

The SACC and Democracy in Post 1994 South Africa

By

Seungbum Kim

In fulfillment of the requirement of the degree

Magister Theologiae

Supervisor: Prof. Vuyani Vellem

September 2017

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements -----	iv
Abbreviations -----	v
Abstract -----	vii
Key terms -----	ix
Chapter1. Introduction -----	1
1.1 Background-----	1
1.2 Preliminary literature review-----	3
1.3 Problem Statement-----	5
1.4 Objectives of the study-----	5
1.5 Methodology-----	6
1.6 Limitations-----	6
1.7 Outline of the Chapters-----	7
Chapter2. The SACC and the Struggle for Black Participation in South African Politics -----	9
2.1. Introduction-----	9
2.2 The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the Black Theology of Liberation (BTL) -----	10
2.2.1 Racism and Apartheid -----	10

2.2.2 The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) -----	14
2.2.2.1 Understanding of the Black Consciousness Movement-----	14
2.2.2.2 Steve Biko and the Participation of Blacks-----	17
2.2.3 Black Theology of Liberation (BTL) -----	20
2.3 Democracy and Ecumenical Movement-----	24
2.3.1 Democracy and Christianity-----	25
2.3.2 The pursuit of democracy of Christianity-----	28
2.3.2.1 Pursuit of democracy of the WCC-----	28
2.3.3.2 The Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) -----	32
2.3.4 Contribution of the PCR for South Africa -----	38
2.4 The SACC and Ecumenism in South Africa-----	40
2.4.1 The General Missionary Conference in South Africa (GMCSA) -----	41
2.4.2 The Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) -----	42
2.4.3 The South African Council of Churches (SACC) -----	44
2.4.3.1 Understanding of the Cottesloe Conference-----	44
2.4.3.2 The Establishment of the SACC-----	47
2.5 Result of the Church Struggle in South Africa-----	49
2.6 Conclusion-----	53
Chapter3. The Evaluation of the Role of the SACC Played in Post 1994-----	55
3.1 Introduction-----	55
3.2. How the SACC struggled against apartheid-----	56

3.3 The notion of critical solidarity with state development within the SACC---	61
3.4 Critical solidarity with the state-----	64
3.5 An evaluation of the SACC in post 1994-----	69
3.6 Attempts at renewing the SACC-----	75
3.7 Conclusion-----	80
Chapter4. Participatory Democracy and the Kingdom of God-----	82
4.1 Introduction-----	82
4.2 The Understanding of the Kingdom of God-----	83
4.3 Participatory Democracy and the Kingdom of God-----	87
4.3.1 Definition of participatory democracy -----	88
4.3.2 Meaning of the Kingdom of God in South African Context-----	90
4.3.2.1 Desmond Tutu-----	91
4.3.2.2 Allan Boesak-----	97
4.4 The dialogue of democracy with the value of the Kingdom of God -----	101
4.5 Conclusion-----	105
Chapter5. Conclusion-----	107
Epilogue-----	110
Bibliography-----	112

Acknowledgements

First, I give thanks to the Lord, our saviour. And I am so glad to study the history of the black people of South Africa where they struggled to overcome evil.

I would like to thank to Prof. Vuyani Vellem who guided me to the liberation movement.

And I also would like to thank to my wife Soonmi who is always with me for support and encouragement and my precious daughters Semin and Serin. Last, special thanks to my father who passed away on 28th September 2014 in Swaziland. He retired and came to Africa to serve in a mission project.

Abbreviations

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
ABRECSA	Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in South Africa
ANC	African National Congress
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	Black People's Convention South African
BTL	Black Theology of Liberation
CEO	Churches of European Origin
CI	Christian Institute of Southern Africa
CCSA	Christian Conference of South Africa
GMCSA	General Missionary Council of South Africa
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists
ICT	Institute for Contextual Theology
IMC	International Missionary Conference
KD	Kairos Document
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
NCKK	National Council of Churches in Korea
NGK (DRC)	Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church)
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PCR	Programme to Combat Racism
PTC	Peace to the City

SACBC	Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACLA	South African Christian Leadership Assembly
SASO	South African Students' Organization
SPRO-CAS	Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society
SUCA	Student Union for Christian Action
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
UCM	University Christian Movement
WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches

Abstract

This study investigated the role of churches of South Africa in the process of democratisation in South Africa. Especially role of the SACC (South African Council of churches) plays their role as a prophetic church. The church has accountability for a democratic society. Before 1994, blacks of South Africa have struggled and churches have also struggled for the Kingdom of God in South Africa. When South African churches struggled against apartheid, the SACC, the WCC and other ecumenical partners cooperated and struggled together.

I have researched how the churches struggled against apartheid in an ecumenical movement and liberation movement in South Africa. It was mostly the ecumenical movement and liberation movement in South Africa that were fighting to overcome apartheid which is a political system of the state based on racism. The liberation movement in South Africa is inspired by Black Consciousness and Black Theology of Liberation. The Black Consciousness Movement and Black Theology of Liberation provided the foundation for the liberation movement of the SACC and other ecumenical organisations. The World Council of Churches (WCC) and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) played their role in democratisation of South Africa for black liberation. The WCC played their main role in the liberation movement in South Africa through the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) to struggle against apartheid. Since 1968 the SACC was started as a black ecumenical organisation to pray, support and struggle to overcome apartheid together for the participation of the black people of South Africa. The SACC declared the Kingdom of God in South Africa as an African ecumenical black organisation through statements such as the Cottesloe Statement, Message to South African People, Kairos declaration. They also declared and demonstrated through their studies, statements and marching. Unfortunately, in post 1994 South Africa, the SACC lost their prophetic voice to the government, because they had entered a "critical solidarity" with the government. They are in a crisis, under threat and yet presented with an opportunity for the ecumenical movement. The SACC did not play well their prophetic role in their relationship with the government. It seems that they also lost their prophetic stance. In the process of the reconstruction and development of the state, the poor and the marginalised were excluded. The black government repeats the same mistakes. And the SACC also did. Many black liberation activists pointed out and have asked the SACC

to restore their prophetic role in the state. Presently, the SACC and the church leaders try to restore and raise their prophetic voice. It is still very weak to play their role in the state.

The Kingdom of God always requires the participation of all people. But the apartheid excluded and discriminated the black according to the race and skin. The apartheid is not matched with the kingdom of God. Therefore, the struggle against apartheid was a struggle for the kingdom of God. In this process of struggling, the BMC and the BTL played the role as vehicles of the liberation movement for the kingdom of God.

The role of the BCM and the BTL has not yet expired. Both movements in South Africa are still relevant and are needed to sustain the society of South Africa. And the democratisation of South Africa is still to continue to seek the kingdom of God.

Key terms

Democracy, South Africa Council of Churches, Black theology of Liberation, Black Consciousness Movement, Programme to Combat Racism, Kingdom of God, Critical Solidarity, Apartheid, Participatory, Ecumenical Movement, Steve Biko.

Chapter1. Introduction

1.1. Background

When I was in South Korea, I had a great opportunity to work in the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCCK) as a programme executive of international affairs and ecumenical education and training for 4 years. During these 4 years I saw how our churches responded to our society in expressing their calling from God. I also observed how the NCCCK contributed to the development of democracy of South Korea. I watched how our churches worked together worldwide for the kingdom of God.

I experienced working together with the Christian Conference of Asia, several National Council of Churches from various countries and the World Council of Churches. It was a great opportunity and experience in my ecumenical journey. We showed each other our love and solidarity as brothers and sisters in the world. We fought together for the kingdom of God. We helped each other, and other people who were suffering for justice and peace. We worshipped together in our own way, but we also respected each other and our different traditions and unique ways of doing things.

Now I am in South Africa to work in a black community. I am working in Stoffel Park which is an informal area in Mamelodi East. When I came to the township for the very first time, my experience was not good. I observed that many of the people who lived in this community are very poor and jobless. On the other hand, I learned about the black community and the government, and how people fought against an apartheid system.

After the election of 27 April 1994, Nelson Mandela was elected as the first black president of South Africa. It was a historical change and development in South Africa. I started thinking about how the black people won and overcame apartheid, and I tried to compare the NCCCK and the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

When I was comparing the NCKK with the SACC, I could see the same efforts for the kingdom of God. NCKK and SACC are both ecumenical organisations, they are struggling and fighting for democracy in each of these two countries. The SACC is a fellowship of churches. They confess the Lord Jesus as God and Saviour, according to the Bible. So the SACC seek to fulfil their common calling to the glory of God. The SACC was struggling and fighting for the democracy of South Africa nationally and internationally. The SACC was working together with the World Council of Churches (WCC). The WCC started the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) in 1969. The PCR was emerged by the situation of South Africa. The black were oppressed and discriminated by the white supremacy government. This motive emerged by the black who are oppressed and confined from the politics. So the WCC defined the situation of racism in the world. Finally they launched the PCR in 1969. This programme supported liberation movements of the world But the PCR mainly focused on South Africa. The PCR led the international campaigns for economic disengagement from apartheid together with the SACC. This programme was launched in 1969.

In South Korea, we also have problems such as discrimination, injustice and dictatorship. Our country was ruled by a dictator after the Korean War in 1950. So our churches were struggling with a dictatorship and the ushering in of democracy in South Korea for many years through the NCKK. So our churches were seeking democracy and struggling for it.

We know our responsibilities for the kingdom of God. Churches have accountability for our society as participants in the establishment of the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is not only in heaven. The kingdom of God is also here right now where people are suffering. The kingdom of God is not invisible. It is not only heaven but also here where we live together. The Bible says:

Your kingdom come, your will be done on earth as it is in heaven. (NIV, Matthew 6:10)

Therefore, we can see these efforts in both countries as examples of an

ecumenical movement struggling for the establishment of the kingdom of God and the dawn of democracy. Ecumenism in this dissertation is viewed as working for the kingdom of God or creating conditions for staying together in the world without any kind of barriers. So through this dissertation I will investigate how the SACC is working for the kingdom of God through democracy in South Africa post 1994.

1.2. Preliminary Literature Review

A preliminary literature review demonstrates that past studies which primarily focused on being the church in South Africa, the ecumenical movement and the effort of democracy of South Africa have been there. Through these studies and research, various approaches have been recommended.

The SACC sought to speak the Word of God to the South African situation. This was done through the statements prepared at annual conferences and meetings of the Executive Committee (Spong 1993:22).

The SACC clearly confirmed their identity and also showed how the SACC contributed to the struggle for democracy in South Africa through their statements. It was their ecumenical journey for justice and peace in South Africa. Through their statements we can understand the background of the SACC.

In the book, *Being the Church in South Africa Today*, various writers identified the role of the church in a changing South African context. The papers were delivered at a consultation on 'South Africa in Regional and Global Context: Being the church Today' which was held in Vanderbijlpark, March 19-23 1995. From this the churches sought and investigated the role of the church and the history of how churches struggled for the liberation of South Africa. Further, the SACC clearly declared the role of the church in South Africa and their mission.

For more than the intervening 35 years, the churches of South Africa have had clear missions. They have worked to dismantle apartheid and to provide pastoral care for their people. Now, with the changes taking place

in South Africa, the churches have the opportunity and the challenge to reflect on what it means to be the church in Africa, in a context of reconciliation and growth (Pityana & Villa-Vicencio 1995: xiii).

Various writers have also researched the role of the churches in the book *The Christian churches and the democratization of Africa* which was written by Paul Gifford. This book focuses on the role of churches in a democratic country. According to this book, the churches have played a role in Africa's democratisation movements since the late 1980s. In various ways Christians were involved in many social problems. Pastoral letters have challenged dictators and churches have also provided some necessary support to people who were in trouble. In this book the thirteen case studies show the historical context and then critically examine developments up until late 1993.

De Gruchy examines the past, present and future roles of Christianity in the development of democracy in his book, *Christianity and Democracy: a theology for a just world order*. He examines the relationship from its beginning in early Christendom to its virtual breakdown as democracy becomes the polity of modernity, and focuses on five twentieth century case studies. He also looks at Nazi Germany and South Africa. His book demonstrates the revival of the churches as a force in the struggle for democracy.

The World Council of Churches has published much regarding apartheid and the situation in South Africa since they formulated the Council of Churches in South Africa in various ways. The WCC demonstrated ecumenical solidarity with the SACC when the SACC struggled with apartheid. Discrimination is not God's will and human beings are all equal before God. Skin colour, language age and gender etc. does not matter before God. In the light of this brief review on works related to the SACC, this dissertation seeks to further examine what the role of the SACC has been since the dawn of democracy in South Africa.

1.3. Problem Statement

In South Africa post 1994, society was changed. Nelson Mandela was elected as the first black president in South Africa and South Africa also adopted a new constitution. In this process of democratisation of South Africa, the SACC played their prophetic role as an ecumenical organization together with the WCC. The ecumenical movement in South Africa was influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the Black Theology of Liberation (BTL) in the context of South Africa. Blacks were oppressed by the white supremacy government which was apartheid. Therefore, the ecumenical movement in South Africa can be described as the struggles against apartheid before 1994.

In this dissertation, I will focus on the context of South Africa and the role of the SACC in the democratisation of South Africa post 1994. The apartheid government was finally defeated and a black government has been ruling the Republic of South Africa since April 1994.

The following research questions will be addressed in this dissertation:

1. What did the ecumenical struggle for democracy in South Africa and black participation in politics the world mean for an understanding of democracy?
2. In South Africa post 1994, how did the SACC view and contribute for democracy in South Africa?
3. How is democracy in post 1994 related to the values of the kingdom?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The long term goal of the research is to investigate the role of churches in South Africa and how the churches of South Africa will respond to the calling of God in the democratisation processes of South Africa. Therefore the study has the following objectives:

- The examination of the meaning of democracy in the ecumenical struggle against injustices especially apartheid in South Africa.
- An evaluation of the ecumenical movement in post 1994 democratic South Africa.
- A dialogue of democracy with the values of the kingdom of God.

The result of this study will be valuable for the SACC and member churches as well as related church organisation in South Africa.

1.5. Methodology

This is a literature study. Therefore this study explores the history of the SACC to show how the SACC contributed to democracy and the development of South Africa.

Black theologians have tried to analyse the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa, through the view of Black Theology, such as Biko, Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak etc.

Steve Bantu Biko built the foundation of Black Theology through the Black Consciousness Movement. And Allan Boesak strengthened Black Theology with further analysis and discussion through his books. Desmond Tutu demonstrated it through his sermons and addresses, protests and marches in his ministry of practice. Maluleke tries to analyse, research and interpret society from a grass root perspective which is Black Theology. Therefore the books and research of these authors will be used for interpreting the story of the SACC.

This study will thus be conducted from a perspective of liberation. Ecumenism in South Africa, especially the struggle against apartheid is not unrelated to the condition of blackness, thus Black Theology of liberation, especially works related to ecumenism in South Africa will shape the methodological approach of this work.

1.6. Limitations

This study is research carried out for a Master's degree in social theological ethics. It is written by a Korean, a male and an outsider with a passion for working in grassroots communities in South Africa. The study potentially contributes in multidisciplinary works on democracy.

1.7. Outline of the Chapters

In chapter 1 as an introduction, the problem statement, purpose and methodology of this research will be presented.

In chapter 2, the SACC and its Struggle for Participation of Blacks in Ecumenical Movement is presented. First, the ecumenical movement in South Africa through the lens of the BCM and BTL is examined. Second, the relation between democracy and ecumenical movement is presented. So how the WCC struggled against apartheid in order to obtain the participatory democracy will be investigated with lens of the Black Liberation BTL and the BCM. And how the Programme to Combat Racism PCR was contributed is also presented as struggle of the WCC for the black in South Africa. And third, the SACC contributed to the democracy of South Africa for the participation of blacks is presented through their brief history. Last, result of the church struggle in South Africa is presented before 1994.

Chapter 3 seeks to evaluate the role of the SACC played in post 1994 South Africa. In this chapter, the notion of critical solidarity with the state developed within the SACC played in the ecumenical church with regard to the role of democracy is examined. And an evaluation of the SACC is presented. In it, the issues that are related to the SACC in public life are discussed. Last, whether the SACC has continued to play its role for black democratic participation in South Africa today is argued.

In chapter 4, participatory democracy and the kingdom of God are presented. So in this chapter, further, the dialogue of democracy with the values of the kingdom

of God is presented. Through this process, different meanings of the kingdom of God are researched. Two theologians; Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak are engaged in this section.

In chapter 5, the understanding of democracy in South Africa and an evaluation of the SACC in post 1994 and the meaning of democracy related to the kingdom values are presented as a conclusion of this dissertation.

Chapter2.

The SACC and the Struggle for Black Participation in South African Politics

2.1. Introduction

The apartheid government excluded blacks and completely banned the participation of black people in any political life. Before 1994, there was no political participation for blacks in public life under apartheid. Black people were suffering and needed to be liberated from their oppressed situation. Many black liberation activities tried to overcome their situation and struggled against their context. Therefore, the liberation movements of South Africa were focused on black life and their resistance was focused on overcoming an unjust South African society. The ecumenical movement in South Africa was also focused on it. In the midst of the ecumenical movement, there was the ecumenical organization which is the SACC. The SACC was demanding the participatory rights of blacks in shaping their own lives and their destiny as citizens of their land. In particular there were two significant movements which could support the black liberation movement. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and Black Theology of Liberation (BTL) both provided some foundation of liberation for the participation of blacks in South Africa. It is important to understand the BCM and BTL were important to the democratisation of South Africa. To some extent, the researcher argues that the ecumenical movement in South Africa had a strong relationship with BCM and BTL, especially in 1968 when the SACC was formed. Before the formation of the SACC, there was the ignition of the liberation movement against racism in South Africa and the world.

The savage massacre of African patriots at Sharpeville and other places in South Africa on March 21, 1960, is of paramount significance in the struggle against apartheid and needs to be understood in its historical scope (Sibeko, 1976: para.1).

After the massacre, the World Council of Churches (WCC) and its member churches hosted the Cottesloe Consultation in South Africa to respond to the massacre and reflect on it theologically and to call the world churches to participate in this liberation movement. Behind this initiative of the SACC in 1968, the Sharpeville Massacre provided the synchronism and theological background which was supported by the Cottesloe Consultation. The SACC was formed for the rights of black and marginalised peoples of South Africa to assist them in the struggle against apartheid.

In this sense, the aim of this chapter is to examine the ecumenical struggle against white supremacy and enable the participation of blacks in South African life. So BCM and the BTL are presented as lenses through which to interpret the ecumenical movement in South Africa. The Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) will be also presented and evaluated as a programme of the WCC to support and struggle against apartheid. The establishment of the South African Council of Churches is presented in order to examine the meaning of democracy in South Africa and finally, the meaning of the church struggle against racism for democracy.

2.2 The Black Consciousness Movement and the Black Theology of Liberation (BCM)

2.2.1 Racism and Apartheid

In order to understand the BCM and the BTL, we need to know what of racism and apartheid as their main motives. Apartheid was the form of political racial system. Through many years, the political system has been misused for the desire of white South Africans. The political system of white supremacy in South Africa which is apartheid oppressed and excluded black people by the manipulation of the law. What is racism and apartheid? There are various definitions of racism.

Todorov describes racism as follows:

The word "racism," in its usual sense, actually designates two very different things.

On the one hand, it is a matter of behaviour, usually a manifestation of hatred or contempt for individuals who have well-defined physical characteristics different from our own; on the other hand, it is matter of ideology, a doctrine concerning human races (Todorov, T, 2000: 64).

Fredrickson also defines racism below:

My theory or conception of racism, therefore, has two components: *difference* and *power*. It originates from a mind-set that regards "them" as different from "us" in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable. This sense of difference provides a motive or rationale for using our power advantage to treat the ethnoracial Other in ways that we would regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of our own group (Fredrickson, G.M., 2002:9).

According to the Oxford dictionary, racism is:

Prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior: (Oxford Living Dictionary, 2016:para. 1) '.

Racism can be presented in social actions, practices, or political systems.

Apartheid oppressed and limited the right of black people in various ways according to the race and skin colour. According to the various definition of racism, apartheid was a racist political system.

Biko argues that apartheid was racism. According to him, there is a one major force in South Africa which is oppressing the black. This is racism (Biko and Stubbs, 2005:50). He defined the meaning of racism that racism is to oppress the black people in South Africa. Thus, the white oppressed the black during apartheid.

From early times, Christian churches have been dealing with this issue of racism. In the ecumenical movement, racism was an issue. The issue of racism is dealt with and appealed from the first WCC Assembly. It identified prejudice based upon race or colour and from practices of discrimination and segregation as

denials of justice and human dignity (Sjoliema, 2002:935). So in the Amsterdam Assembly (1948), the WCC argued that the church must take action against racial prejudice: "If the church can overcome the national and social barriers which now divide it, it can help society overcome those barriers" (Sjoliema, 2002:935).

