in the Frankfurt airport. He will celebrate the Eucharist wherever he is, he is strong on sacramental life and liturgical worship, he will say his morning and evening prayer without fail. So his theology is Catholic, and outwardly he is Catholic, he is comfortable with the ceremonial. But he is adaptable, he can adapt to a Charismatic or Evangelical setting, but he is most comfortable in a Catholic kind of setting. I think from my personal observations – and here one speaks with caution – but just from my observations his position is very straight forward and simple, uncomplicated, and he operates in relation to God as a child. And he does not talk very freely about personal experience and he gave an interview once at a diocesan council about a very profound experience that he had early that morning in his bedroom, and I’ve quoted it in my book, about how he became aware that he was God’s child and Leah next to him in the bed had to sought of dangle him like a baby as he wept and wept and wept. But they were not just tears of sorry, they were tears of joy, and they were sought of echoes of certain scriptural passages from Isaiah 43, and Isaiah 49, that God’s love being like the

love of a mother. And he went to the diocesan council and he said that God was saying to him through that experience that there is no time to hate. This was in the 90's just before the TRC, that there is no time to hate we haven't got time for it; we all have to love one another. We must love one another as God loved us. And it was an experience of God's love. I think that just confirmed the spirituality of his, outwardly he is very Catholic, sacramental, but inside he is very simple, straightforward, childlike."

Michael Nuttall went on to describe a confrontation between Desmond and a minister who was more evangelical when he described those outside of the church as all God's children. The evangelical brother confronted him with the scripture, "for as many as received him, to them he gave the right to be children of God." Desmond flashed back with Genesis 1 again and said that if we are all made in God's image then surely we are all God's children. So he is strongly Catholic, almost falling on the Universalist side, that Christ has redeemed all mankind, and if he were pushed this is where he would probably fall. But he is criticised for being vague and not strong on his Christology by evangelicals, but this fits well with his brief, his calling, which is not just to the church but to the whole world. However he has a strong personal faith and he is strongly Trinitarian, addressing each of the persons of the trinity by name in prayer. He has a favourite prayer to the Holy Spirit to renew the whole earth from Psalm 104 which he loves to quote. Nuttall continued: "So his theology is very wide, its not confined. But there is no doubt about his orthodox Trinitarian faith in my view, but he doesn't have a strong love for Jesus theology on his shoulder. He wouldn't put an 'I love Jesus' sticker on his motor car. He is quite liberal of course in his theology."

Nuttall went on to say from this liberal basis, "... this belief in the motherhood of God, this drives him – and also on the grounds of justice – this drives him to believe that it is just to ordain women on the grounds that they have no control over their sex, just as blacks have no control over their colour so it is a justice issue. In regard to homosexuality and the acceptance of such, Desmond would go so far as to say, even though this is very controversial, that their sexual orientation is what they were born with, it is in this way God given so we have no right to demand that they change. In this way he is extremely liberal."

Interviewer: "What is it about Desmond that gives him the ability to transcend socio-political boundaries?"

Nuttall: "It is extraordinary. I think its life's experience partly; he is a widely travelled, experienced person now. You think of his background, he used to caddie on the golf course for pocket-money on the golf course at Klerksdorp as a youngster. He is bright; intellectually he is very, very bright. He was a brilliant teacher in his short teaching career so his past pupils. Absolutely brilliant. He has got a very powerful imagination, he has a zest for life, he just has this intense interest in people and everything around him. All that contributes I think, to this capacity that he has shown to transcend. Undergirding it all is his faith in a God, who is at the heart of everything, everywhere, everyone. And therefore he must relate to everything, everywhere, everyone. Because this is where God is, and that is where I want to be, he would respond. So he sees this as part of his calling, it is part of his calling to identify. Even though he clothes it in a Christian clothing, he is unquestionably Christian, but he is bigger than Christian. He made this controversial statement that God is not a Christian God. It is a very controversial statement. In other words you are not going to confine God to Christianity; you are going to see God as being

bigger than even the Christianity, which of course is true. And he is committed to that God, that notion of God, that belief in God. That forces him out into everything, that makes him transcendent.”

“A key text for him would be, ‘In Christ there is no Jew nor Greek, slave or free, male or female...’ and all the rest. He would add black or white, straight or gay. He said that, he said that! In Christ these things don’t matter any more. And we are all in Christ, not just for Christians, we are all in Christ. So he enlarges the Pauline meaning of that Galatians text, but that is crucial for him, it is absolutely fundamental, and that is what galvanises his philosophy of reconciliation, to be a reconciler. He also recognises wounds; this concept of being a wounded healer was at the heart of the TRC: “We are dealing with wounded people; I too am a wounded person. I carry my wounds but I also acknowledge that by God’s grace and love and mercy towards me that I am healed, so I am a wounded healer. I am a healed person, but I am also still a wounded person, and I work with other wounded people”, and I think that prompts his reconciling approach. Jesus on his cross, must be at the heart of his meditation a lot of the time, how can I be like Jesus, arms out, wounded, willing to embrace everybody, everybody. He has written a book, ‘No Future Without Forgiveness’, that comes not only from his work for the TRC but his contemplation of that word from the cross, ‘Father forgive them for they know not what they do.’ It is part of him; it is part of his spiritual life.”

“One of his parents was Xhosa and one was Tswana, and when he said that to Bill Cosby, Bill Cosby said, ‘That must make you a Zulu then.’ That is one of Desmond’s jokes about himself. He is trans-tribal in his parentage, so while he is Xhosa, and I think you could say that is his mother tongue at home, they all speak Xhosa, he and Lea would speak Xhosa when they speak an African language to each other, and when they speak to their children that is the language they use. But somehow they are bigger than all of that, he speaks about six languages, he speaks Sesutu, he speaks Tswana, he speaks Zulu, he speaks Xhosa, he speaks Afrikaans, he speaks English.”

Nuttall goes on to explain why the tribal aspect is not nearly so strong in Desmond as it was in Mandela. Desmond comes from the Fingo, infact the umFingo immigrated into Xhosa territory to escape the Shaka onslaught, and infact were badly treated by the Xhosa, true blood Xhosas. “And some of them went into the colony itself to get away from the Xhosa hinterland, way back in the nineteenth century, infact there is a Fingo village in Grahamstown, and they were given freehold tenure, why?, because they fought on the colonial side in the frontier war. And so Queen Victoria gave them freehold as a reward. They fought against the Xhosas. Now Desmond comes from that Xhosa grouping, there is nothing royal about him at all, he is a commoner. He is a complete commoner; therefore the tribal will be not nearly as strong in Desmond. Chief Luthuli is another one of these Nobel Peace Price winners, he is another one of these royals, tribal royal, royal line figures, and very much the chief, known as the chief to all his political comrades, and Desmond who is the complete commoner, from Klerksdorp in the Western Transvaal, TerreBlanche territory. That is one reason why maybe he does not have that Latin quality called *gravitas*. Mandela’s got *gravitas*; Luthuli had *gravitas* – a persona of seriousness. Desmond is a home grown product, whereas these other chaps bring it in their blood, these tribal chiefs!” Nuttall addressed how it was he had the nerve back then to be a home grown leader! “Let’s make room for God’s grace shall we.... He had all the potential, Desmond could have been a Prime Minister, but God took him and used him in this other way.”