In 1968, the 4th Uppsala Assembly of the WCC produced a conceptual and analytical frame work for the elimination of racism. In the Uppsala Assembly, the WCC stated that

racism is linked with economic and political exploitation" and then went on to define racism as "ethnocentric pride in one's own racial group and preference for the distinctive characteristics of that group; belief that these characteristics are fundamentally biological in nature...strong negative feelings towards other groups who do not share these characteristics, coupled with the thrust to discriminate against and exclude the out group from full participation in the life of the community (Pityana & Schuller, 2002:953).

Therefore the WCC mandated the establishment of the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) in 1969 at the WCC central committee. The WCC central committee clearly stated that, "racism is not an unalterable feature of human life. Like slavery and other social manifestation of man's sin, it can and must be eliminated" (Pityana & Schuller, 2002:954).

Racism in South Africa was began during colonial times under the Dutch Empire, and continued when the British took over the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 (Omer-Cooper, 1987:35). When the Dutch settled in South Africa in the 17th century, they established the colony of the Cape. And their descendants were to become what we now know as 'Afrikaner' or 'Boer' a name given by themselves, and they developed apartheid. They were afraid of the majority black people and so as a white minority in South Africa, they needed a system to maintain their white community and keep control of the country. Apartheid was developed from this background (Omer-Cooper, 1987:21).

The controversial 1913 Land Act, passed three years after South Africa gained its

independence, marked the beginning of territorial segregation by forcing black Africans to live in reserves and making it illegal for them to work as sharecroppers.

When the National Party¹ (NP) won the 1948 elections they now had the authority to rule South Africa. This Nationalist South African government then officially started the system of apartheid. In 1948 white South Africans elected in a white minority government and provided a platform for the development of apartheid (which literally means apartness) as a basis for protecting white power and privilege.

The following laws show briefly how the apartheid limited the participatory rights of the black in South Africa.

In 1953, apartheid limited the education rights of black people according to the Bantu Education Act. They separated the education system of white and black people. Actually, during the apartheid era black people were only allowed to be educated enough for labouring jobs. This would suggest that apartheid designed a two class society one for white people to enjoy the system with all its privileges that were gained through black labour. In 1959, because of apartheid there were separate universities for blacks, coloureds and Indians (Clark, N. L. & Worger, W. H., 2011:48-52). The black student could not enrol in the existing universities of the time.

Since 18 century South African governments had restricted the flow of black South Africans into cities. Pass laws provided a convenient means of controlling workers' mobility and enforcing contracts. Pass laws intended to control and direct their movement and employment were updated in the 1950s. Under the

¹ In 1948, the Afrikaner National Party won the general election under the slogan "apartheid" (literally "separateness"). Their goal was not only to separate South Africa's white minority from its non-white majority, but also to separate non-whites from each other, and to divide black South Africans along tribal lines in order to decrease their political power.

country's National Party government, black residents in urban districts were subject to influx control measures. Individuals over sixteen were required to carry passbooks, which contained an ID card, employment and influx authorisation from a labour bureau, name of employer and address, and details of personal history. Leading up to the Sharpeville massacre, the National Party administration under the leadership of Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd used these laws to enforce greater racial segregation and, in 1959-1960, extended them to include women. From the 1960s, the pass laws were the primary instrument used by the state to detain and harass its political opponents.

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 created a new government system for black people in South Africa. It also limited the rights of blacks regarding politics. It was the first legislation of racial law to support the plan of separation between white and black people (Omer-Cooper, 1987:200, 208).

Through the research of the above periods it becomes clear that apartheid has restricted the participatory rights of black South Africans through its political system which was developed to protect the privileges of white South Africans. Without doubt apartheid oppressed black people and restricted them through the education system as well, therefore black people in South Africa could not exercise their rights as the people of South Africa. This caused liberation movements to come into effect such as the BCM and the BTL.

2.2.2 The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

2.2.2.1 Understanding of the Black Consciousness Movement

After the Sharpeville Massacre, black resistance subsided. When the BCM was beginning, leaders of the ANC were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment because of their military resistance against apartheid. These leaders, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were imprisoned in Robben Island in 1964 for their participation in resistance activities.

The movement emerged from the anger and rage of the people who lost their

brothers and sisters while struggling against apartheid. Many black people lost their families and their children through the massacre. All this anger and rage fostered an awareness of the black people to raise their voices and stand together in the struggle for a free and just South Africa.

The term of the BCM can be described as a Black Consciousness ideology together with the different organisations and groups centred on it. The BCM was to unite blacks against their oppression by white dominance and their demand for participation in South Africa.

Biko explained its meaning as follows,

Black consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of a need to rally together with his brothers in the cause of their operation---the blackness of their skin--and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their system, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life (Biko & Stubbs, 2005: 49).

Black Consciousness is explained as an awareness among blacks that their human identity hinges on the fact that they are black. So in the BCM, blacks are proud of their blackness of skin and their own black history and culture. Black people acknowledge the uniqueness of their blackness and it is different from white history and culture. Black people cannot be judged by white values and norms.

The philosophy of the BCM taught black pride, self-esteem and the awareness that black people had to free themselves from psychic enslavement by white racism in order to liberate the oppressed South African nation (Kunnie, 1994:23).

Pityana defined that 'Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life' (Pityana, 1991:122). Black power can liberate the black who are marginalised and oppressed politically and economically from their situation. For this, black people must know their black identity to be realised.

As Biko said, "all in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity (Biko & Stubbs, 2005:29)". So the BCM can help black men to realise their identity in themselves (Ndalamba, 2010:27).

Therefore, the BCM is a psychological transformation in the minds of black people. In BCM, the black person has to believe in the value of their blackness and struggle against white supremacy.

This means that the BCM is to take power and black people had to believe in the value of their blackness.

So how the BCM formed and emerged is as follows:

The BCM was also rooted in the student movement. The separate universities act in 1959 created various black student groups, this law excluded black people from proper education and limited black student rights². So this led to various student movements as well. The black students were awakened by their situation of oppression. On 16th June 1976 the Soweto Uprising was caused by the student movement. 176 people were killed mainly by the South African Security Forces. Students marched to protest against the use of the Afrikaans language in their schools. This movement refused to engage white liberal opinion on the pros and cons of Black Consciousness. In this movement, they emphasised the rejection of white monopoly on truth as a central doctrine of their movement.

Black Consciousness had made an impression on many students. Other than

² Many students were encouraged by the BCM. This led them to form the black students' liberation movement. It was established by the BCM as were the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the South African Students' Organisation (SASO). The young generation of blacks were involved in the liberation movement for their own rights in South Africa. Apartheid banned both the BPC and the SASO in 1977 just after the Soweto Uprising in 1976 (South African History Online, 2011a: para. 3).

the SCM, however, the political support for Black Consciousness ideas did not immediately translate into organisational gains for BCM. That would only happen towards the end of the 1970s (Sifiso, 2007: 368).

Through the BCM, black people sought to overcome this evil system of apartheid in South Africa.

We have in our policy manifesto defined blacks as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations (Biko and Stubbs, 2005:48).

But the BCM was not the first time that blacks had sought to challenge white 'superiority' and power to demand the right of the participation of blacks. But the limitation of this study is the formation of the SACC in 1968. So the background of the SACC formation in 1968 is researched. One thing we need to remember is that black Christians were not silent in the earlier parts of the century. And the BCM of the 60s and 70s must be viewed against the background of earlier African nationalism, as well as of protest from within the coloured and Indian communities (Kretschmar, 1986:58).

The late 1960s' and 1970s' were marked by the emergence of the BCM inaugurated by Biko. He was a major exponent of the Black Consciousness philosophy. He clearly states the meaning of Black Consciousness and demands the participation of blacks by themselves in their own history. So in the next point, Biko's contribution for the BCM and participatory democracy is examined.

2.2.2.2 Steve Biko and the participatory democracy

As noted, Biko significantly contributed to the BCM and its liberation movement in South Africa. Many students' organisations were established by him and other organisations emerged from Biko's writings and speeches. He also contributed to democracy in South Africa and he suggested a model of democracy in black African society. In democracy he emphasised the participation of blacks in politics.

He also practised and applied it through his whole life until his death. He contributed by forming the space to practice participatory democracy through many black organisations.

This is how he contributed to the formation of the BCM and democracy in South Africa. His arguments for democracy can be found in the records of the trials and articles of the BPC and SASO.

In particular, how did he contribute to democracy in South Africa?

First, he stressed human dignity and respect in the aims of SASO. He insisted that all people must be treated equally without any kind of prejudice in a democratic country. He established a solid identity among non-white students to ensure that these students are always treated with the dignity and respect they deserve (Biko and Stubbs, 2005:4-5).

There was no dignity or respect for black people under apartheid. The black students were treated differently from white students. They did not have an equal opportunity to be educated properly because of their skin colour. Biko emphasised that black people must always be treated equally.

The BCM was a movement for democracy to demand the participation of black people in South Africa by the oppressed against apartheid which is white racism.

Second, Biko insisted on direct democracy and a representative democratic model. Biko explained to Soggot regarding an example of rights in a democratic country, he explained as follows:

Biko: Well, we view the voting as strictly being on a one man, one vote basis. That is the current theme in our talking (Biko and Stubbs, 2005:122).

The participatory right to vote is a very important element of democracy. It doesn't matter whether people cannot write or read in the procedure of decision-making in the government. Government must explain to people who have the right to vote. People can hear and understand it and they can vote in an open

society (Biko and Stubbs, 2005:128). Biko clearly, pointed out the problems of politics during apartheid. Apartheid made a political system which confined and limited the right of participation of blacks based on race. So blacks were excluded from the process of political life. Blacks could not have a proper education in order to exercise their political rights under apartheid. Age, gender and race should not be used to discriminate in a democratic country. The people cannot be treated unequally. The people must be treated equally and have equal rights in a democratic country.

So Biko emphasised participatory rights as citizens in a democratic country as follows,

Biko: I think my Lord, in a government where democracy is allowed to work, one of the principles that are normally entrenched is a feedback system, a discussion in other words between those who formulate policy and those who must perceive, accept or reject policy. In other words there must be a system of education, political education, and this does not necessarily go with literacy. I mean Africa has always governed its people in the form of the various chiefs, Chaka and so on, who couldn't write (Biko and Stubbs, 2005: 128).

There is sense in which this quotation above suggests the need to include the African knowledge system of governance, in addition for the participation of black people despite their state of literacy. This is the reason why according to Biko, government must provide equal opportunity of education to the people for democracy to be achieved.

He emphasised the importance of grass root level participation in politics, because most of the black people are marginalised and poor. So this grass root level liberation movement is important for the emergence of the awareness of identity of their blackness in South African society. And this idea also provided the principals of the BCM. Biko emphasised the need for community work as a tool of training and education for the black in grass root level. Through he wanted to promote, "a spirit of self-reliance and Black consciousness among all Black people

in South Africa" (Biko and Stubbs, 2005:38).

Third, Biko insisted that political equality is needed in South Africa. Biko dreamed of a completely non-racial society. So that people could have equal status before the law as well as equal political rights. He calls this society a completely non-racial egalitarian society (Biko and Stubbs, 2005:149-150).

In an open society which is a democratic society, people can be treated equally without any kind of prejudice and everyone has the right to enjoy their own life, freedom, and happiness. Black Consciousness calls for black realisation of the humanity of black folk. The BCM is the democratic and liberal movement in South Africa which struggled against white supremacy and a white government and to restore the dignity and humanity of blacks in a democratic country.

Before we proceed then to look at BTL briefly, let us then recapitulate a few important points. It is clear that Biko and thus BCM stood for the dignity of a black person in relation to black participation in politics and the whole of life of racism. Biko argued that the affirmation of the dignity of black people was a direct response to racism and racialised politics. Apartheid was a system of racialised politics. Biko stood for direct democracy and political equality and furthermore, he recognised the importance of African knowledge systems of governance. This means that Western systems would not be enough for black democratic participation in public life.

2.2.3 Black Theology of Liberation (BTL)

Our discussion here seeks to answer this question: what then is the theological understanding of black participation in political life if BTL and BCM are related.

Before we answer to this question, let us confine the meaning of Black Theology. The theological dimension of the BCM came to be represented in the form of Black Theology. This was evident in the interrelation between political and theological concerns of many black leaders (Kretzschmar, 1986:61).

According to the BTL, black people must be liberated from whites. And blacks also must be liberated from all forms of oppression by whites such as social, political, economic, and religious injustice perpetrated by whites. Consequently, BTL is a contextualised form of liberation theology. So the Black Theology of South Africa and the Black Theology of North America have one common foundational focus, that is, the liberation from racism (Hopkins, 1990:1-2). Cone (1987:11) defines Black Theology as 'the theology of black liberation'. He extends its definition: 'Christian theology is and should be a theology of liberation' (1987:1).

As I examined in the previous point, Biko inaugurated the BCM and he was a major exponent of the Black Consciousness philosophy. He used the politics and culture of the BCM to analyse the connection between apartheid and Christianity in the context of South Africa (Barney & Pityana, 1991:194). Biko was a 'theologian' from and with the masses of black people (Barney & Pityana, 1991:195).

Therefore it should be clear by now that BTL simply provided a faith response to the issues of political participation, the dignity of black people and the legitimacy of black African symbols in governance. The life of black people cannot be explained without politics. The white government limited the life of the black majority thoroughly by the political system.

Biko built the foundation of Black Theology and BTL is foundational form BCM. Later Boesak also contributed to its foundation.

Moore (1973:5) defined that BTL as a "situational theology". According to him this situation is that blacks are confined and excluded from politics. He continues to argue that this situation is a theological and an ethical matter in South Africa. Hence the BTL can provide self-confidence for their humanity through "a theology of the oppressed by the oppressed, for the liberation of the oppressed".

Mosala (1989:1) defines the BTL is "a cultural tool of struggle propounded by

young South Africans who were influenced by the new Black Consciousness". So he emphasised the awareness of the young black generation or their role in the liberation movement in the BTL.

Mwanbazambi (2009:1) also defined the BTL as, "a conscious and theological dimension of the liberation struggle against apartheid". He acknowledged a role of BTL for the oppressor and to make him/her listen to the good news of salvation and be saved. Actually, Black Theology was influenced by the BCM and Biko (Adebo & Harold, 2013:2).

In 1971, a statement issued by a regional seminar on Black Theology put the idea of Black Theology as a theology of circumstances as follows:

Black theology is a theology concerned with the future of the black man in the light of Christ of Christ as liberator..We understand Christ's liberation to be a liberation not only from circumstances of internal bondage but also liberation from circumstances of external enslavement (Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1973:25).

According to Mofokeng (1993:133-134), he explains the nature of the BTL. First, the theology of the black church in South Africa is and has always been a theological reflection on the resistance praxis of the black community from the very moment of Christianisation of African people in South Africa. Second, the future development of Black Theology will not be divorced from the present nature of that theology as a reflection on praxis of liberation. He defined it as the theology of contextualisation and praxis of liberation. So far one needs to see how BTL and the situation of black participation in political life are related. BTL thus does not divorce political life from faith. It does not see the exclusion of blacks from participation in political life and society as unrelated to faith, Christian faith in particular.

The development of BTL in South Africa post 1994 is important for this research. For example, Kunnie (1994:35) believes capitalism and the free enterprise system have victimised the black majority in South Africa. Tutu rejects monopoly

capitalism as the basis for a new society that South Africans are striving to build following the end of apartheid because he takes the Western European cultural precept of rugged individualism to task for its violation in South Africa of the African practice of communal ownership and corporate individuality. He believes that Black Theology seeks the liberation of all, oppressor and oppressed, black and white together. He emphasised the importance of equality. Monopoly capitalism is as we speak a matter of public discussion as the ANC policy conference showed recently.

According to him, BTL believes that liberation is a frame work of the gospel of Jesus Christ. BTL considers seriously the matter of blacks and their situation. The black people are oppressed and suffer from their situation (Boesak, 1977: 35-43).

Boesak (1978:6) developed the thought of Biko: 'the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed'. He made the statement that 'the greatest ally of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed'.

Chikane (1984:2) said:

It must go out from comfortable conference centres, offices, and seminaries/universities into the streets with the people. This means that Black Theologians must die with the people and bear the pain with them in order to be able to write an authentic theology of liberation.

BTL is a new way or method of doing theology (Buffel, 2010:473). According to Boesak, BTL denotes a fundamentally different approach to Christian theology and it is new way of theologising, a new way of believing (Boesak, 1986:10).

As noted, BTL was inspired by the BCM in the 1960's and early 1970's in South Africa. When black South Africans struggled against apartheid, the BCM and the BTL provided the space to rethink and to realise their blackness. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) was influenced by the BCM and BTL when it was established. And the SACC, black theologians and black activists developed and applied the influence of these organisations into their struggle against

apartheid. In particular, the SACC applied their aims and objectives and developed a prophetic role as a black ecumenical organisation. Most of their activities and statements were emerged by BTL and prophetic theology.

It is also true that BTL provided the BCM with an immensely powerful spiritual foundation and motivation. On theological point of view, blacks were able to reject a negation of their humanity as 'inferior' and to affirm the value of their blackness (Kretzschmar, 1986:62).

The BCM was born within a context of an unjust structure. BCM was born in the context of rage and anger from the massacre and inequality of the black people in South Africa. And the BTL has sought to address itself to the total situation of South Africa, to both interpersonal relationship and societal structure. They also sought to interpret the anger and rage of the black people related to their life under apartheid. BTL is an essential aspect of the theological thinking of blacks in South Africa in the sense of a search for black awareness and identity.

BCM and BTL cannot be described without a political life. BCM and BTL were formed in the beginning from the background of the exclusion of black people from the political life in South Africa.

2.3 Democracy and Ecumenical Movement

In the late twentieth century, there were two miraculous events in the world. One is the demolition of Berlin Wall in 1989 and the other is the first democratic election in South Africa in 1994. These events have reshaped global politics. These two events also are the symbols of democratisation in the world (de Gruchy, 1995:1-2). The two events were influenced by liberation movements in the world. And this liberation movement also influenced the ecumenical movement to struggle against an unjust society.

After these two events and several global changes in the world, several questions are raised. What is the relation between democracy and Christianity? How and what did the WCC contribute in the struggle for democracy in the ecumenical

movement since the end of the Second World War?

2.3.1 Democracy and Christianity

In democracy, the citizens exercise power directly or elect representatives from among themselves. And they form a government to govern the country. The vision of democracy is that all people are equal and their diversities respected. In a democracy all people also are truly free. In this democratic system, there are two forms. One is direct democracy. In it, citizens can have an active participation in the political process. And the other form of democracy is representative democracy. In modern democracies, the whole people have their own sovereign power. But they elect representatives to exercise political power either directly or on behalf.

As I argued Biko emphasised an equal right and a participatory right in a democratic society. Biko indicates that the government is responsible for the people who cannot read or understand to teach and assist the people to understand. He clearly pointed out the meaning of democracy and showed how the BCM struggled against apartheid for democracy in South Africa. And he pointed out the exclusion of the blacks from a so-called democratic society. It means that BCM and BTL also stress that an equal right and the participatory right of black people. Without an understanding of African knowledge systems of governance, we cannot recognise the relationship between democracy and Christianity, as I previously argued. The relationship between Christianity and democracy is complex, multi-layered, and ambiguous (de Gruchy, 1995: 57). De Gruchy traced the relationship between Christianity and democracy in his book of *"Christianity and Democracy (1995)"*. He analysed its relationship as follows:

In America, there was the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Black Americans were excluded and discriminated from all areas of life including politics. The roots of this movement can be traced from the beginning of the colonial period and the way in which African slaves were treated, largely by Christian colonists, even though slave-owning was condemned by many churches before the civil war. In

the Nicaraguan Civil war, the importance of NGOs and the role of churches-liberation theology-were demonstrated very clearly when building a civil society. And democracy requires the participation of people who are educated in the political process, the need to develop a culture of human rights and tolerance, and an ability to break out of dogmatic ideological positions when seeking solutions to the problems which divide a country. After the Second World War, the ensuing struggle against colonialism led to the independence of most sub-Saharan African countries in the 1960s' beginning with Ghana in 1957. Since colonialism has been on the run, the churches are engaged positively in the struggle for democracy in many parts of the world. Churches need to be in "critical solidarity" with democratic movements and governments, holding the powerful accountable and empowering the powerless for the kingdom (de Gruchy 1995:268). Particularly, BTL and BCM do not agree with his argument.

BCM stresses the history, culture, civilisation and religion of black peoples (Dolamo, 2016:48). According to the BTL, all human beings are created in the image of God. There is no religious basis of the superiority of white people over black people. As Biko indicates, African society has its own knowledge systems of governance which is African democracy. This system cannot be maintained by the Western system or its theology. In the context of Africa, BTL is relevant to maintain a just societal order and sustainable society in South Africa.

The BTL formed a unique way of realisation of African democracy. The BTL emphasises the importance of education and research for the awareness of the black person and their participatory rights in the context of South Africa. BTL and BCM collaborated in the research for a Special Project for Christian Action in Society (SPRO-CAS) and *Pro Veritate* under the umbrella of the SACC. The way of theologising for the BTL is education. In BTL, education is highly valued from the level of grass roots upwards. So it would be correct to say that the mentality was more of education for liberation than liberation without education (Dolamo, 2016:49).

As Biko suggested a grass root level of research, this was the tool of education for blacks who are marginalised from politics and education. For this reason, activists of the BTL and the BCM carried out various ways of research in the black community. Black theologians continued to research in the community at the grass root level. Black Theologians used to visit churches in order to spread the gospel of liberation (Dolamo, 2016:58). They also taught them how to think and value themselves with dignity and respect as blacks. This methodology can still be used in churches in each community to continue developing awareness. In addition this methodology can be still used in black communities. There are many challenges in informal settlements otherwise poor black communities. This tool is still relevant in present societies (Dolamo, 2016:58).

People were encouraged and trained in their communities through the local churches. People in their communities were trained and they practised their learned participatory right in their community as well as in the state. Black Theology was used as a tool for democracy to arouse awareness and to encourage people at the grass roots level. It would also be interesting to see how Biko functioned to extend this idea.

In the 1960s, many students of universities and seminaries studied very hard in South Africa inspired by the BCM. They also were engaging in political discourse and activism. Their attempt led to the establishment of SASO in 1969 (Dolamo, 2016:49). But there was a question as to what would happen to the students after graduation. So the formation of the Black Peoples Convention was led in 1971.

As noted, the WCC supported the young generation to be leaders. Desmond Tutu, Alan Boesak, Simon Maimela, Bonganjalo Goba, Takatso Mofokeng, Luka Mosoma, and Mokgethi Motlhabi are part of them. They went to Europe and USA for postgraduate studies. They came back to South Africa with Master's degrees and doctorates and they fortified the Black Theology Project (Dolamo, 2016:49).

Black Consciousness was acutely conscious of this history and, when the leadership of liberation movements was scattered through exile and

imprisonment, young people in the 1960s led the struggle from the front until national political liberation was obtained in 1994 (Dolamo, 2016: 47).

Through research and education, the awareness of participatory rights of black people could be fostered in South Africa by black theologians. In that movement, there were umbrella organisations which were the WCC and the SACC to cover and to co-work. Both ecumenical organisations did not exist for all people when they started. Both were organised by Western Christianity and driven by them. But after the Second World War, the churches became conscious, from the disaster of the war, and they were also challenged by churches from other continents. And they started to listen to the voice of the marginalised. They realised that a sustainable society cannot be maintained without the consciousness of the people who live in their own land such as Africa and Asia. And they pursued the democracy model of the world according their own culture and history not by Western theology. So the pursuit of democracy of Christianity is examined below.

2.3.2 The Pursuit of Democracy of Christianity

As a result of the previous point, in this point the pursuit of democracy of the WCC is examined.

A central concern running throughout the history of the WCC or modern ecumenism is the relation between church and society (Kinnamon & Cope, 1997:263): how did the WCC and churches of the world carry out their responsibility for social justice and peace for a people? What is the response to the racism in the context of South Africa before 1994? Responding to these questions, several international conferences and assemblies of the WCC and the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) are examined. And how the PCR contributed to remove racism and apartheid from South Africa is also examined.

2.3.2.1 Pursuit of Democracy of the WCC

In 1910, the ecumenical movement began in Edinburgh at the World Missionary

Conference (WMC). Resulting from this conference, three organisations were established and continued the tasks and decisions of the conference. Participants of this conference were mostly coming from Anglo-America. But there were few representatives from Europe and very few younger church leaders. So Edinburgh 1910 did not immediately spread the ecumenical spirit among the churches.

In Stockholm, 1925 the conference on Life and Work sought to unify efforts to solve social, economic and political problems (Lossky, 1991:325). This conference was to respond to the disappointment of the First World War (Kinnamon & Cope, 1997:265). The participants of the conference were dealing with the purpose of God for humanity and the duty of the church, the church's economic and industrial problems, the church and moral and social problems, the church and Christian education, and methods of cooperation and federative efforts by the Christian communions. But there was not any concrete proposal to overcome these issues.

In Lausanne, 1927, conference on Faith and Order addressed the theological basis of church unity. The conference on Life and Order and Faith and Order agreed to form a new organisation by 1937. So the establishment of the WCC was proposed as an ecumenical organisation. In the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, 1937, world church leaders acknowledged the mission of the ecumenical organisation. They also dealt with the issues of the church and race. And they affirmed the equality and uniqueness of each race.

Even deeper are distinctions of race. The existence of black race, white race, yellow race, is to be accepted gladly and reverently as full of possibilities under God's purpose for the enrichment of human life. And there is no room for any differentiation the races as to their intrinsic value. All share alike in the concern of God, being created by him to bring their unique and distinctive contribution to his service in the world (Kinnamon & Cope, 1997:271).

According to Conradie, the WCC has sought social justice and democracy since the beginning of its assembly (Conradie, 2013:36-38).

In 1948, 351 delegates representing 147 denominations from 44 countries gathered in Amsterdam and the WCC was formed.

The historical roots of the World Council of Churches are found in student and lay movements of the 19th century, the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, and a 1920 encyclical from the (Orthodox) Synod of Constantinople suggesting a "fellowship of churches" similar to the League of Nations. Leaders representing more than 100 churches voted in 1937-38 to found a World Council of Churches, but its inauguration was delayed following the outbreak of the Second World War (WCC, 2016a:para. 1).

In the first WCC Assembly of the WCC in Amsterdam (1948), the WCC addressed the issues of the "disorder in society". The WCC called for a "responsible society". Participants saw the disorder and needs of a responsible society after the Second World War.

In 1961, at the New Delhi, India, the Russian Orthodox Church joined the WCC. And the International Missionary Council (IMC) was brought under the WCC control, and a confessional "Basis" was adopted. According to the Constitution and Rules of the World Council of Churches,³ the WCC confessed itself as follows:

The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the scriptures and therefore seeks to fulfil together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit (WCC, 2016b:para. 1).

And the Cold War, the tension between East and West, and the related wars in Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere dominated ecumenical agendas for two decades.

In 1966 a world conference on church and society was held in Geneva. The theme was the 'rapid social change' that characterised the decolonisation process, nation building, issues around socio-economic development and industrialisation. The WCC was more involved in social issues and emphasised the role of churches

³ This was amended by the 10th Assembly of the WCC in Busan, Republic of Korea, 2013

in the world.

In 1968, the WCC Uppsala Assembly was influenced by the Vietnam War (1964), the neo-Marxism, the student movement, the Cultural Revolution of China (1965), the Nigerian Civil War (1967), the assassination of the President Kennedy, the killing of Martin Luther King Jr. (1968) and the human rights movement, the student movement in Europe and Japan. So in that assembly, the WCC was more focused on the history rather than the creation and life.

Uppsala, the WCC's most activist and politically oriented assembly, can be seen as ending an era in the ecumenical movement and marking a new beginning (Van Der Bent, 2002:1234).

After the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 South Africa, the WCC acknowledged that racism caused the unjust society and conflicts in the world in the Cottesloe Consultation. In 1969, the WCC central committee mandated the establishment of a PCR. The focus of this struggle for an inclusive society was very much on apartheid in South Africa.

In the wake of Uppsala several new programmes were added to the WCC: the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR), the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development.....Unit II, Justice and Service, became from 1971 onward the largest unit in the Council (Van Der Bent, 2002:1235).

In 1975, the Nairobi Assembly of the WCC, the WCC affirmed the social agenda of the ecumenical movement through a programme emphasis towards a 'Just, Participatory and Sustainable Society'.

It declared that faith in the Triune God and socio-political engagement, conversion to Jesus and active participation in changing economic and social structures belong together and condition one another (Van Der Bent, 2002:1235).

The Nairobi Assembly resisted efforts to weaken the PCR and its fund. But they strove to understand this commitment to action on behalf of the oppressed in a

more deeply theological way (Lossky, 2002:1235).

The WCC addressed concerns over "Faith, Science and the Future" at a WCC world conference in 1979. The WCC warned against the danger that the agenda items may become separated in such a way that justice is emphasised by the third world, participation is prescribed for the second world, and sustainability recognised in the first world.

The WCC dealt with economic injustice, various forms of violence and ecological destruction in an integrated way at Vancouver (1983) under the motto "Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation".

This led to the so-called conciliar process that culminated in the World Convention on JPIC held in Seoul (1991). After the Earth Summit held in Rio De Janeiro in 1992, the WCC refined its concept of sustainability in terms of "just and sustainable communities".

Since the WCC was founded in 1948, the WCC constantly has expressed the issues of democracy through their assemblies especially for issues of equality and participation. The WCC has sought the way the churches are responding to God's calling for a just world. The WCC also has sought to overcome violence. To this end, the ecumenical movement is involved in issues of social justice and democracy in order to address common social concerns such as education, health, service delivery and social development. In South Africa, the ecumenical movement contributed to form a black organisation and overcome racism. And the WCC initiated the PCR to pursue democracy in the world. This leads us to believe that the PCR was mainly focused on racism in South Africa. For this purpose, the PCR will be examined below.

2.3.3.2 The Programme to Combat Racism (PCR)

It is crucial to understand how the PCR contributed to struggle against apartheid because the PCR is the most successful programme of the WCC to overcome racism in South Africa and to show the direction of the new ecumenical

movement in the modern world. Therefore the contribution of the PCR was esteemed significant in the struggle against apartheid and to build democracy in South Africa. And how did the PCR contribute to democracy of South Africa?

The effort of the WCC to fight against racism is the PCR. Through the PCR, the WCC and churches in South Africa were fighting together globally and nationally. It was a programme of democratisation South Africa and other countries in order to overcome apartheid and racism. Through this programme, the WCC and black South Africans struggled against all kinds of discrimination and exclusion of participatory rights.

Racism is not accorded with the Christian doctrine of human being and the nature of the church of Christ. Churches have been fighting for this issue for many years. The WCC dealt with this issue for 40 years between the 1925 Stockholm Life and Work conference and the 1968 Uppsala Assembly.

According to the statement of the first Assembly of the WCC Amsterdam (1948), the WCC verified that the church failed to reflect racial issues.

...If church can overcome the national and social barriers which now divided it, it can help society to overcome those barriers. This is especially clear in the case of racial distinction. It is here that the church has failed most lamentably, where it has reflected and then by its example sanctified the racial prejudice that is rampant in the world (WCC, 1980:8).

Churches with the ecumenical movement did not deal with it properly or they did not know how they could fight against it. In those years, the WCC issued more than 30 statements. Through these statements, the WCC denounced racial discrimination and racism. But there was a gap between word and action.

But despite some humanitarian programmes to help the victims of racism, there continued to be a great distance between word and deed in actually tackling the problem at the root (Lossky, 1991:825).

There were some prominent Christians like Martin Luther King, Jr, Albert Luthuli

and Eduardo Mondlane who influenced the racism debate.

Martine Luther King was assassinated just before he was going to address the WCC's Uppsala Assembly in 1968. He was going to give the matter an urgent focus regarding racism. So the Uppsala Assembly urged: the WCC is to 'embark on a vigorous campaign against racism' and to undertake "a crash programme to guide the Council and member churches in the matter of racism" (Sjollema, 2002:935).

In 1969 the WCC sponsored the Consultation on Racism in Notting Hill, London. The PCR of the WCC was initiated by its central committee in 1969. Thomas argues the WCC finally approved its establishment as follows.

The gap between this type of thinking and that of the WCC was fully demonstrated in 1969 when the Central Committee of the WCC resolved to accept the recommendations of the Uppsala Assembly and the Notting Hill Consultation, and gave its approval to the establishment of a PCR (Thomas, 2002:211).

In 1969, the WCC declared that the struggle against racism was 'not against flesh and blood' in the central committee. The WCC clearly defined that the struggle against racism is against the principalities, against the power of evil, against the deeply entrenched demonic forces of racial prejudice (Thomas 2002:211).

The PCR focused on racism as a worldwide problem. As a result of white historical and economic progress over 400 years, the power and wealth are in hands of whites. So the PCR asked the WCC member churches to confess their involvement of racism. The member churches also were asked to support the racially oppressed and victims as well (Sjollema, 2002: 936).

In 1975, a consultation on racism in theology was hosted by the PCR and the WCC Faith and Order Commission (Webb 1994:24). Regarding the Christian witness to action, participants discussed collective repentance in corporate action and reflection, the struggle against racism and the search for a just society, the

role of the church and discipleship and disciplined life. They tried to address the question of reparations which had been raised at the 1969 Notting Hill consultation as follows:

We are not branding racism as sin without at once responding to it with real and practical penitence. This response involves repentance both at the individual level and at the corporate level, and repentance commits us to action. The two elements are intimately connected, which is why we prefer to speak of repentance-action or penitent action. But what is the appropriate action? Some, we know, define repentance in terms of compensatory action. We hesitate to adopt this solution, however, mainly because no material compensation could repair all the immeasurable harm done in the past. To call for compensation in this sense would only be to belittle the suffering which has been caused (WCC, 1975:7).

In the Nairobi Assembly in 1975 the WCC reviewed all their programmes. The PCR was also reviewed. Before participants left for Kenya, they received a letter from the WCC officers. They visited South Africa before or after the assembly (Webb 1994:25). In that letter, the WCC reminded the participants that the South African government allowed selective Christian leaders to visit to the country. And they banned the WCC central committee members and staff to visit.

In this assembly, Bishop Philip Russell from South Africa tried to promote a resolution which was not accepted by a considerable majority of participants of the assembly. He argued that the church should not to use the funds of the PCR for the use of violence.

The WCC General Secretary Phillip Porter suggested in 1979 that the WCC and its member churches should take stock of their past involvement and analyse and list their priorities for the 1980'. A worldwide process of consultation developed over a period of eighteen months, in which churches, national and regional councils of churches and organisations of the racially oppressed and action groups from all continents participated enthusiastically (Webb, 1994:28).

In 1980 the WCC central committee meeting reaffirmed that priority of the PCR regarding the situation in South Africa and Namibia. They needed more attention from the churches (WCC, 1980:70-71). In the minutes, participants agreed that apartheid is a sin. Apartheid rejected the Christian gospel. They also called on the member churches to press government and international organisations to enforce comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, including a withdrawal of investments, an end to bank loans, arms embargo and oil sanctions and in general for the isolation of the state of South Africa (WCC, 1980:70-71).

The minutes of the WCC central committee showed that awareness of the apartheid system was increasing in the WCC. And at the same time in South Africa, the SACC and its member churches also were becoming more involved in the struggle.

In 1980, the WCC defined criteria of the banks regarding their involvement in South Africa. And these were adopted by the WCC executive committee in 1981. They announced it to the banks (Webb, 1994:31).

The result is following:

On 15 September 1981, Phillip Porter held a press conference during which he explained the WCC's position and announced that it was terminating its relationship with three major banks: Dresdner Bank, Swiss Bank Corporation (SBS) and the Union Bank of Switzerland(UBS) (Webb, 1994:31).

Allan Boesak presented an eloquent keynote address on the main theme, "Jesus Christ –the Life of the Word" in the WCC Vancouver assembly 1983:

In South Africa apartheid and injustice still justified supreme. Inequality is still sanctified by law and racial superiority is still justified by theology. Today, with the blatant support for so many Western governments, apartheid seems stronger than ever and the dream of justice and human dignity for South Africa's black people more remote than ever. In our world, it is not the joyful, hopeful sound of the world of life that is being heard. No, that word is drowned by the ugly sound of gunfire, by the scream of our children and the

endless cry of the powerless: How long, Lord (David, 1983:222-23)?

Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak and several representatives from the ANC including Thabo Mbeki provided a special opportunity to consider a new development in South Africa (Webb, 1994:32).

In the report from the general secretary of the WCC, Potter put the issue of racism in the context of the biblical vision of living stone.

“Believers, as living stone, overcome the separations of racism and become the true human race made in the image of God... All are the people of God as a sign of God’s plan to unite all peoples into one human family in justice and peace (David, 1983:196-97)”.

So there was no backing away for the PCR in the WCC. The PCR became a symbol of ecumenical social engagement. At the assembly, the race debate took place in the background of increasing South African government pressure on the churches and the SACC.

In 1981 the South African government had ordered an investigation into the SACC by the Eloff Commission. But they did not find anything wrong in the SACC (Mungazi, 2000:94).

The WCC declared that white racism is the most dangerous form of present racial conflicts. So the PCR’s mandate emphasised five major principles as follows:

(1) White racism, which in its many forms is by far the most dangerous form of present racial conflicts; (2) Institutionalised racism as reflected in social, economic, and political power structures which use racism to enhance their power; (3) The need for a redistribution of social economic, political and cultural power from the powerful to the powerless as an essential aspect of combating racism; (4) Absence of a single, universally appropriate strategy for combating racism; (5) The need to analyse and correct the churches’ complicity in benefiting from and furthering racism (Sjollema , 2002: 936).

According to these five major principles of the PCR, the WCC affirmed that the

church must resist institutionalised white racism as reflected in social, economic, and political power structures which use racism to enhance their power.

The PCR developed and researched the programmes of racism in the world. The PCR also published materials on different forms of racism and the struggle of the oppressed. The PCR also supported groups of the oppressed racially and its victims. From 1970 to 1990 they supported them with more than US\$9.2 million (Sjollema, 2002: 936).

Through the PCR, the WCC and its member churches, declared that democracy is to overcome racism and violence. The people cannot be treated unequally by their race, gender and ages. The pursuit of democracy of the WCC could be possible by the PCR which struggle against racial government of South Africa.

2.3.4 Contribution of the PCR for South Africa

As noted in a previous point, the PCR mainly focused on the situation of the Southern African context. The priority of the PCR was to support the liberation movements in Southern Africa (Rodgers, 1980: 66). The Central Committee of the WCC in 1972 decided policy and decision on that:

(1) A withdrawal of investments from Southern Africa, (2) And end to bank loans to the South African government, (3) A break in WCC relations with banks doing business with South Africa, (4) A halt to white emigration to Southern Africa, (5) A rejection of South Africa's Bantustan policy, (6) A mandatory arms embargo and a halt to nuclear collaboration with South Africa, (7) Comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. The PCR supported several consultations on racism. The important consultations on racism in Southern Africa were in Harare 1986 and Lusaka 1987. These consultations were between church leaders and liberation leaders. These consultations helped to chart the course of international church support for the struggle against apartheid (Sjollema, 2002: 936).

In 1989 and 1990, the society of South Africa began to change. The PCR supported the preparation of the historic National Conference of Churches in

South Africa in 1990 in Rustenburg. This conference was the most historical and representative event in South Africa. Delegates came from the African Independent Churches, Evangelical churches, the Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), the Roman Catholic Church, member churches of the SACC, and observers from the WCC and other ecumenical partners. But the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk, and Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk, which broke away from the NGK in 1986 did not attend. Through the conference, participants confessed their sin in South Africa. They also confessed their sin that they supported and legitimised apartheid. The Rustenburg Declaration rejected the theological support of apartheid. Again they declared that apartheid is as heresy and sin.

At the heart of the declaration stands a confession of guilt, acknowledging the different ways in which different churches have legitimated and supported apartheid. It rejects the theological support of apartheid as a heresy and sin, and calls for concrete forms of restitution (Villa-Vicencio, 2002:999).

The Rustenburg Declaration brought the churches in South Africa into a closer relationship than ever before. The General Secretary Frank Chikane⁴ said,

“We have started a process”. “I only hope the NGK will be able to move ahead with us. Time will tell whether they can (Chikane, 1991: 884)”.

From the beginning of the PCR, it has been one of the most controversial among the WCC's. What are the contributions of the PCR in South Africa?

First, the PCR contributed significantly to overcome apartheid and democratisation of South Africa. So the PCR is called as one of the most successful ecumenical programmes of the WCC. In particular, the PCR supported the anti-apartheid liberation movement in South Africa for democracy.

Second, the PCR also challenged the member churches of the WCC to take a

⁴ He was the General Secretary of the SACC during 1987-1994. He came from the Apostolic Faith Mission.

stand and become actively involved in racial issues, especially in South Africa. And they finally saw the fruit of the PCR in 1994.

Third, the PCR contributed to the unity of churches in South Africa for the kingdom of God. As noted, in 1990 the PCR supported the Rustenburg Conference where the South African churches reconciled with each other. The WCC encouraged member churches to join and support each other to combat racism in the world. In South Africa, the WCC sponsored several consultations regarding issues of racism.

The PCR of the WCC is to demand participation of churches to stand together for justice and peace of God in the world. In South Africa, the contribution of the PCR is to make possible the struggle against apartheid. The PCR also encouraged the churches of South Africa to demand the participation of blacks legally and lead the democratic process between the black people and apartheid to achieve the ultimate goal which is participatory democracy in South Africa.

2.4 The SACC and Ecumenism in South Africa

I have discussed how the WCC got involved in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The WCC encouraged the world churches to become involved in the ecumenical movement. The PCR which was initiated by the WCC was the greatest programme of their programmes to overcome racism in the world, especially in South Africa. And one of the results also was the establishment of the National Councils in each country. Before the establishment of the SACC, there were the General Missionary Conference in South Africa (GMCSA) and Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA). But both organisations were not formed by black South Africans. It means that they were not a black South African Ecumenical Organisations. I suggest that the first ecumenical organisation is the SACC in the church history of South Africa.

So at this point, reasons for the establishment of the SACC are presented. The Cottesloe Conference is reviewed as the background of the establishment of the

SACC. In order to understand the background of the establishment of the SACC, former ecumenical organisations such as the GMCSA and the CCSA are examined as further background for the SACC establishment in 1968. And how the SACC started was examined. The purpose of this examination and the brief history of the SACC, is to delineate, to decipher what the meaning of the ecumenical struggle is for the participation of black people in South Africa.

2.4.1 The General Missionary Conference in South Africa (GMCSA)

In 1860, an inter-denominational conference was hosted by the Ned Geref Kerk (Cape) at Worcester. 400 delegates attended this conference. This conference led to other conferences for missionaries (Hofmeyr, Millard & Froneman, 1991: 171). In 1904, the GMCSA was formed. It was the first ecumenical organisation for missionaries from across Southern Africa (Elphick, 2012:110). This was formed from representatives of the majority of Protestant churches and missions and which styled itself as a 'Benevolent of missionary endeavour' (Duncan & Egan 2015:3). Missionaries were discussing common problems. The meeting was formed by white missionaries. So membership of the GMCSA was limited. Members were Protestant European missionaries and one delegated native ordained minister working in connection with them (Hofmeyr, Millard & Froneman, 1991: 172). According to their constitution, the aims of this organisation were to 'promote cooperation and brotherly feeling between different Missionary Societies' and to better serve the native races (Hofmeyr, Millard & Froneman, 1991:172).

The aim of the meeting was, "To watch over the interests of the Native races and where necessary, to influence legislation on their behalf" (GMCSA, 1907:129). Initially, the main interest of the GMCSA was missionary and ecclesiastical matters. GMCSA was, "a venue for 'conferring' about 'the social and political cause of the black peoples' and not an organisation" (Duncan & Egan, 2015:3). When the GMCSA was operating, these years were very important in the history of South Africa. Gold was found and around mines, new cities were built. Mine owners

needed cheap labour. So they designed and built black townships and single sex hostels around the mines. So black people were seen as cheap labour for them. And blacks were further abused in the mines. Their labour was very cheap and in addition they were oppressed. Black labourers were suffering and the African National Congress (ANC) was born in 1912 and began to speak their message of participation in national affairs (Pityana & Villa-Vicencio, 1995:44). But the GMCSA did not approve or support the black political movements in the 1920s (Thomas, 2002:127).

Duncan criticised the role of the GMCSA. He argues that the GMCSA was not a proper ecumenical organisation. He argues as follows:

They combined best and worst of South African liberalism: churches demanding equality before the law and yet showing conformity to certain imposed standards of Western individualism and achievement (Duncan & Egan 2015:3).

The role of the GMCSA cannot be over emphasised as an ecumenical organisation in South Africa, because it was organised by the white missionaries not by black South Africans. The ethos of the GMCSA was patronising and undermining black participation.

2.4.2 The Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA)

In 1936, the CCSA was formed after the GMCSA. The members of the GMCSA were 21 mission societies and only five churches. But the CCSA, its membership was opened to fifteen mission societies and nine churches.

This Council included churches and missionary agencies. The Council also made a fellowship between churches and missionary agencies. Thomas (2002:90) argues that missionaries in the organisation expected that body would be a more effective instrument for defending their values than the loose and unrepresentative structures of the GMCSA. One of the reasons why the CCSA was formed is that there was encouragement from the IMC. The Rev. Oldham, the

secretary of the IMC visited South Africa in 1926 to suggest the setting up the new ecumenical forum (Spong & Mayson, 1994:15). After 8 years, Dr John R Mott who was the president of the IMC took the matter further.

After a number of conferences throughout the country at which Dr Mott spoke and discussions were held, a "continuation committee" was formed under the chairmanship of the Rev. A F Louw to work for the inauguration of a National Christian Council. Its work came to fruition on Wednesday June 24th 1936 at the Trinity Methodist Church in Bloemfontein when the CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA was constituted (Spong & Mayson, 1994:15).

The aim of the CCSA was "to unite Christians and to make Christianity more of a living force in society" (International Commission of Jurists, 1975:9).

As with the IMC, the constitution of the CCSA laid down their aim that:

It shall not be within the scope of the Council to consider question of ecclesiastical faith and order which represent denominational differences (Thomas, 2002:17).

Unfortunately, the majority at the conference was still white missionaries. So their major interests were the well-being, education, and social rights of their converts. The influence of the white missionaries in government was decreased. Then white missionaries could not raise their voice or challenge government regarding the social problems for black people. This caused the black community to criticise and attacked them. And the majority of white settlers also criticised the missionaries. They were in the middle of two critical forces. So the voice of the black people in that organisation was more demanded. There was still no voice for the black person in the CCSA during 1940's.

The CCSA often praised the United Party government. There were no demands for black participation, no education system and no thought of including the black South African in the CCSA. Black people were also discriminated and excluded in the ecumenical organisation.

In many countries, there was a need to form a Council of Churches rather than Christian Councils to be fully involved in the new ecumenical movement in their own view. Democracy and social issues were more demanded in the new ecumenical movement. Even in South Africa, there was a strong demand to form the new ecumenical organisation on behalf of the black South African churches to struggle against apartheid and for democratisation in South Africa.

Participation of blacks in churches and in the state was strongly demanded. It led to the formation of a new ecumenical organisation which is the SACC to struggle against apartheid for democracy in South Africa as a black church council. So these demands led to the formation of a new ecumenical organisation. As noted, before the establishment of the SACC, there was the Sharpeville Massacre and the Cottesloe consultation in 1960. Thus, this led to a change in the ecumenical movement in South Africa to a black ecumenical movement which is based on the BCM and the BTL.

2.4.3 The South African Council of Churches (SACC)

As I indicated, in order to understand the background of establishment of the SACC, an understanding of the Sharpeville Massacre, the Cottesloe Consultation, the BCM and the BTL is necessary. These events motivated to form the SACC as a black ecumenical organisation for the democratisation of South Africa. The Massacre provided the motivation of anti-apartheid activity and the Statement from the Cottesloe Conference which provided the theological background of the BCM and the BTL. It led immediately to form the SACC in 1968. If the SACC was the first black ecumenical organisation in South Africa, how did the SACC form in order to obtain black participatory rights? What was the role of the SACC in order to struggle against apartheid? In order to properly respond to these questions, let us start to answer it with the understanding of the Cottesloe Consultation.

2.4.3.1 Understanding of the Cottesloe Consultation

After the Sharpeville Massacre of March, 1960, the WCC organised and hosted

meetings in South Africa. One of the associate general secretaries Dr Robert Bilheimer undertook this mission (WCC, 1960:88). The WCC sent him to South Africa three times for intensive discussion. Then they finally decided to have a historical multi-racial consultation. The consultation invited eight member churches of South Africa and the WCC representatives at Cottesloe in December, 1960 (Webb, 1994:3).

This conference was held some months after the Sharpeville Massacre in the same year. The immediate response to the Sharpeville Massacre by the churches was the Cottesloe Conference (Villa-Vicencio, 1988:108). It was hosted by the WCC and its member churches in South Africa not by the CCSA. This suggests that the CCSA could not address the demand of blacks to have their participatory right in South Africa. The CCSA also did not raise their prophetic voice against apartheid. But this consultation added more demands to the voice of blacks in South Africa.

The Cottesloe Consultation was a conference held from December 14 –17, 1960 in the Cottesloe student accommodation at the University of Witwatersrand near Johannesburg (WCC, 1961:15). The consultation was sponsored by the WCC.

The aim of the meeting was to establish the facts of the situation in South Africa and outlining the "Christian attitude towards race relation" (Webb, 1994:3).

The delegations from member churches of the WCC agreed on the adoption of the Cottesloe Statement. Participants rejected unjust discrimination. They demanded the democratisation and participation of black South Africans. And they agreed to the Cottesloe Statement. What did participants of the consultation agree to?

The basic points of the statement are as follows:

The statement was able to deal with concrete, and frequently very large, problems of injustice and to formulate its convictions concerning them, underneath, so to speak, its disagreement concerning the theories of race

relations (WCC, 1961:20).

In part one, they rejected all forms of injustice. They emphasised that: "in its social witness the Church must take cognisance of all attitudes, forces, policies and laws which affect the life of a people; but the church must proclaim that the final criteria of all social and political action is the principles of scripture regarding the realisation of all men of a life worthy of their God-given vocation" (WCC, 1960:74).

In 1-4 points of part two, there is a general setting for the board principles which are enunciated in the ensuing section. They emphasised equal rights in South Africa and the social responsibility of the churches (WCC, 1960:21)

In point no. 5-8 of part two, they deal with elements in the unity and mission of the church. They stated one of the fundamental problems of its mission and stressed the missionary responsibility of the churches. So they stress the need for unity in missionary work in South Africa in order to achieve the rights of blacks. It means that they analysed the mission organisation or ecumenical organisation of South Africa which is CCSA intimating that it could not carry out their role sufficiently in South Africa.

In point no. 9-17, they deal with principles of justice from a Christian viewpoint. They express the need for a consultation between white and non-white people. And they also affirmed the need for a more effective consultation between the government and leaders accepted by the non-white people of South Africa. So they clearly demanded political action on racial issues in South Africa.

In point 13, it is declared that "Job reservation" is a system whereby jobs are reserved for members of specific racial groups, in most cases white, but in some categories also for coloured people. So they demand the system that can give way to more equitable system of labour which safeguards the interest of all concerned.

Point no. 14 calls for an immense programme of social and economic

development among a largely tribal population running into millions of people. But whatever policy is chosen, the basic criterion is that of "human dignity".

The statement is too theologically liberal. So the DRC rejected the Cottesloe statement. This consultation became the watershed consultation that caused the DRC to leave the WCC. This demonstrated that the DRC did not deal with black people in a proper manner as a church in South Africa. They cooperated with apartheid just as the churches in Germany did during the 2nd World War. So apartheid ascertained that they were similar to the Nazi's of Germany.

The Cottesloe Consultation is an important milestone in the ecumenical struggle against apartheid and racism (van der Borght, 2011:311). The Cottesloe Consultation caught the attention of the media in South Africa. And it also reverberated far beyond internal church politics to become a national issue.

Through the Cottesloe Consultation, South African churches and the WCC affirmed that apartheid is an unjust political system. Apartheid was not a democratic political system. They excluded blacks from political life and denied the participatory right of blacks in South Africa. So the WCC became more involved in the movement of liberation in South Africa after this consultation. The Cottesloe Consultation made a call to the South African churches to become involved in the struggle against apartheid and for the participation of black people in democratic country. The Cottesloe Consultation provided a theological foundation for the forming of a church council which can raise their own voice in South Africa for the participation of black people in all things in South Africa. The consultation led to the establishment of the SACC which is a black ecumenical organisation in South Africa.

2.4.3.2 The Establishment of the SACC

When the National Party started to rule in South Africa, they also began to

emphasise the danger of liberalism⁵. Apartheid legalised the political system which was to exclude the participation of blacks. The CCSA widened the gap between the Churches of European Origin⁶ (CEO) and the DRC.

The massacre at Sharpeville in 1960 and the banning of all organised political opposition challenged the churches as never before. The 1960's and 1970's were marked by increasing concerted efforts of the churches and the government. The World Council of Churches (an ecumenical body of three hundred Protestant churches in one hundred countries founded in 1948), for example, concerned from its beginning with the racial attitudes and practices of Christians, became increasingly concerned with racially motivated social injustice in South Africa throughout 1950s (Duffey, 2001:58).

In 1963, the WCC sponsored to establish the Christian Institute of South Africa (CI) (Duncan & Egan, 2015:9). The CI provided theological education for black students of African Initiated Churches (AIC).

When the SACC was formed, there was a strong demand to replace the church leadership from the dominant white leadership to black. So the CCSA had to change their role and leadership in the context of South Africa. And there was an awareness of the black South African to change their situation of oppression. Thus, CCSA adopted a new constitution and changed their name to the SACC (Duncan & Egan, 2015:9).

After the establishment of the SACC, the concepts of Black Consciousness and the Black Theology are to be found to be the clearest near the end of the long period of white liberal dominance in the SACC (Thomas, 2002:206). And the SACC

⁵ Liberalism was not organized in South Africa until 1953, although there was some liberal tradition in parties present at the time. This changed in 1953 with the formation of the anti-Apartheid Liberal Party of South Africa, which was multi-racial. A second liberal tradition started in 1959 with the forming of the Progressive Party.

⁶ English-speaking churches

published the message to the people of South Africa based on the concepts of Black Consciousness and Black Theology. The SACC declared a rejection of the apartheid policy of the South African government according to theological grounds.

And outcome of this message was the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS). Through the SPRO-CAS, the churches of South Africa responded and followed the message based on the BCM.

Thomas (2002:190) indicates that the SACC became a black organisation at its national conference of August 1972, because the SACC president declared as following:

The August Habelgaan stated in his presidential speech to the national conference in 1972 that black theology offered an opportunity to produce a confession of faith which expressed an interpretation of the gospel by the people of Africa. He also said, Black theology would produce not only new theological thought patterns, but also free the man of Africa from inferiority and help him towards a discovery of his worth and identity (Thomas, 2002: 207).

After the Soweto Uprising (1976) and the killing of Steve Biko (1977), the SACC led non-violent resistance of apartheid led by Desmond Tutu. The SACC functioned as the ecumenical body in South Africa for the participatory rights of blacks. The SACC served as a platform for the black churches to help black leaders (Plaatjies-Van Huffel & Vosloo, 2013:306).

In the annual meeting of the SACC of 1979, Boesak was invited to speak with an address entitled, *The Black Church and the Future*. In his speech, he explained that Black Theology is a black understanding of the gospel. Boesak affirmed the role of the SACC as a black ecumenical organisation.

2.5 Result of the church struggle in South Africa

The SACC adopted the Harare Declaration in 1986 at their National conference.

And after the Harare Declaration, the Lusaka Declaration was followed (Orkin, 1989:71-73). This process was moving quickly now through whole activities, statements and prayer.

At that time, many South African churches celebrated and remembered the Soweto Uprising as their annual event. These services were a blend of politics and piety, with freedom songs interspersed with hymns, and prayers for those in prison as well as for an end to apartheid (de Gruchy, 2005:202). The SACC asked the member churches to pray for an end to unjust rule which was apartheid 1986 when they remembered the 10th of anniversary of the Soweto Uprising in 1986. In 1988, the apartheid government restricted seventeen extra-parliamentary supposition organisations.

Many of their leaders were also imprisoned. And then the SACC had an emergency meeting on 29 February 1988. They wrote a petition to President P.W. Botha and Members of Parliament protesting against state action was drafted (de Gruchy, 2005:203). 25 church leaders signed and they were representatives from its member churches. Desmond Tutu and Stephen Naidoo who was the Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town signed in that petition. And the following day, all 25 church leaders marched on Parliament in Cape Town to give the petition. All the church leaders who were involved in the march were arrested, they were released shortly after.

This action and petition invoked reaction nationally and internationally. But this also invoked a flurry of correspondence between the President Botha and Tutu, the bishops of the Anglican Church, and the General Secretary of the SACC, Frank Chikane. President Botha criticised and attacked them through his response. Tutu responded to Botha's attack. He rejected Botha's criticism. His 'theological position' predated 'Marxism and the ANC by several centuries' and was derived from the Bible and the teaching of the church (de Gruchy, 2005:205).

In May 1988, the leaders of the member churches of the SACC launched the 'Standing for the Truth Campaign'. The SACC sought the way of 'non-violent

actions’.

The SACC suggested the Standing for the Truth Campaign in 1989. According to the pamphlet of the campaign (1989b), the SACC suggested prayers for the end of an unjust rule, pastoral care for victims of apartheid, witnessing to the Gospel of Truth irrespective of restrictions according to the state of emergency of regulations, intervention strategies in crisis situations, symbolic actions of protest against the apartheid system, and international Solidarity Action and Pressure on the regime.

Later, the SACC evaluated its impact as follows:

This campaign failed to achieve its full potential. Yet, as Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the SACC later noted, it did contribute significantly, within the context of the Mass Democratic Movement separated by the UDF, to the events which led to the unbanning of the liberation movements in February 1990 (de Gruchy 1995: 211).

When the SACC initiated this campaign, the SACC knew that churches with the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), was sweeping the country in a series of illegal mass protests rallies and strikes.

At last, Botha resigned from his presidential position in December 1989. And F.W. de Klerk became the president of South Africa after Botha. He announced the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, and South African Communist Party. And he also announced the release of Mandela and other political prisoners in a historical speech at the opening of Parliament on 2 February 1990 (South African History Online, 2012: pp. 1).

The SACC and the black liberation movement occasioned the people of South Africa to unite in the struggle against apartheid for democratisation of South Africa. It was a very hard time for people in South Africa during the years of the struggle against apartheid. For the same purpose, South African churches became an ecumenical church. Churches struggled, suffered and fought together to

overcome apartheid until 1994. It was not only in South Africa. In many countries we could find how the churches struggled and became an ecumenical church in their own country for the kingdom of God and democracy. Churches in the world united as a body of Christ and showed each other their solidarity.

To be sure, first, the result of the struggle of the SACC is unity of churches in that struggle for the kingdom of God. One of the roles of the SACC is unity of churches to struggle for black South Africans. Since the SACC was formed in 1968, they struggled against apartheid in order to achieve the participatory rights in the state.

Second, to support and to inspire church participation in the struggle for justice, peace and creation is the result of the struggle. The PCR was to struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The PCR is the highly valued programme of the WCC.

Third, the liberation movement and ecumenical movement of South Africa is the result of the struggle. After the Sharpeville Massacre, the Cottesloe Consultation was hosted by the WCC and its member churches in South Africa. Through this consultation, churches in South Africa sought unity to struggle against apartheid. And the SACC was founded as black ecumenical organisation. In the context of struggling against apartheid in South Africa, BCM and BTL were born. And black South Africans were awakened by the BCM and the BTL to struggle against apartheid. And they struggled and won.

Last, the beginning of new democratic South Africa in 1994 is the result of the ecumenical movement. At the centre of the ecumenical movement in South Africa, there are the BCM and the BTL. The ecumenical movement's influence emerged by both movements in South Africa. And both movements demanded the democratic rights of black South Africans. So the ecumenical movement in South Africa is very unique. Through all struggles to overcome the devil of an apartheid government, the consciousness of black South Africans was growing and in the process became more knowledgeable about democracy. In post 1994, a new democratic South Africa began and the people of South Africa could choose their

government by themselves.

2.6 Conclusion

Since apartheid oppressed black people in South Africa, apartheid banned and limited their participation. So the oppressed could not exercise their own participatory rights in all political processes. They did not even have the right of movement and the right of proper education as citizens of South Africa according to the law of apartheid. Apartheid did not treat people equally. So the churches of the world and South African churches struggled to overcome this evil system in South Africa. Constantly member churches of the WCC demanded to deal with justice and racism issues through their assemblies. In addition the WCC and its member churches are together struggling to end the two decade-long civil conflict in Sudan, to reunify North and South Korea, and for the defence of human rights in Latin America for justice, peace and creation. When the WCC and the SACC hosted the Cottesloe Consultation after the Sharpeville Massacre, the world churches actively became involved in the struggle against apartheid together with South African churches. And this consultation led to the launch the PCR in order to support black South Africans and to overcome racism in the world. It provided the theological foundation for the establishment of the SACC as an ecumenical organisation. In this process, BCM and BTL contributed to form an African democratic system in the context of South Africa. This contribution is unique in the ecumenical movement in South Africa. The establishment of the SACC was not only the result of the global ecumenical movement but also a national ecumenical movement of South Africa which was to struggle against apartheid and the contribution of BCM and BTL.

The SACC was established for black participation in South Africa. The SACC was part of the roots for democratic participation of blacks in South Africa. The SACC, as an advocate of the black churches of South Africa, raised their prophetic voice and struggled against apartheid in terms of participation for blacks. The meaning of democracy before 1994 is to struggle against white supremacy because

apartheid was not a democratic system which could include all South African people.

Second, the meaning of the democracy is to restore human dignity and to obtain their own participatory right in a democratic country for blacks in South Africa. And all people are equal before the law in democratic country. In a democratic country, all people must be treated equally with respect and dignity.

Third, the role of the SACC in a democratic country is to raise their prophetic voice and to watch the state. The SACC is an example of a prophetic organisation in South Africa as an inter-denominational body which played a prominent role in the struggle against apartheid (Urbaniak, J., 2017:23). The SACC continues to practise their own unique role in a democratic state for the poor and the marginalised as they did before 1994.

Chapter3.

The Evaluation of the Role of the SACC Played in Post 1994

3.1 Introduction

The establishment of the SACC in 1968 was a new departure of the ecumenical movement. It was established in the struggle for a new democratic South Africa which became a reality somehow in 1994 when Nelson Mandela was elected the first president of a democratic South Africa. This chapter argues that the SACC was formed to struggle against apartheid and in particular for black participation. The contribution and sacrifice of the SACC for democracy had a big impact on an impending democratic South Africa and the world before 1994.

On 27th April 1994, all the people of South Africa went to vote at the first democratic election. Despite the concerns of many people, the election was carried out without violence, at a time when South Africa was truly under the grip by violence, especially in Kwa Zulu Natal, the Boipatong Massacre and the murder of Chris Hani.

Several questions are raised regarding the role of the SACC in post 1994. Does the SACC still contribute and impact on the new democratic South Africa in post 1994? How does the SACC respond to the society of South Africa as an ecumenical organisation in order to build democracy in post 1994? How does the SACC raise its prophetic voice to the black government in post 1994?

This chapter seeks to evaluate the role the SACC played in post 1994 South Africa. Therefore, in this chapter, the notion of critical solidarity with the state developed within the SACC is examined. And an evaluation of the SACC is presented with this perspective. In addition the issues that are related to the SACC in public life are discussed. Last, whether the SACC has continued to play its role for black democratic participation in South Africa today is argued.

3.2. How the SACC Struggled Against Apartheid

The intension of this section is to briefly portray when they changed their name from the Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) to the SACC in 1968. When the CCSA changed their name to the SACC, the SACC began to speak with prophetic voice for black participation. When the SACC declared a message to the South African people in 1968, their stance was very clear demonstrating the journey the church should be making. The stand-point of the SACC was only focused on the participation of blacks in South Africa. Their critical engagement with the apartheid state was built upon earlier forms of resistance. The SACC began to raise their voice more actively for the oppressed against apartheid and for the participation of black people in the churches and the state as well. The SACC constantly demanded their churches in South Africa to become involved in this struggle against all unjust social issues such as discrimination, racism and inequality.

In this message, the SACC declared the gospel of Jesus Christ. It appealed to the obedience of Christians in South Africa and to their supreme loyalty to Jesus Christ (Hofmeyr & Millard & Froneman, 1991:242). According to Villa-Vicencio (1988:109), "The message to the People of South Africa" rejected apartheid as a pseudo-gospel, anticipating the 1982 "Apartheid is Heresy" resolution of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) by fourteen years, and several important statements of purpose and intent originated from these churches and their leaders during this time.

Walshe (1983:62) evaluated the message in this way: "the Message pointed in the direction of political and liberation theology, furthered the evolution of theology in South Africa and helped to raise political consciousness among a small minority of whites and many blacks who later were able to develop its insights much further during the turmoil of the 1970s". After the publishing of the message, the leaders of the SACC and the Christian Institute of South Africa (CI) were confronted with the questions.

What does all this mean amid the realities of South African society? These questions led to the formation of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS) under the directorship of Mr. Peter Randall. The SACC demanded more active participation from different areas to evaluate and plan new struggles in South African society. So SPRO-CAS included people from various different areas. They were academics, politicians, lawyers, clergy, teachers, theologians. The SPRO-CAS also worked together with six commissions - economics, education, law, society, politics and the churches - and a diverse set of over 140 commissioners and consultants.

Black Theology of Liberation (BTL) was deeply and theologically formed through this project. And this project indicated the way of the ecumenical movement in South Africa. The publications of project had to be submitted to South Africa's Publication Control Board for censorship. Plans had to be adjusted when several of the writers, including Biko, Desmond, and Turner, were issued with banning orders prohibiting them from being quoted in any publication. The impact of this publication was very huge. Publication led to the Soweto student uprising in 1976. Several people, who were involved in this project, were killed, arrested and assassinated. Steve Biko was killed in prison on 12th September 1977; Richard Turner who was a colleague of Biko also was killed. Contributions from this project was to help black South Africans practice their participatory right in a democratic country in various areas and to launch the Black Community Programme in the base of the BCM and the BTL.

When Bishop Desmond Tutu was appointed as the General Secretary of the SACC, the SACC took on a new dynamic in their ecumenical movement. He was a special focus of state attention and attack. In 1980 in his annual report to the SACC National Conference he referred to the various ways in which the regime had sought to undermine his work and influence. He said that:

'I want to warn the authorities, as I warned Mr. Le Grange (then Minister of Justice), that they are not gods.' He went on to say: They are just ordinary mortals who exercise power through draconian laws. But God will not be

mocked, and tomorrow they will be just faint scrawls on the pages of history... We are engaged in a glorious liberation struggle even for their sakes, to liberate them from their fears so that they too can enjoy their heritage, their glorious freedom as the children of God (de Gruchy, 2005:188).

Tutu developed a stronger resistance stance of the SACC to the apartheid government. Through the 1980s, when political oppression was increased, the SACC stepped up its position. They supported conscientious objectors to military service. The SACC also commended international economic sanctions. The SACC also resolved that churches should withdraw from cooperation with the state in all those areas and organisations where the law of the state contradicted the law of God's justice (Borer, 1998:111-114).

In 1981, the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in South Africa (ABRECSA) appointed Dr Allan Boesak as their leader. The ABRECSA which included the Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian and Congregational theologians and pastors called on their churches to recognise apartheid as a heresy and to unite in opposing. And the World Council of Reformed Churches declared that apartheid is a heresy under the leadership of Boesak.

The statement adopted by the Council on 'Racism in South Africa' included this crucial clause: "We declare with black Reformed Christians of South Africa that apartheid (separate development) is a sin, and that the moral and theological justification of it is a travesty of the gospel and, in its persistent disobedience to the Word of God, a theological heresy" (de Gruchy, 2005:193).

In this historical declaration, Boesak played a major role at the meeting of the General Council of the WARC held in Ottawa, Canada, in 1982. So in the statement from the General Council of the WARC, Ottawa, 1982 which title is 'Racism and South Africa', the WARC declared:

Therefore, the General Council declares that this situation constitute a status confession for our churches, which means that we regard this as an issue on which it is not possible to differ without seriously jeopardizing the integrity of

our common confession as Reformed churches. We declare, with Black Reformed Christians of South Africa, that apartheid ("separate Development") is a sin, and that the moral and theological justification of it is a travesty of the Gospel, and in its persistent disobedience to the Word of God, a theological heresy following (Kinnamom & Cope, 1997:222).

So apartheid was theologically acknowledged as a heresy. This decision led to the further ecumenical and international isolation of the white NGK. And this decision also led the drafting of the Belhar Confession of faith adopted by the NGK Sending Kerk in 1982. This means that apartheid was acknowledged as being contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ. This clearly confirmed that the SACC and their leaders struggled against the white supremacy government for the democratisation of South Africa.

In 1985, the Kairos Document (KD) was published by the Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT) and independently the SACC and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) as well. It is a biblical, Christian and theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa. In this theological document, black Christians raised their voices regarding the crisis situation in South Africa.

Comparison of the Kairos Document with the earlier Cottesloe Statement and the message to the people of South Africa indicates how the parameters of the church struggle had shifted during the past 25 years. Unlike the earlier documents, the Kairos Document was largely a black Christian response to the crisis situation in South Africa (de Gruchy, 2005:198).

The KD was emerged from the BCM and BTL. As I argue that the BCM and the BTL both came for the situation of the oppression of situation of the black in South Africa. Both argue that the oppressed, the poor and the black must be liberated from their situation. In the KD, the KD theologians argued the role of a prophetic church that the church must stand up for the poor and the oppressed and also struggle against the injustices of apartheid. And KD categorised three different types of theology in South Africa such as State Theology, Church

Theology and Prophetic Theology. It was major contribution of the KD (Borer, 1998:108-110).

In particular, theologians have observed that the South African apartheid State Theology has a theology of its own and 'State Theology is the theological justification of the *status quo* with its racism, capitalism, and totalitarianism. The KD theologians wrote four misused theological concepts and biblical texts for its own political purposes such as Romans 13:1-7, Law and Order, the threat of Communion and the God of the State. Vellem (2013:178) argues that, critical solidarity is a State Theology, it is very clearly declared in this document. In the chapter 5 of the KD, theologians declared that God is with the oppressed country (the Kairos theologians, 1986:29). The KD asked churches to participate in the struggle for liberation and for a just society. The KD also asked churches to transform church activities. And it validated that the KD was developed by black theologians and their theology. The KD further demonstrated the immensity of the struggles of the SACC and how they have persistently had to fight against apartheid in order to obtain the participation of black people who are oppressed. According to Borer, the KD became also a charter for a radical Christian praxis as opposed to the moderation and pietistic non-involvement of even "progressive" churches (1998:110). The KD is one of the theological documents of the ecumenical church in the late twentieth century. The KD made a deep impact far beyond South Africa. The KD also led the Lusaka Consultation on "The Churches' Search for justice and Peace in South Africa".

In Harare, Zimbabwe in 1986, the WCC and the SACC organised an emergency ecumenical consultation to reflect on the challenges presented to them by the KD. Through this consultation they agreed to the Harare Declaration. The Lusaka Statement reaffirmed the message of the Harare Declaration. In the statement, there are strains of the heresy declaration, the prayer for an end to unjust rule, and the lack of reform of the apartheid structures (Borer, 1998:111). In the Lusaka Statement, two more issues emerged from the conference as subjects for theological debate. One is a firm declaration of the illegitimacy of the South

African state and the other is a discussion of the legitimacy of the violence employed by the liberation movement in their struggle against apartheid.

As I have argued that the SACC clearly kept a distance from the government as a black ecumenical organisation through the statements and activities of the SACC as a watchdog of the state. Through the message to the South African people, the follow up projects which were the SPRO-CAS, declaration of "Apartheid is heresy", the KD and the Lusaka statement, the SACC did not abandon their prophetic voice and retained their Black Theology. During 1970s and 1980s, the political role of the SACC was critical and prophetic. The SACC stood in opposition to the apartheid state.

3.3 The Notion of Critical Solidarity with State Development within the SACC

Before 1994 the churches of the world and South Africa shared the same vision. Their common vision was to overcome racism in South Africa and to struggle against apartheid. Their ecumenical vision also was to seek the kingdom of God and a just society in the world. So the ecumenical movement focused on social issues on racism, inequality and violence in South Africa. And the other churches in the world expressed their solidarity for the same ecumenical vision. Through discussions, statements, arguments, meetings, activities and their financial support, the world churches declared that all kinds of violence are not God's will and all people are equal before God.

During the apartheid era, the SACC did not cooperate with the apartheid state because the apartheid government was not part of the kingdom of God, or an expression of God's kingdom. Even though the apartheid government was evil, the white Afrikaans churches supported its government. Unlike the white Afrikaans churches, the SACC took a leading role in the struggle against apartheid. The SACC was serving as one of the main conduits of anti-apartheid activities. The SACC, indeed, struggled against apartheid which was a white supremacy government among other things. It was impossible to have any kind of solidarity between the SACC and the white supremacy government. Some of the churches

had a relationship with the state. They supported and cooperated, or kept quiet for what they did and its politics. This suggests that they kept their prophetic voice of challenging the government quiet as churches. They abandoned their prophetic role of the church, but the SACC was not to keep quiet.

The contribution and the sacrifice of the SACC were significant in the overcoming of this evil system before 1994. The former ecumenical organisation of South Africa before 1968, was the CCSA which was a missionary-dominated body. The CCSA did not represent the South African black churches. There is no room for doubt regarding the shift of theological reflection, when the SACC was established from the CCSA in 1968. The fact that the foundation of the SACC was those issues concerning black life and Christian faith, Black Theology and black theologians and was the background to the formation of the SACC cannot be ignored, this is the researchers view. Kumalo examines it in his article following:

From 1961-1990, church-state relations were understood as prophetic witness. This was definitely by the outcomes of the Cottesloe Consultation, the work of the Reverend Beyers Naudé and the Christian Institute, the growth of initiatives such as the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), Black Theology, the emergence of Desmond Tutu as a prophetic voice, and the World Council of Churches (WCC) initiative, the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) (Kumalo, 2013: 632).

As Kumalo suggests, prophetic witness is a key to understanding the role of the SACC under the apartheid regime. In this sense, we need to trace how the SACC had a role of prophetic witness in 1968. When the WCC and the SACC hosted the Cottesloe Consultation in response to the Sharpeville Massacre, Beyers Naudé helped to organise this consultation.

The Cottesloe resolution rejected racism in the church. As I noted, the black also were excluded from the churches based on their race or skin colour. And the Cottesloe also affirmed the right of all people to own land and the right of participatory in how they are governed otherwise politics (Lossky, 2002:255).

Naudé continued to reject any theological basis for apartheid after Prime Minister Verwoerd forced the DRC delegation to repudiate the consultation. After the disastrous conclusion of the 1960 Cottesloe Consultation, the churches of South Africa felt that they needed to continue their dialogue. Therefore, in 1963 Naudé and others established the Christian Institute of South Africa (CI). The aim of the CI was to foster reconciliation through dialogue, research and publications. The CI became deeply involved with black activists such as Steve Biko, and was banned by the state in 1977. Indeed, the role of the SACC as a prophetic ecumenical organisation in South Africa was developed by black participation as well as such as Naudé, the CI, the BCM and the BTL until 1990. The stance of the SACC towards the government was very clear. Since the start of the SACC in 1968, they have always been critical and prophetic towards the government prior 1994.

But after the democratic election of the ANC in 1994 to govern South Africa, the SACC seemed to lose their target and to lack a clear vision and its identity as an ecumenical organisation. They lost their enemy which was apartheid. Their ecumenical vision was to overcome racism and obtain the equal participatory right of black people in a democratic South Africa. When they achieved their goal, the role of the SACC was shifted and to be shared with other organisations. One such example then is the problem of "critical solidarity with the state."

In this context of critical solidarity with the state, it seems the new ecumenical vision was a reconstruction⁷ of society and reconciliation between the oppressors and the oppressed in post 1994. Notable leaders of the SACC were called to work in the government to contribute to the new democratic state. Provincial

⁷ One of the most important theological works in this regard is Charles Villa-Vicencio's, *A Theology of Reconstruction*. He is conscious of the necessary shift within the context of the Old Testament post-Exilic period. The idea is that liberation, which has largely been associated with the Exodus theme, is no longer adequate to deal with some of the emerging challenges. In this sense, his proposal for a shift highlights the many socio-political developments in South Africa and the rest of the African continent.

councils also were called to be involved in the process of this democratisation of South Africa in post 1994. According to Pillay, their political participation could not make improvement. Although the former SACC leaders joined in reconstruction and development of the nation, it was worse (Pillay, J., 2017:2). It demonstrated that the SACC took the position of 'critical solidarity' with the state. What is the meaning of critical solidarity? What do theologians discuss regarding this?

3.4 Critical solidarity with the state

De Gruchy (1997:24) argues that the church must remain true and be faithful to its prophetic vocation, this is fundamental. And he explains that being critical solidarity is one of ways to remain true and faithful. Being critical is to support those initiatives which may lead to the establishment not only of a new, but a just social order. He explains that being in critical solidarity is to continue to resist what is an unjust and false world on behalf of what is just and true. According to him, there are three touchstones for determining the concrete meaning of critical solidarity. The first is to take sides with all who remain oppressed in one form or another in a new democratic society and to participate in the struggle for justice, human dignity, and liberation. The second is the defence of human rights for all people, especially minority cultural and religious groups. The third one is its own self-critique.

Tinyiko Maluleke did not accept this view by de Gruchy. He clearly criticised its relation as follows:

Note how transformation and reconstruction are substituted for liberation and how former commitment to the poor has now become a shared commitment with the state (cf. Maluleke 1996b; 1996c) and this is put forward as the new basis of prophetic Christianity. But this is a huge ideological and theological shift, which cannot be explained away by a love for democracy and a just society. The appearance of a government which is allegedly committed to a just/democratic society and national reconstruction has not eliminated poverty

from South Africa (Maluleke, 1997:337).

The problem of critical solidarity is that the poor and the marginalised are to be excluded from the process of the reconstruction of the state. After 23 years now, people are still suffering and struggling because of poverty and bad governance in the state. He also points out the danger of the change of stance of prophetic theologians.

Are we seeing therefore a change of loyalties here—from the poor to the power? Are former “prophetic” theologians becoming “state theologians”? (Maluleke, 1997:338).

He already warned of the risk of critical solidarity, when he analysed reconstruction theology through his article of “the proposal for a theology of reconstruction”: ‘A critical appraisal’. Critical solidarity was born in the background of the reconstruction theology.

Reconstruction theology is an attempt to be “in critical solidarity with a democratically elected government” (Villa-Vicencio 1993:25).

Maluleke (1994a:187) argues that reconstruction theology is not an overtly theological one. So when he addressed at the National Church Leader’s Consultation which was held at the Sun OR Tambo International Airport Hotel, Johannesburg 29 June 2009, he neglected the relationship between the church and the government as follows:

We have flirted with all sorts of theological *vis a vis* government. We have spoken about critical solidarity with government, we have spoken about being prophetic as churches and now one hears of public theology. Soon we may hear about service delivery theology and the service delivery church. For the past fifteen years we have been in a theological wonderland - flirting, experimenting and even fidgeting. I am not sure how much longer we will be allowed to do this (Maluleke, 2009:6-7).

Maluleke critically analysed their present stance in relation to the government. He

indicates that the churches of South Africa decided to be no longer merely just for or against government in the beginning of 1994. He said, "with some kind of unspoken consensus" (Maluleke, 2009:6). Many former leaders of the SACC or churches were involved in the government. Even Frank Chikane was in the presidential office under Mbeki. The result of this relation is that the church of South Africa lost their prophetic voice and their presence is disappearing in the state. And he clearly pointed out challenges in South Africa such as poverty, dying daily of HIV/AIDS related illness, poor education quality, violence and crime. And he stressed the diverse ecumenical witness. And he also suggested rediscovering the calling as an ecumenical black organisation. It is obvious that this critical solidarity with the government caused the churches to be dwarfed and the people are marginalised from the democratisation of South Africa.

Kumalo also argues and examines and reflects on the model of critical solidarity in his essay "Facts and Faction: The Development of Church and State Relations in Democratic South Africa from 1994-2012". According to him, "Critical Solidarity is that the church would maintain a critical distance from government in order to protect its right to support government and also to criticize it when necessary" (Kumalo, 2013:628). Therefore, the stance of critical solidarity led to the formation of various religious groups in South Africa such as the National Religious Association for Social Development (NRASD), the National Interfaith Leadership Council (NILC), and the National Religious Leaders Council (NRLC). He simply argues a relationship between the church and the state as follows:

The last decade saw the church's critical solidarity model for relating with the ruling government declining and losing its critical impetus (Kumalo, 2013:628).

So he indicates that one of the biggest mistakes the government made was to organise the interfaith organisations in South Africa to cooperate with the government. He also argues that the SACC could have led the process of interfaith dialogue.

The SACC could have led the process of interfaith dialogue, with humility, inviting

the other faiths, asking for forgiveness for their complicity, in the marginalization of the other faiths during the apartheid era (Kumalo, 2013:642).

But when the SACC adopted critical solidarity as their stance, they failed to lead it. And he emphasised a need for engagement between the church and the state. He also indicates that we need to seek a better model for the SACC's position in the country not critical solidarity. If we take sides with government, we cannot achieve solidarity. The church has to stand together with the poor and the oppressed. If the church is in critical solidarity with the government, the church cannot stand with the poor and oppressed.

In this sense, I doubt that the SACC is able to raise a prophetic voice against government when they are supported by government and work together in "critical solidarity." Even some of the church leaders from the SACC such as Frank Chikane, Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, and Molefe Tsele became part of the government and this suggests to the researcher a question regarding the loss of icons into government structures then what about the poor? Vellem simply and clearly argues that critical solidarity has always been a form of State Theology (Vellem 2013:177). He argues that critical solidarity reversed what a Black Theology of liberation has emphasised regarding solidarity. And he questions whether Black Theology accepts critical solidarity between the SACC and the state. Kairos theologians have already rejected State Theology (Kairos theologians 1986:3). Vellem continues to argue that black theologians never accepted the notion of critical solidarity.

My point is that a Black Theology of liberation never accepted the notion of critical solidarity. Allan Boesak (2005:133-140) raises the question of shallow analysis with regard to the history of the relationship of the church and state in South Africa which does not take cognisance of the prophetic stance that did not emerge from the missionary church but in the struggle for liberation epitomised in the experience of first-generation convert like Ntsikana (Vellem 2013:178).

Vellem and Boesak, both theologians argue that critical solidarity could not be

accepted in the view of Black Theology. The SACC was warned by its general secretary regarding their relationship with the state. On 30 October 2001, soon after the National Conference of the SACC, Molefe Tsele addressed the role of the church in South Africa. In his speech 'The Church must once again become a nuisance to the nation', he appealed to the religious community to continue their mission of providing a voice for the poor. He argued that the SACC could not become so close to government.

Even at the conference of Kairos Southern Africa on, "Theological and ethical reflections on the 2012 Centenary Celebration of the African National Congress", the notion of critical solidarity was rejected (Vellem 2013:178).

From the insight of Vellem, he argues that the problem with critical solidarity is linked to the proposal of a theology of reconstruction by Villa-Vicencio. A theology of reconstruction viewed as a successor of liberation theology in South Africa (Vellem, 2013:178).

Here, there is a big gap between reconstruction theology and Black Theology. Black Theology never accepted critical solidarity, but reconstruction theology accepted it for reconstruction and development of the state. According to reconstruction theology, the SACC or churches of South Africa, can work with the government and cooperate to reconstruct the state, while raising its prophetic voice about the state. But after 23 years now, the prophetic voice of the SACC is not loud enough in this democratic South Africa society.

My concern is whether it is possible to be critical of government when they have become such close partners as viewed by de Gruchy and Villa-Vicencio, or not. If the foundation of the SACC was Black Theology, can the SACC accept the notion of critical solidarity? Critical solidarity was developed and accepted by reconstruction theology. Vellem argues that critical solidarity is, "one of the best examples of the continued struggle on different ways of doing theology (Vellem 2013:178)". Recently, Pillay argues in his article that it is interesting to note that some of leaders of the SACC who are involved in the government, their past

relationship with the state and their present concerns and public criticism of government does not help the ecumenical movement (Pillay, J., 2017:2).

According to Vellem, it clearly shows that critical solidarity cannot contribute to the ecumenical movement in South Africa. The SACC cannot communicate a true prophetic voice against an ANC ruled government, because the SACC's stance is critical solidarity with the government. The SACC always struggled against the government for democracy in South Africa prior to 1994. In a democratic country, there is a need to maintain transparency and a healthy political condition. The role of the SACC is to support and struggle for the poor in the state. For this, the SACC must keep its distance from the government. In this sense, an evaluation of the SACC post 1994 is presented in 3.5.

3.5 An evaluation of the SACC in post 1994

There is no doubt that the SACC and its leaders struggled against apartheid before 1994. The SACC and prophetic churches became weak in their voice and role in post 1994. How did the SACC struggle against apartheid before 1994? What was the official position of the SACC before 1994? What is the difference in their relation with state? Is there any reason the SACC should be weakened?

The SACC, church leaders, Christians, and Christian activists participated and played their role for the democratisation of South Africa. Before the historical election of 1994, they were seeking a way for the people of South Africa to exercise their participatory right in post 1994 without violence. During the elections, the SACC with the help of overseas partners assisted by international ecumenical monitors were able to assist and supervisor the elections. The churches of South Africa have played various roles in the process of a democratic transition in South Africa (de Gruchy, 1995:215). Many church leaders played their role as mediators in many situations of conflict during 1990-1994 (Kumalo, 2013:634).

How did the churches respond to the new democratic South Africa in order to

develop the new nation together with the government in post 1994? How did the SACC keep their stance as a prophetic organisation?

In post 1994, the SACC sought a way in which to build a democratic country. In March 1995, the WCC and the SACC hosted a joint consultation to suggest a new phase in ecumenical commitment for democratic transformation (de Gruchy, 2005:226). But the SACC was unable to carry out follow up strategies, because of the challenge they faced with budget cuts.

In the process of national reconciliation, the SACC and some church leaders contributed to be part of and to mediate between the oppressor and the oppressed through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). It was a contribution from the leaders of the churches of South Africa. But how did the SACC play their political role in post 1994?

The SACC played its political role against apartheid before 1994. But there was not only the SACC that played a role in the process of democratisation of the country in post 1994. Presently in the new democratic country, there are other political organisations and other religious groups taking over this role. The national Initiative for Reformation in South Africa (NIRSA) and the Southern African Christian Leadership Assembly (SACLA) were formed to respond to the reality of South Africa. They are all from various groups and different denominations (Pillay, 2017:2). So the role of the SACC was shrunk in the new democratic country. The new government of a democratic South Africa expected the churches to participate in the process of the development of the nation in earlier years of democratisation. It was not only an expectation but was also suggested by the 1995 consultation.

Critical Solidarity with the state and other democratic organisations by churches in South Africa and partners abroad can give flesh and reality to these goals. Our task as church is to engage in solidarity with all those in Southern Africa working to reconstruction and develop a new future (Pityana & Villa-Vicencio, 1995:167).

This suggests that the SACC also was demanded to join this process as a partner of the ANC-led government in its initiative of development.

Church leaders were prominent among the prophets who refused to bow to the false god of apartheid. Your ministers also visited us in prison and cared for our family... This you did, as outsiders to the cause of democracy, but as part of society and eminent prophets of your faith (Mandela, N., 2003: 325).

According to Kumalo's evaluation of the relationship between the state and the churches, Nelson Mandela acknowledged the contribution and sacrifice of the churches. But when the church opposed the abolition of the UDF, he did not accept any criticism by the church (Kumalo, 2013:635). And the successor of Mandela, Mbeki, also acknowledged the role of the church as follows: "To play its part among the forces in our country that have defined themselves as actors for the progressive reconstruction and development of our country". Mbeki also addressed in the SACC 2004 Triannual Conference, he acknowledged the role of the SACC as their 'partnership' role, not 'watch dog'. It denotes that the SACC did not play its role as a prophetic church within its relationship with the government. The understanding of the role of the churches of both President Mandela and Mbeki was that the church was a junior partner of government for the reconstruction and development of the nation (Kumalo, 2013:636). Kumalo further argues that this is not the purpose of the church.

Its main mission is to make God's dream of the kingdom, where the basic principles of God's household, e.g., equality, justice, and liberation, are made manifest. However, the two presidents did not understand this and their view of the church as another civil society body set the tone for how their successors would later view the church and its role in a democratic South Africa (Kumalo, 2013:636).

There is an influence within the ANC at the centre, from the role of the SACC in politics. The ANC-led government acknowledged the SACC as one of their partner

organisations. As James Cochrane says, "Ecumenical churches and agencies....have suffered a serious loss of influence and voice in the public square" (Cochrane, J., 2004:229).

Because of this this recognition from the ANC regarding the SACC, the role of the SACC was frustrated and its relationship with the state became friendlier.

Evidence of the weakness of the SACC in the democratic South Africa was the establishment of the National Interfaith Leaders Council (NICL) in 2009. Mandela asked the Commission on Religious and Traditional Affairs (CRATA) to facilitate dialogue between government and religious groups which is the NRASD in 1997. And it led to form the National Religious Leader's Forum (NRLF) in 1997 (Kumalo 2013:637). In 2003 the NRASD became an arm of the NRLF and this group became a partner of government to develop and reconstruct the state. The agreement between the state and the NRLF was signed on May 10 2005 under President Mbeki. However, when Zuma was elected the president as a successor of Mbeki, the ANC facilitated a third religious group which is the NICL. It was led by the Reverend Ray McCauley who is the pastor of the Rhema Bible church. The SACC and the NRLF criticised this formation. Maluleke who was the president of the SACC, responded to it as follows: the SACC preferred a relationship of critical engagement with the ANC (Kumalo, 2013:638). And the ANC acknowledged the SACC as an ally of the opposition parties instead of the ruling party. Even some members of the SACC former clergy leaders joined the Congress of the People (COPE) which was separated from the ANC. Therefore, Kumalo evaluated why the SACC was excluded by the Zuma government as follows:

Therefore, it was not surprising when under the Zuma government the ANC dumped the SACC in favor of Pastor Ray McCauley's group and formed the NILC, which was deemed to be pro-President Zuma (Kumalo, 2013:639).

Kuperus pointed out the reason for the weakening of the SACC as follows:

Some of the reasons lie in developments external to the SACC. More pointedly, the ecumenical movement worldwide has weakened considerably-not only in

terms of reach and public impact, but also because of a crisis of vision, mission, and mandate...in a post-cold war era. Ecumenically oriented churches outside of South Africa and a variety of other philanthropic agencies provided major support (financial and otherwise) to the SACC during the apartheid years, but since the birth of democracy in South Africa, interest and support has dropped considerably (Kuperus, 2011:291-292).

Borer also argues that the role of the SACC was getting more powerless, because the SACC lost their funding and they were forced to cut their budget, with a concomitant reduction of staff and of its operation as well. And the SACC also began to focus more on their inside relationships with member churches (1998:203). Vellem also argues that the SACC has been largely a donor driven organisation (Vellem, 2013:176) according to the Christian Organisations Research and Advisory Trust for Africa (CORAT) report.

Kuperus evaluation was that the SACC was weakened and their prophetic voice has become smaller. According Kuperus (2011:292), first, quite a number of leaders left the SACC for academic and governmental positions in post 1994. In response to this movement, there was a lack of leadership in the SACC and the SACC became a partner of the government and leaders from the SACC were overlapping between the SACC and the government. Hence, a political shift from apartheid to a democracy in South Africa made a big impact on an identity crisis within the SACC.

One should note here that there was a desire to retreat and, "let churches be the churches again". So in the early years of democratisation of South Africa, the SACC faced a liberated and democratic South Africa with politicians in office who embraced the same causes as the SACC (Kuperus, 2011:292). Owing to this, the SACC took a supportive political role as a partner of government.

The SACC did not perform well as prophetic church role in the nation. As a prophetic church organisation, the SACC had to speak and to resist to their government without any prejudice whether they are white or black. But the SACC

was too closed to the government. So they did not continued to deal with public issues compromising its prophetic responsibilities and challenge to the government on issues of justice. In CORAT report 2009, the member churches of the SACC also were concerned about it as follows:

They feared that government funding of Provincial Councils would stifle the ability of the provinces to fulfil their advocacy role effectively. They asked how can the SACC maintain a critical distance without been seen as an extension of the ANC. Further, they were concerned about how the SACC would regain its prophetic voice and continue to engage with government on the realities and issues in South Africa related to landlessness, economic policies, illegal mining, poverty, HIV and AIDS, unemployment, freedom fighters, corruption and crime among others. They questioned how the SACC will maintain a balance between attending, listening to the aspirations of grassroots communities and at the same time to the high profile government-defined agenda. In short, members and not a satellite body of the government. It was the latter connection that was going to cost the SACC dearly in its on-going standing and recognition within the South African nation (Pillay, J., 2017: 7).

Taken as whole, there were three common arguments regarding why the SACC was weakened in early years of democratisation of South Africa and how and why the SACC could be frustrated.

First, the leadership of the SACC left the SACC to join the government. So the SACC could not speak their prophetic voice well. The SACC had now degenerated their prophetic position in the now democratic South Africa, because they became a partner of the state not the critical watchdog. The solidarity between the SACC and the state was not healthy anymore. The SACC needs to be more critical of the state.

Second, there were more religious organisations and political organisations to replace the prophetic position of the SACC in post 1994 South Africa. The leadership from the SACC joined or began their own organisations to work together with the state for the reconstruction and development of the nation. So

the ANC-led government also initiated new religious organisation such as the NRLF by Mandela's government. This was formed by Mandela and for all religious bodies. This Forum was continued by Mbeki intentionally. But when Mbeki resigned his presidential position, the SACC criticised his successor Jacob Zuma's unwillingness to engage with the SACC. After Zuma took over as the president of South Africa, the relationship between the SACC and state changed from a partnership to critical solidarity.

Third, the SACC lost their financial support from international donors and their programmes closed. As most of the NCC in other countries faced the same problem, the SACC also faced the same financial problem because their structure of finance of organisation depended on international fund.

Therefore, the SACC became weak and lost their prophetic voice in early years of the democratisation of South Africa because they were too close to the state and did not perform their unique role as a prophetic church.

3.6 Attempts at renewing the SACC

In 1994, the WCC and its member churches launched a new Programme to Overcome Violence (POV). And this programme became the main movement of the WCC after the PCR. Through the POV, the WCC showed a clear way for the ecumenical movement. The stream of the global ecumenical movement was shifted and extended. The WCC focuses more on broad issues, but they still keep their original vision such as justice, peace and integrity of creation. The WCC is undertaking their role as a church in various areas.

The SACC also has a new paradigm of the ecumenical movement in South Africa. As I have argued previously, in post 1994, the SACC which had been portrayed as the church of resistance disappeared in a remarkably short period. It was not only a result of the changing political and religious contexts but also as a result of institutional shrinkage, both financially and in terms of personnel. But a question is rising from the evaluation of the SACC in this sense. Is the SACC

still continuing to play their role for black democratic participation in South Africa? Where is the prophetic voice of the SACC in South Africa now? How does the SACC raise the prophetic voice for the people of South Africa and whom are listening to it? There is a gap between the ecumenical organisation and the local church. Local church or ordinary Christians do not understand what has become of the SACC. How does the SACC respond to local churches' questions?

Responding to these questions, Pillay concluded in his article of Africa Theological, Contextual and Institutional Challenges that ecumenism in Africa is surrounded by crisis and opportunity. And he stated it as follows:

As we observe the demise of previously strong ecumenical organisations (such as SACC), but opportunity as we note the changing dynamics of ecumenical engagement in a fast-changing Africa. The new evolving context requires that we look at fresh ways of continuing the ecumenical journey in the midst of theological, contextual, and institutional challenges. We need a new vision of ecumenism in Africa that is encouraged by ecumenical motivation and appropriate understanding and embracing of the ecumenical theological mandate, common mission, and the multiple forms of ecumenical endeavour. This will truly lead to a resurgence and revival of the Ecumenical Movement in Africa (Pillay, 2015:650).

In this, he clearly pointed out the present position of the ecumenical organisation in South Africa. And he also stated that what the SACC have confronted recently as an ecumenical organisation. But in his research, there was no voice for the black people in the SACC. He did not demonstrate any concern about black participation in the SACC. He only emphasised the role of the SACC as an ecumenical organisation. We need to remember why and how the SACC was founded in 1968. The SACC was a prophetic organisation based on the BCM and the BTL. It has a prophetic voice to raise awareness in the state and the people of South Africa.

According to Pillay, the recent context of ecumenism in South Africa is surrounded by risk and opportunity. It is not only challenges in South Africa but

also globally and the WCC confronts these challenges. Fortunately, the SACC is attempting to overcome these challenges by itself. The CORAT report (2009) was an evaluation of the SACC spanning 40 years. This report was requested by the SACC in 2009. Through the research, they interviewed church leaders, congregations, donors and others. The SACC tried to listen to others and renew itself. After the CORAT report, the SACC followed up this report by applying and extending it into their plan. They had a strategic planning meeting on 01-02 February 2011, where they renewed their mission statement (Pillay, J., 2017: 4).

Through the renewed mission statement, they reaffirmed the mission of God and their role in the world as follows:

The SACC works for moral reconstruction in South Africa, focusing on issues of justice, reconciliation, integrity of creation and the eradication of poverty and contributing towards the empowerment of all who are spiritually, socially and economically marginalised (CORAT report, 2009:15).

In view of this, the SACC is attempting to reform their identity and they are also trying to restore their role as an ecumenical organisation. They are aiming at social issues, reconciliation and restoration of the nation. Their concerns are also focusing on the daily life of the poor and the marginalised in society.

The SACC had their Triennial Conference from the 25th -26th February, 2014. Their theme was "God of Life: Renew, Restore and Transform us for the service of Your Kingdom." At this conference, the SACC indicated their concerns of a democratic South Africa. The SACC expressed their concerns about the safety of children. They are also really concerned about issues of the increasing numbers of rape, sexual abuse and murders of innocent children. The SACC even stated their concern about the rising cultic and satanic practices, rituals and killings. So the SACC called on church leaders to address these matters and to engage in these serious matters.

In the same statement, the SACC also expressed their deep concern about the widening gap between the rich and the poor on their reflection of the state of

the economy. The SACC has refocused to help and support the poor and the marginalised in society. And the SACC continued to express their concerns about inequality in society and the unemployment of the young. The SACC raised their prophetic voice towards the ANC-led government.

The conference also recognised that on the 7th May 2014 South Africa will hold its next General Elections. We take joy in the report of the IEC that more people have registered to vote than ever before and this includes 1.2 million new young voters. We encourage all those who have the right to vote to exercise it in the interest of our democracy and the development of our country. We call on all political leaders and parties to restrain from acts of violence and to refrain from endeavours to make certain areas as "no go areas" for other political parties to campaign. Indeed, we call upon churches to pray for, and participate at all cost to ensure that the elections are peaceful, free and fair (SACC, 2014: para. 5).

The SACC is attempting to struggle against all violence, economic inequality in society, and the SACC also calls church leaders to engage and address regarding socio-economic issues. After the Triennial Conference 2014, The SACC has succeeded in reclaiming its prophetic voice and role in reconstructing a broken South Africa (Pillay, 2017:4).

Therefore, the SACC launched two campaigns to reclaim and renew their role in a democratic South Africa.

In 2012, six former general secretaries of the SACC initiated a campaign to revitalise the organisation and strengthen its role in nation building. This campaign which is called 'SACC Renewal' was adopted by the National Executive Committee. The vision of the campaign is as follows:

Their vision was to restore the unity of Christian witness and re-establish the mission of the SACC so that the organisation is re-anchored in the homes and communities of poor people in the name of God, to whom they offer up prayers nightly, for a just and equitable society without poverty, unemployment, inequality and self-serving corruption (SACC, 2015:para. 3).

So the SACC continued to renew and to seek a new vision for the SACC. In the details of this campaign, the SACC demanded member churches to participate in the ecumenical journey. The SACC also acknowledged the lack of financial resources, so they planned to create a local crowd funding system. The campaign also suggested a strengthening of the transparent SACC management and accountability system for the renewal of the SACC. This campaign reaffirmed the vision and mission of the SACC.

And through this campaign, the SACC launched The South Africa We Pray4 on December 16, 2015. This campaign indicated a new vision and action plan for the future of the SACC. This campaign is a programme of public ministry to identify, pray and act together on critical socio-economic issues that has made a mark in the equality of life in South African society. The campaign called on all people to be involved in prayer and action for healing and reconciliation, the restoration of the family fabric, the destruction of poverty and inequality, economic transformation and anchoring democracy in South Africa. For this campaign, the SACC formed the "Unburdening Panel" to respond to this crisis.

In the presidential address 2017 of ZS Bishop Ziphosihle D Siwa, he appreciated this campaign as follows:

It was opportune and timely after the country was launched into uncertainty, doubt, and anxiety subsequent to the unexpected removal of Mr. Nhlahla Nene as Finance Minister and the resultant reaction of the markets. After a long journey of research and hard work God helped us to have that tool ready for launch at that time. The churches gathered and made the commitment to pray and work for: We need to see this work translated into transforming actions throughout the length and breadth of South Africa (Siwa, 2017: para. 7).

The SACC reaffirmed their reliance for a democratic country and established again their direction of the ecumenical journey. It affirmed that the SACC is committed to help South Africa uphold its 1994 post-apartheid promise of a just, reconciled, equitable and sustainable society, free of racial, tribal, ethnic,

xenophobic and gender prejudices; free of corruption and deprivation; and with enough food and shelter for every citizen; and for each child born to grow to its God-given potential (Siwa, 2017: para. 9).

3.7 Conclusion

As I argued that Black Theology never accepted “critical solidarity” for a relationship between the prophetic organisation and the state. The SACC was established on the foundation of the BCM and the BTL. So the SACC cannot accept “critical solidarity”. The SACC has to keep their role as a ‘watch dog’ for the kingdom of God as they did before 1994. The church has a unique role in terms of mission and vision of the whole world (*oikoumene*). As I stated in chapter 1, I was working for the National Council of Churches in Korea. When I was there, I also saw the same problems as experienced by the SACC. The NCCK was so close to the government which was also radical and democratic. Leaders of the NCCK were also involved in the development of the state. And the prophetic voice was voiceless. The presence of the NCCK could not be found in the state very clearly. And all the religious organisations were started by the government. And their critical voice also became voiceless as they cooperated with the state. They forgot the poor and the marginalised.

The ecumenical movement in the world and South Africa is surrounded by crisis and opportunity. The SACC still struggles to survive financially and structurally. This is not the challenge of the SACC alone. Other ecumenical organisations are also challenged by the very same issues. We always emphasise the solidarity and unity in the ecumenical movement. But hope in this world is the ecumenical journey. We need to emphasise and express our solidarity to each other nationally and globally. The tasks of the ecumenical movement are still in our hands in a democratic country for socio-economic issues and political issues and women, children, the marginalised and climate change etc.

When the SACC was close to the state as a partner without criticism, it had a weak prophetic voice concerning the state and it was powerless. Fortunately, the

SACC was able to manage to refocus and re-establish their ecumenical vision for the South African people and democracy as they had struggled against all odds before apartheid. The stance towards the state has to be criticised and a distance has to be kept between the SACC and the state. The SACC must constantly rethink and consider the poor and the marginalised.

Chapter4.

Participatory Democracy and the Kingdom of God

4.1 Introduction

As argued in chapter 2 and 3, under the apartheid government, black people were excluded from participation in the process of political life in South Africa. Black people were not allowed to make any decisions regarding their issues and their lives. They also could not move without permission from the government. Black organisations were banned by the government. In apartheid South Africa, black people could not participate in politics. The black people were limited concerning their right of political participatory in the state. It was not only in the state but also in the church as well. Apartheid was a political system of racism. The apartheid state was not a democratic system. We have also critiqued the role of the South African Council of Churches, especially the notion of critical solidarity in South Africa post 1994. In this chapter, we briefly come to the close of the dissertation by examining the struggles of the participation of black people with our understanding of the kingdom of God. Our argument is that black participation in public life is compatible with the teachings of the kingdom of God. The struggle against apartheid was a struggle for the kingdom of God much as the challenges of the SACC in South Africa Post-1994 were about the kingdom of God. If the kingdom of God requires the participation of all people, apartheid is not matched with the kingdom of God. Even the participation of citizens or the people is a compulsory right of all people in a democratic society. So the participatory of democracy is an essential requirement of the kingdom of God.

In this sense, the understanding of the kingdom of God is examined briefly. And its notion in ecumenism is examined. And the notion of the kingdom of God in the South African context is examined according to Tutu and Boesak. Last, the dialogue of democracy with the value of the kingdom of God is presented as that of black participation as a meaning of democracy in the kingdom of God.

4.2 The Understanding of the Kingdom of God

The understanding of the kingdom of God is briefly confined in this point. The Bible says, "The time has come" he said. "The kingdom of God is near. Repent and believe the good news (NIV, Mark 1:5)". This short verse is a summary of the teaching of Jesus. When we read this verse, we cannot understand immediately. But when Jesus taught it in that era, it was not strange for the Israelites. They prayed to God to rule over the world every day. The ways of the coming of the Kingdom of God were considered variously. But there is no doubt that the kingdom of God is to be fulfilled according to the promise of prophets of the Old Testament. So his notion of the kingdom of God is deeply embedded in the teaching of the Old Testament (Orobator, 1997:330). The kingdom of God is good news for who oppressed, marginalised and exploited. If the kingdom of God is the good news of Jesus Christ, the good news of Jesus must be delivered to all.

During the time of Jesus, the people of Israel were oppressed by the Roman Emperor, and they were waiting for the coming of Messiah. So they asked God to bring them to the kingdom of God repeatedly. Their understanding of the King is eschatological. When their King-Messiah-comes to earth, their political authority would be restored and the world will be ruled by the people of God who are Israelites. So the Israelites were expecting to see their Messiah who can save them from their suffering and their situation of oppression.

But the religious leaders of Israel had a different idea. They expected a Messiah, but their image of a Messiah or King was different from their expectation. They wanted to keep their position and their structure of authority. So they could keep their society. They were close to the Roman Emperor, and they did not care about the marginalised. They abandoned their prophetic role as prophets did in the Old Testament. As the people of Israel were abandoned, the marginalised and the poor were also excluded from politics and life in general just as black South Africans were Their life was marginalised in politics and it seemed so hopeless in that era. Since Jesus came to us, the notion of the kingdom of God has been

argued.

Léon-Dufour opines, (1982:254), the teaching of the kingdom of God by Jesus is also the aim of John the Baptist. John and the prophets of old announcing the arrival of the kingdom of God and calling all people to repent and to participate in the journey of the seeking His Kingdom and His righteousness (Castro, 1986:48).

When the disciples asked Jesus to teach them how to pray, Jesus taught the Lord's Prayer. In this prayer, Jesus was seeking the kingdom of God and asked the people to join it.

When Jesus and John the Baptist declared that the kingdom of God is near, the religious leaders of Israel were not happy with their teaching. They denied the arrival of the kingdom of God in Israel. The notion of the kingdom of God was privatised by them. For them, the kingdom of God belongs to the chosen people only. Nobody can explain its notion in Israel except them. They also misused the prophecy of the Old Testament for their desire like apartheid.

The kingdom of God cannot be built by the chosen or special people. It can be built by all people. In the kingdom of God, there is no discrimination regarding gender, age and race. People cannot be treated differently. The kingdom of God requires involvement of all people. God asks all people to participate in the process of realisation of it. There is no exception in it.

Many church leaders and political leaders have argued regarding the notion of the kingdom in church history and Western history.

The notion of the kingdom of God as described by Luther is linked up with Augustine's two cities' theory. So the kingdom of God stands in contrast to the kingdom of world. The battle field where God and Satan fight is the present world. And the kingdom of God stands opposed to that of Adam in the Kingdom of Christ. In the Kingdom of Christ, God heals the world but the kingdom of God is spiritual. Thus, God rules both secular and spiritual worlds. Christians belong to

both worlds.

When the reformers are dealing with the kingdom of God, they did not separate the world. They linked them together in the world.

The fundamental idea of a *citas Christiana*, a Christian city or state, linked faith and politics in the Christian and the civil communities (Moltmann, 2012:19).

Zwingli (1484-1531) argues that the kingdom of God included features of the *civitas Christiana*. The kingdom of God has an external aspect, and it is thus advanced when Christians hold positions in government. According to him, the government officers or rulers and the person who has the responsibility for their spirituality was sent by God. God formed two kingdoms and ruled over both.

According to the theology of Calvin (1509-64), there are three features. First, the kingdom of God is expressed in creation, in his rule over nature and history. Second, the kingdom of God is the restitution of a fallen creation; it is built up as the true knowledge of God and is implanted in us by Christ, and it is part of the breaking in of Christ' kingdom. Third, the kingdom of God is the end-time consummation of God's exercise of power, when he will be King of the world.

In the Anabaptist world and among the Spiritualists, the kingdom of God is a dominant motif in the criticism of institutions, states and churches. Separation was a reason for equating the congregation with the otherworldly kingdom, which is here, given a social form.

Thus, as Moltmann argues, the kingdom of God cannot be considered separately. Their notion of the kingdom of God is dialectic.

Their dialectical argument of the notion is also evident in ecumenism. Now let us see how the kingdom of God has emerged in the ecumenical movement. Smit (2002:644-646) argues that in the history of church, the notion of the kingdom of God is always controverted. In that notion, there is tension between present and future aspects, between different concepts of power or rule, between the

kingdom and the church, between socio-political and individual interpretations, between views that the kingdom is completely a gift of grace and that humanity begins to participate in its coming, between salvation history and world history (Smit, 2002:645).

As noted, since Jesus declared it, political leaders and religious leader were opposed to each other concerning this notion. Luther criticised the papal church. He argues that secular government is not autonomous but also follows the will of God. Calvinists sought to erect a theocratic society and they also emphasised the individual role in that process.

In ecumenism, the notion of the kingdom of God as an ideal society, characterised by equality, justice and freedom, has been accepted step by step. And socio-ethnic implications, and conclusions critical of church structures and its life and worship, are often drawn. In ecumenism, a vision of the kingdom is the gospel. It is meant for the poor and the marginalised. God asks the churches to be involved in the process of the struggle of history and to resist against all odds and anti-kingdom such as an unjust society. And the kingdom of God demands the churches and the people to participate in the struggles.

In particular, the theme of the Melbourne World Conference (1980) was "Your Kingdom Come". They discussed the good news to the poor, the kingdom of God and human struggle, the church witness to the kingdom and Christ-crucified and risen-challenges human power. So they declared that, "the gospel is meant for the poor, and Christians and the church must be involved in all the struggles of history, resisting the oppressive realities and oppressive forces of the anti-Kingdom" (Smit, 2005:646). When Jesus came for the poor the kingdom of God was and is the good news for the poor.

It seems very similar to the BTL. What is the relationship with the kingdom of God in the BTL? In the BTL, God is the God of the poor and oppressed. The black experience of oppression and exploitation and marginalisation provides a lens of understanding of the struggle against apartheid which is to struggle for the

kingdom of God. As I confirmed previously, it is clear that it is God who liberates them from their suffering and calls them to the mission of building His Kingdom. In order to understand the notion of the kingdom of God, Mosala suggests using the lens of the 'struggle'. He therefore argues, that the reader reads the text with an understanding of their oppressed situation in the context of "the social, cultural, political and economic world of the black working class and peasantry" (Mosala, 1989:101-153).

He begins to understand the situation of oppression and to interpret the text through the lenses of the oppressed. As he interprets the world through the lenses of the oppressed, he agrees that the agenda of Black Theology is the restoration of the humanity of black people. His understanding of the kingdom of God is to restore the humanity of black people in South Africa. His notion of the kingdom of God has emerged from three people such as Marx, Biko and Jesus. The BTL focuses on the liberation of the oppressed black people, it is also a movement of Christ Jesus who is with them. So the people are called to participate in the building of His Kingdom. In the kingdom of God, people who are poor, oppressed and marginalised must be liberated from their situation. Consequently, the notion of the kingdom of God of ecumenism matches the notion of the BTL. But the notion of the kingdom of God is more deeply examined in section 4.4 through Tutu and Boesak.

4.3 Participatory Democracy and the Kingdom of God

The participation of the church is required in the realisation the kingdom of God in modern society. In modern society, more participation is needed to resist against an unjust state such as apartheid.

Participation is an important element of the requirements for a democratic country. Many liberation movements are struggling to obtain their participatory right in a democratic country. As previously demonstrated, the liberation movement of South Africa also struggled for this end result. What is the development towards a participatory democracy from an apartheid situation? In

order to understand why and how apartheid restricted black South Africans, a brief history is examined. Here we are applying the kingdom values that the thesis has previously argued especially after the manner of Biko, Tutu and others.

4.3.1 Definition of Participatory Democracy

Generally, the origin of the term "democracy" comes from ancient Greece, literally means "rule by the people". Political democracy was viewed as a form of government. It stood between aristocracy (the rule of the elite) and the negatively viewed *ochlocracy* (mob rule) (Fahlbusch & Bromiley, 1999:789).

According to the Oxford dictionary, participatory democracy is individual participation in political decision-making, especially by direct action rather than through elected representatives. Generally, citizen participation is agreed to be an essential ingredient of a healthy democracy. Without the participation of citizens, democracy cannot be maintained in a democratic country. Lincoln declared a commitment to 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'. This commitment to democracy demonstrates the meaning of participatory democracy very well. Participatory democracy tends to advocate more involved forms of citizen participation. So citizen participation is a fundamental right in a democracy. Participatory democracy tries to create opportunities for all members of the population to make meaningful contributions to decision-making. It also seeks to create more opportunities of access for participation in various ways. In this democratic system, the people are ruled by collectively discussing what issues need to be debated and talking about possible solutions until they agree on the best solution or option for the group (Catt, 1999:13).

Central to participatory democracy is full involvement of all in all stages of the decision-making process. In this process, face-to-face meetings with unrestricted discussions can be used in order to reach a consensus. There is an argument that the benefits of this procedure are worth the time and energy that is needed. And there is the feeling that the experience of participatory democracy helps the individual to develop into a better citizen (Catt, 1999:55).

In some countries, government does not give this opportunity to all people. But citizen's participation is a fundamental right which shall be considered both from citizens and government officials to strengthen the democracy. We cannot achieve any respect for human rights without full access to governance in the state. Apartheid did not give this opportunity to black South Africans. In this sense, apartheid was not a democratic system. The black people were excluded from this democratic process. Apartheid even took away the right of equal education from black people. The right of participatory is very important in a democratic country.

Generally, citizen's participation is agreed to be an essential ingredient of a healthy democracy. This commitment of democracy demonstrates the meaning of participatory democracy very well. This is also what Jesus calls on the people to participate with when building the kingdom of God.

This concept is what exactly Biko stressed as the meaning of democracy and participation in democracy in the context of South Africa. When black people were restricted and excluded from politics, this suggests that the state is not a democratic country anymore. All people must have their inherent participatory right in politics. They can exercise their right without any limitation and discrimination. But apartheid did not allow this responsibility. This was a strong reason why apartheid was confirmed as a heresy by the world churches.

Biko argued, white people totally controlled the political arena, and black people were marginalised. He believed that white people were able to dominate the anti-apartheid movement because of their access to resources, education, and privilege. He noted that white South Africans were poorly suited to this role because they had not personally experienced the oppression that their black counterparts faced. Biko also argued that democracy seeks to provide more opportunities for access to participation in various ways in his writings. And he stresses the participation of black people.

What we want is not black visibility but real black participation. In other words

it does not help us to see several quiet black faces in a multi-racial student gathering which ultimately concentrates on what the white students believe are the needs for the black students (Biko and Stubb, 2005: 5).

Participation in the South African context is required in order to build the kingdom of God. He also pointed out three points regarding a democratic society as follows:

We regard an open society as one which fulfils all the three points I have mentioned just now. Where there can be free participation, in the economic, social and all three of the societies by anybody, you know, equal opportunity and so on (Biko and Stubb, 2005: 123).

Therefore, in the kingdom of God, there must be free participation and equal opportunity based on the BTL and BCM in the context of South Africa. The people can exercise and enjoy their opportunities of democratic rights, especially their participatory rights. In the next point, the meaning of the kingdom of God and its meaning of participation will be examined through Tutu and Boesak in the South African context.

4.3.2 Meaning of the Kingdom of God in South African Context

The term kingdom of God appeared in the later books of the Old Testament (OT) In the Old Testament, the kingdom of God refers to earthly kingdoms and empires, whether Israelite, Babylonian, or Persian. In the New Testament (NT), the term kingdom of God is the central message of the teaching of Jesus. The kingdom of God stands related to the Kingdom of Christ and the church and evidence of the tension between present and future eschatology that is a mark of Christian proclamation and theology.

Through the Old Testament and the New Testament, the concept of the kingdom of God appears and relates each other. The kingdom of God in the OT relates to the Messiah. Messiah Jesus proclaimed as Lord in every case in the NT. The kingdom is manifested in the power of the Spirit calling Christians to a kingdom-

oriented lifestyle, to live in expectancy of the total redemption, transformation and glorification of this world in God's coming kingdom (Castro, 1986:63). Between Jesus' ascension and his second coming, his Parousia⁸, a new people the Israel of God, the church, is called into being.

Throughout the history of the church, theologians have argued about what the kingdom of God is. The question is "what is really the kingdom of God in our context?" on the basis of *Parousia*.

In this sense, the meaning of the kingdom of God in the context of South Africa is examined through two black theologians such as Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak.

4.3.2.1 Desmond Tutu

Desmond Tutu (1996: IX) said:

When the white missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible and we had the land. They said, "Let us pray". We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible and they had the land.

He has a clear concept of the kingdom of God in Africa. For him the kingdom of God is not only in heaven, but also in earth. His notion of the kingdom of God is based on the BTL. It originally came from the Lord's Prayer. So his notion of the kingdom of God is related to the struggle of black people and their dignity for their political participation and perfect liberation from the oppressed situation.

Desmond Tutu was struggling against the situation of oppression in South Africa with churches and the marginalised through his whole life. He has struggled against all odds in the world. If the kingdom of God is against all kinds of injustice and he struggled against that context, it is necessary to reflect on his life to discover his notion of the kingdom of God. His notion of the kingdom of God

⁸ Parousia (Greek: *παρουσία*) is an ancient Greek word meaning presence, arrival, or official visit.

can be found in his life, articles and the anti-apartheid campaigns that he led.

Desmond Mpilo Tutu was born on 7 October 1931 in Klerksdrop. He was brought up with a mixture of Tswana, Xhosa, Sotho, and a few Indians. So he was growing up with a diversity of race and culture. His background of Christianity was initially Methodist. But later he and his family changed to the African Episcopal Methodist church and then later changed to the Anglican Church.

He studied at St. Anagar, and Madibane, Anglican institutions. Both schools have a Christian background. So he spontaneously studied in a Christian background. And he was influenced by it to become a priest later in life. But he wanted to be a medical doctor at the University of Witwatersrand, he could not study because his parents could not afford the tuition fees. Instead of this, he studied to be a teacher. In 1954 he began to teach in the school and he resigned from the school after 4 years, because of the Bantu Education Act (Ferm, 1988:65). He experienced exclusiveness and discrimination in the school as a South Africa black person.

He studied theology at St. Peter's Theological College in Johannesburg from 1958 to 1960 until his ordination. And then he was ordained as an Anglican priest in the Episcopal Church in 1960 by Edward Paget. In 1961, he became a priest working in St. Alban's Parish, Benoni.

In 1962 he went to England where he lived for 5 years. In England, he obtained the B.D. and M.Th. degrees in theology at King's College, London. He was supported by funding from the International Missionary Council's Theological Fund.

In the late 1960s, he came back to South Africa and he joined the Federal Theological Seminary and he was also appointed as a chaplain of the University of Fort Hare in 1967.

In the early 1970's he served as an associate director of the Theological Education Fund of the WCC. In 1975 he was appointed Dean of the Cathedral at Johannesburg, the first black person to hold that post. A year later he became

Bishop of Lesotho and soon thereafter became General Secretary of the SACC.

In 1984 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and he was also elected as the Bishop of Johannesburg in 1985. In 1986 he was appointed Archbishop of Cape Town. In 1987 he was elected as the president of the AACC at its 5th general assembly in Lome.

After the fall of apartheid, he was appointed the head of the TRC and led the process of reconciliation between the oppressed and oppressors. The churches of South Africa were involved in that process. Since the demise of apartheid, he has struggled with issues such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia.

As we have examined his life, he has struggled against apartheid theologically and also through his life. He has made it his life's work to fight for the rights of black people and apply the values of the BTL into the struggles in his life. His theology could be found in the citation of the Norwegian Nobel Committee:

The committee has attached importance to Desmond Tutu's role as a unifying leader figure in the campaign to resolve the problems of apartheid in South Africa... Through the award of this year's Peace Prize, the committee wishes to direct attention to the non-violent struggle for liberation to which Desmond Tutu belongs, a struggle in which black and white South Africans unite to bring their country out of conflict and crisis (Ferm, 1988:66).

His understanding of God is based on the ideals of the BTL. So the God who is with the poor and the marginalised, is the God of Moses who led the Israelites from Egypt where the Israelites were oppressed and suffered for 430 years. They were mistreated and discriminated against as slaves of Egypt. And Moses led the Israelites from the darkness into the light of the kingdom of God.

He believes that theology in South Africa must be developed to be based on the context of South Africa. As I argued previously, the BTL is focused on the South African context, his focus of theology also agrees with the BTL. What is the notion

of the Kingdom of God for Tutu?

Core theology and the notion of the kingdom of God of Tutu can be explained through the following statement.

"I have a dream", God says, Please help me to realize it. It is a dream of a world whose ugliness and squalor and poverty, its wave of hostility, its greed and harsh competitiveness, its alienation and disharmony are changed into their glorious counterparts, when there will be more laughter, joy and peace, where there will be justice and goodness and compassion and love and caring and sharing. I have a dream that swords will be beaten into plough shares and spear into pruning hooks, that my children will know that they are members of one family: the human family, God's family; for in God's family there are no outsiders. All are insiders black and white, rich and poor, gay and straight, Jew and Arab, Palestinian and Israeli, Roman Catholic and Protestant, Serb and Albanian, Hutu and Tutsi, Muslim and Christian, Buddhist and Hindu, Pakistan and Indian all belong (Tutu, 2004:1-2).

So in his concept of the kingdom of God, we can confine it in several words such as justice, goodness, compassion, love, caring, sharing and non-violence. And in the kingdom of God, there is no outsider-it means that no exclusion-and no inequality between black and white, rich and poor, gay and straight and so on. So the kingdom of God asks the people to participate equally and without any discrimination.

He also argues that in the past Christians have made too much of "the Fatherhood of God" and need to refer more to 'the Motherhood of God' (Tutu, 1982: 120). Accordingly he emphasises women's liberation, including women's ordination.

He also believes that there should be a radical redistribution of wealth and a more equitable distribution of the resources of the land in South Africa. Tutu urges white South Africa to agree voluntarily to a lower standard of living and accept political power-sharing in an orderly transfer of power. The alternative will

be bloodshed and chaos (Tutu, 1982:44).

"An ideology that denies that men and women are created in the image of God is incompatible with Christianity (Ferm, 1988:67)". For him, all people are the children of God without any boundaries.

Tutu also acknowledges that reconciliation is the core message of Jesus and emphasised it in the kingdom of God.

We are engaged in the ministry of proclaiming the love of God for all his people through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord, and proclaiming the message of reconciliation which is another aspect of unity, of peace, of harmony, of justice, of compassion, of love, of brotherliness. We are concerned for justice. And we are also concerned and work for reconciliation (Tutu, 1994:63).

But the most important concept of the kingdom of God is *Ubuntu* for him. In this regard, he writes:

Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a western language. It speaks of the very essence of being human. When we want to give high praise to someone we say, "*Yu, unobuntu*," "Hey, he or she has *Ubuntu*". This means they are generous, hospitable, friendly, caring and compassionate. They share what they have. It also means my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up in theirs. We belong in a bundle of life. We say a person is a person through other people. It is not "I think, therefore, I am". It says rather: "I am human because I belong I participate, I share". A person with *Ubuntu* is open and available to others, affirming others, and does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are (Tutu, 1999:35).

The notion of *Ubuntu*⁹ is the core message of the Kingdom of God for Tutu. But

⁹ *Ubuntu* is a Nguni Bantu term roughly translating to "human kindness". It is an idea

it is not easy to explain its meaning in Western language. But according to him, to live, work and share together is a very valuable key concept to understand the notion of the kingdom of God. To use the notion of *Ubuntu* is a key word of the realisation of the kingdom of God. Values of equality and dignity of human beings in a democracy are considered important and essential. These values are also important in the meaning of *Ubuntu* and confirm the meaning of the kingdom of God. Without understanding it, the Kingdom of God in South Africa cannot be explained. *Ubuntu* can be confirmed as a model of life-giving democracy.

And reconciliation is an important value from God, according to Tutu's understanding of the kingdom of God. Reconciliation is the central message of Jesus. Through Jesus, we were reconciled between God and human beings, as well as with nature. In the kingdom of God, reconciliation must happen between the oppressed and the oppressors. For him the end of apartheid is to realise the kingdom of God and democracy in South Africa. On the basis of the understanding of the kingdom of God, apartheid was not a part of it. When he argues that reconciliation is an important value in the kingdom of God, he also stresses forgiveness and truth.

There must be forgiveness, there must be truth, there must be reconciliation, to realize "God's dream for humanity...that we are indeed members of one family, bound together in a delicate network of interdependence" (Tutu, 1999:274).

In sum, his notion of the kingdom of God is summarised by liberation, *Ubuntu*, forgiveness, truth and reconciliation. In his notion of the kingdom of God, we are all equal and have to be liberated from our oppressed situation. People cannot be judged or treated according their tribe, skin, gender, age, religion and so on

from the Southern African region which means literally "human-ness", and is often translated as "humanity towards others", but is often used in a more philosophical sense to mean "the belief in a universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity".

because we are not created differently. And this notion of the kingdom of God cannot be built without participation. So in this process, participation of the people is required. We are all created as one family of God and in that family there are no outsiders in the kingdom of God.

4.3.2.2 Allan Boesak

As noted, the BTL was contributed to and emerged from the vision of Allan Boesak. He is a liberation theologian and he wrote many articles, books and sermons to contribute to the liberation movement in South Africa. And he is the one who led the declaration of the WARC 'apartheid in heresy'.

He was born in Sormerset West, Cape Province, South Africa in 1946. When he was educated at school, he experienced the separation of black and white and also experienced the oppression of blacks by whites from an early age. So he already knew how apartheid excluded and oppressed black people and the marginalised from politics. He always wanted to be a minister, so he became a sexton in the Dutch Reformed Church's Sending Kerk¹⁰

An experience important to his own sense of dignity was his discovery that the first Boesak, a member of the Khoikhoi tribe, had been a leader in a slave rebellion in South Africa. This disclosure helped him realise that his heritage was within a black family that took pride in its blackness (Ferm, 1988:15).

He studied at the University of the Western Cape and the Theological School at Belville. After his graduation from Belville, he was ordained at the age 23 in 1967. He also studied at Union Theological Seminary in New York City and Colgate Rochester Seminary. At Union Seminary, he studied the writings of Martin Luther King, Jr. Through his study of him, he was strengthened both in his pride of blackness and his advocacy of non-violent resistance (South African History Online, 2011: para1-2).

¹⁰ This church was an offshoot of the DRC. So he also experienced apartheid.

In 1976, he received a Doctor of Theology from the Theological Academy of Kampen in the Netherlands. At that time, he wrote a series of essays comparing the ethical views of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. In 1976 he became the student chaplain at the University of the Western Cape, Peninsula Technical College, and at the Belville Training College for teachers. He is a minister of the Dutch Reformed Mission church and in 1982 was elected President of the World Alliance of Reformed churches.

The Soweto Uprising on the 16th of June 1976 also influenced and impacted on his life. After the Uprising, he more deeply became involved in the black liberation movement. In 1981 black Reformed churches founded the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern Africa (ABRECSA). Boesak and ABRECSA believed that the struggle against apartheid represented a struggle for Christianity's integrity.

His experience of oppression and violence is revealed when he expressed his anger against apartheid as follows:

For the first time in my life I was in the midst of violence. I saw young persons with nothing in their hands, marching in the streets to make clear to the government and the whites of South Africa: 'We do not want a heritage of hatred and racism and suspicion and mistrust in South Africa. We want to share with you our anguish for the future of this country we shall inherit, a country where we shall not be safe, where we shall not be able to live as human beings together. Let us change that.' And I saw these young persons tear gassed; I saw them shot down with rifles (Boesak, 1984:44).

Since 1980, his prophetic role was increased as a major spokesperson for Black Theology and the rights of black people. He denounced the white South African government for its continued support of the apartheid system, a government that believes that "God is white and he votes for the National Party (Boesak, 1982:92)".

His notion of the kingdom of God is also focused on the marginalised, the oppressed and the struggle against apartheid for black participation. His notion

of the kingdom of God is based on the struggles against apartheid for the oppressed. This would indicate that his notion has emerged from the values of the BTL.

Though he increasingly continued to criticise the apartheid government and the white churches, he was a prophet of reconciliation. But his notion of reconciliation is not the kind that only perpetuates inequality. Genuine reconciliation occurs, not between oppressor and oppressed, but between "persons who face each other in their authentic, vulnerable, and yet hopeful humanity" (Boesak, 1982:68), a union which involves total liberation and forgiveness. It means that his notion of the kingdom of God is also focused on reconciliation as is Tutu. He wants to seek to build bridges between black theologians in South Africa who stress liberation from a political, socio-economic oppression and other African theologians who embrace cultural liberation (Ferm, 1988:16).

Allan Boesak reaffirmed that Black Theology has the Reformed tradition (Ferm, 1988: 17).

It is my conviction that the Reformed tradition has a future in this country only if black Reformed Christians are willing to take it up, make it truly their own, and let this tradition once again become what it once was: a champion of the cause of the poor and the oppressed, clinging to the confession of the Lordship of Christ and to the supremacy of the Word of God... I do not mean that we should accept everything in our tradition uncritically, for I indeed believe that black Christians should formulate a Reform confession for our time and situation in our own words (Boesak, 1984: 95).

In his concept of the kingdom of God, it is focused on the Reformed tradition. And he also stresses on the poor and oppressed as a black theologian. He indicated that black Christians should formulate a Reformed confession for the time of struggle against apartheid.

And in his concept of the kingdom of God, the gospel is a gospel of liberation (Boesak, 1984: 60). He argues that the message of Christ is the message of

liberation.

His message of liberation is also the message of the church in the world. This is the message the church in Africa must proclaim if it is to be authentic. It is the message of the God of the Bible: what God did for the people of Israel, God can do again today. It is the message that he who came to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord is still the head of the church today (Boesak, 1984: 74).

So he believes that Christianity is not a 'white religion,' an instrument for the effective oppression of blacks in his notion. He believes that God is a God of justice and liberation, always choosing the side of the weak and the downtrodden. So his notion of the kingdom of God has also emerged from the BTL.

His notion of the kingdom of God is summarised as follows:

In the speech of Boesak, those who inhabit the underside of history find their voice: the poor, the threatened, the powerless, the shot-at, the tortured, the demeaned, the put-down, the grieving, the suffering, the exiles, the imprisoned, the outcasts. It is a voice of pain informed by profound and creative biblical insight (Wolterstorff, 1987: ix).

In his notion of the kingdom of God, Boesak also stressed the importance of humanity. And he indicated that 'true humanity is a decolonised humanity free from the infection of white scorn and contempt (Boesak, 1984:18)'. But black people do not hate white simply because they are white. Blacks hate "their oppression, their enslavement of others (1984: 18)". He did not refer to the race. He emphasised the humanity in relation with the context of South Africa. In the BTL all people can be respected and treated with humanity and dignity.

His notion of the kingdom of God and the responsibility of Christians are clearly stated as follows,

It does mean being a Christian presence in the midst of that struggle, keeping alive and witnessing to the goals of the kingdom of God for our world. It

means keeping alive, in the midst of the struggle, God's possibilities. It means being the embodiment of God's demands for love, justice, reconciliation, and shalom for the world that has been reconciled with God in Jesus Christ (Boesak, 1984:81).

In sum of the notion of the kingdom of God for Boesak, it is a gospel of liberation which can liberate the oppressed from their oppressed situation. The kingdom of God requires love, justice and reconciliation and shalom. There is no exception of the marginalised and the voiceless in the kingdom of God. It also requires reconciliation between the oppressed and oppressors as God reconciled with us through Jesus. So his understanding of the kingdom cannot be explained without the Lordship of Jesus Christ. In this reconciliation, there is a union which involves total liberation and forgiveness in Jesus. When Reformed Christians began, they emphasised the responsibility of Christians for the world. What "Calvin College Philosopher Nick Wolterstorff has called, 'world-formative Christianity (Boesak, 1984:96)'. In the kingdom of God, Christians have a responsibility for a just society. And this responsibility cannot be achieved without the participation of Christians. So the kingdom requires participation in order to build a just and sustainable society. Therefore, his notion of the kingdom of God also matched what Jesus declared in the NT and also the kingdom of God is to maintain our just society.

4.4 The Dialogue of Democracy with the Value of the Kingdom of God

In chapter 4 I have argued the notion of the Kingdom of God in South Africa and its meaning and relation with participatory democracy. As I researched, Tutu and Boesak, their notion of the kingdom of God has emerged from the BTL and also based on the teaching of Jesus. So the Kingdom of God in South Africa cannot be confirmed without black participation in democracy as the BCM and the BTL require it. And it can be proved that the Kingdom of God in South Africa needs the requirement of the full participation of black people. So what is the meaning of participation in the kingdom of God?

As I examined, the notion of the Kingdom of God in South Africa, it includes justice, human dignity, non-violence, reconciliation, total liberation and forgiveness. These are values of the kingdom of God and what the BCM argues regarding democracy. The BCM and the BTL motivate blacks who are marginalised to participate in the building of the kingdom of God since ecumenism requires the participation of all people.

Democracy is not a value of Christianity, but it is a better option for a political system today. Through the history of human beings, we have tried to establish a sustainable political system of the world. Even in church history, churches and theologians have argued for a relationship between the secular world and the kingdom of God in order to build a just society. The struggle against apartheid is also a response to the calling of God and a cry for the poor and marginalised. Democracy is a response to the calling of God for the kingdom of God in this world. Participation of the people without prejudice is a way of realising democracy.

The responses to the calling of God in the Kingdom of God can be explained by the prophetic stance of the churches in South Africa. The SACC is deeply involved in its movement with the kingdom of God. This movement can be called a black liberation movement. It can be explained as the public accountability of the church for society (*oikoumene*) since the SACC responds to the calling of God for the Kingdom.

As I evaluated the SACC in post 1994, their stance was 'critical solidarity' and they failed to respond to the calling of God in a democratic country. Critically, this stance of the church relationship with the state is not relevant in South Africa as already noted. In Urbaniak's analysis of contemporary South African society, the people are angry and have no patience in their present situation (Urbaniak, 2017:7-10). This has caused a burst of violence and strikes. They, mostly black people are still excluded and marginalised from the political life of the country. Their life is not better than before. For example the students demand

#FeeMustFall# and strike.

He suggests that the SACC should seek and enable a prophetic voice in South Africa today. That is to respond to the calling of God in the Kingdom of God. And it can entail naming both the immediate and the ultimate objects of people's rage (Urbaniak, 2017:37). The restoration of the prophetic role of churches today must be emphasised as was the prophetic role of the churches of South Africa before 1994 to restore and heal our angry society.

Vellem suggests "life-giving democracy" in order to build the kingdom of God as follows:

The de-mystification of empire takes place through the sign and symbol of the Kingdom expressed in the life of Jesus Christ - God's incarnation in the world. This Son is the one who appears sharing food among thousands and multiplying it for the starving multitudes to have a share. But the power of God's Reign is in the injunction: "Take, eat, this is my body that is broken for you," and "Take drink, this is blood shed for you". This is not just a constant act of sharing and eating but a face-to-face relationship with God's entire creation with de-mystified (sacramental) and unified (bonded) people with the whole of His creation. It is the re-establishment of the foundational intents of God's mission for his creation (2007:324).

According to him, in the kingdom of God, democracy provides structure and dynamics-in the economic, political and cultural life of given communities. It is very close to the notion of democracy in the BCM. It must be also sharing and eating together. But this is the re-establishment of the foundational intents of God's mission for his creation. It is same idea as Tutu, Boesak and other black theologians. Tutu insists on the importance of *Ubuntu* in the kingdom of God. *Ubuntu* is the key concept of his theology and the concept of democracy in the Kingdom of God in South Africa. It is also the essence of being human.

In the kingdom of God, we can share, live together, and welcome anyone to our community without prejudice. This is democracy in the kingdom of God which is

ruled by God.

When I evaluated democracy in South Africa with this research, the church or the SACC have responded to the kingdom of God. How did the churches respond to the calling of God for His Kingdom in South Africa?

First, the world churches and the South African churches have struggled for the kingdom of God with solidarity. In the process of the democratisation of South Africa, we could see the importance of solidarity. Churches in the world and South African churches struggled together to overcome apartheid and to realise the kingdom of God. Churches are struggling to overcome poverty, injustice inequality, violence, conflict, oppression and exploitation. Church seeks the values of the kingdom of God such as love, hope, peace, forgiveness, liberation, equality, justice, human dignity and equity. Democracy is not only for people who are privileged. It is for all people. The kingdom of God is a gift from God. And we as human beings have to be involved in the process of the coming of the Kingdom of God.

Second, the church emphasised the role as a mediator of reconciliation in South Africa. The SACC, the WCC and other churches realised their accountability in the process of reconciliation in post 1994 South Africa. The church encouraged people and society to confess and forgive in the process of reconciliation in post 1994 South Africa. So this legacy has not expired yet as Jesus did in realisation of the kingdom of God. But in the context of South Africa, their reconciliation process does not end yet. There are still conflicts and discrimination between whites and blacks, and the rich and the poor. The church reconsiders reconciliation in the view of the BTL.

Third, the church has a public responsibility of life-giver in a democratic society. The kingdom of God is about the life that God gave to us. People who were struggling were supported by the PCR. When the church takes this public responsibility, our democratic society is developed as the kingdom of God. And the oppressed are liberated to realise the Kingdom of God in South Africa.

In South Africa today, there are many opportunities and risks in democracy. We need to develop the politics for the public issues. The ANC is not a democratic party anymore, they became a political party. President Zuma and his government seek to find a way of maintaining their power in the country just as apartheid did. It is no longer a racial problem. As Biko stated previously, the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons (Biko and Stubb, 2005:87-88). It seems that the ANC repeats the history of apartheid.

People are suffering from poverty, poor service delivery and poor education from this political disaster. Most of the churches in South Africa are concerned only with a spiritual life. Recently, as I noted in chapter 2, the SACC and its member churches are trying to raise their prophetic voice, but it is still not enough. There are still many black people excluded from politics. They vote but they do not know exactly what to do because of the poor quality of education and conflict between political parties in a power game. The government has to play their role to take their responsibility seriously to explain and educate their people to understand and become involved in politics. So the government has to provide more opportunities for participation and to learn and increase. Black people are still excluded by the government from politics.

4.5 Conclusion

All people were called to build His Kingdom in this world. When Jesus declared that the kingdom of God, he read from the book of Isaiah as follows:

The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour (Luke 4:18-19).

This means that the kingdom of God is not only in heaven but also in this world. Jesus came to save and realise the kingdom on earth. He came to liberate the poor, oppressed and marginalised for the kingdom. In the kingdom of God, all people are equal and there is liberation for people who are oppressed and

marginalised. There is no exception based on race and skin colour.

When Nelson Mandela was elected as the first black president of a democratic South Africa, many felt that the kingdom of God had come on earth (Buhlungu, 2007:448). But in post 1994 democratic South Africa, there are still challenges such as issues of inequality, environment, gender, poverty and HIV/AIDS etc. In order to build the kingdom of God, we need to overcome those challenges. It requires the participation of the people. When Jesus declared that the kingdom was coming, he also required the participation of the people. Without participation, the kingdom of God is not real and not in our hands.

The demise of apartheid was a symbol of hope in Africa. Through the participation of black people in the liberation movement, the people of South Africa could see hope in 1994. The responsibility of fostering hope in South Africa is on our hands. Hence, participation is needed more today than ever. So the church has a public responsibility for this.

Citizens of the kingdom are asked to commit themselves and have a duty to fulfil their rights as citizens. A democratic society also asks the citizens to participate. Consequently, the democracy is very similar to the kingdom of God. As noted, participatory democracy is not a value of the kingdom. But with a view of calling upon the churches for participation, both are to have the same conditions of realisation. Without any participation, there is no real dream. As Jesus indicated the kingdom needs the participation of people, democracy also needs the participation of citizens for the kingdom of God. The realisation of the Kingdom of God in South Africa is its task and mission to build a sustainable society.

Chapter5. Conclusion

The church has a unique role in our society. The church is responsible for justice, peace and the integrity of creation in the world. The church is not standing for herself; church is standing for the kingdom of God. Through our history, church is standing to struggle against the evil system of society. In South Africa, the churches struggled against an evil political system which banned the rights of the people according to their race.

The SACC struggled before 1994 in the process of the democratisation of South Africa and how they struggled against apartheid for the participatory rights of black people. In this sense, the meaning of democracy is to advocate for those blacks who were marginalised and to obtain their right of participation under apartheid. Therefore, the SACC in 1968 was formed on the foundation of the BCM and the BTL. Their sacrifice and contribution are significant before 1994 in the process of democratisation of South Africa. Ecumenical movement in South Africa together with the WCC was to overcome apartheid and to struggle for the participatory rights of the black and the marginalized.

I evaluated the SACC in post 1994. In post 1994 democratic South Africa, the SACC lost their prophetic voice against the state in the process of democratisation. They failed to keep a distance between the SACC and the ANC-led government as a watchdog. When the SACC was close to the state, they did not exercise well their role. In the early era of a democratic South Africa, the SACC failed to stand as a prophetic organisation. The SACC missed its role as a black organisation to advocate for the poor and the marginalised. The struggle against evil in South Africa does not end yet. The kingdom of God is not yet on our hands. God calls all people and churches to be involved in the building of the kingdom. In a democratic South Africa, all people have to perform their right to be involved. In this process, the state (or government) has a responsibility to provide the education and guidance to the people to perform their rights. In the kingdom of God, all people are called to perform their participatory right to build

a democratic country. The church has a responsibility to help the people who are poor and marginalised in society to exercise their participatory rights.

Today, the SACC could refocus on their ecumenical vision and raise again the prophetic voice against the state. But the SACC still struggles to survive. The SACC has to focus on the poor and the marginalised. The role of the SACC is to restore and to reconcile the state for the kingdom of God in a democratic South Africa.

The SACC constantly resists against an unjust society and government in order to restore the Kingdom of God in South Africa. When the apartheid government and churches of South Africa neglected their duties for the state, God worked to awake the black masses through the BCM, the BTL and the SACC. And the BCM and the BTL created a model for African democracy.

As black theologians and their ministers did under apartheid, they need to visit local black churches to encourage them to have their black identity. And they should restart community research programmes to develop their life and faith as responsible Christians. They also need to train young people to serve the nation in the future. Hence, in the conclusion of this dissertation, tasks for the South African have emerged in order to build the kingdom of God.

As I argued in chapter 2, Western theology and democracy cannot be applied into the African context. African democracy is emerging from African knowledge systems. African Christianity or society exists and has always existed in dialogue, in comparison and in exchange (Maluleke 2010:376). In particular, African Christianity cannot be considered without African Religion. It grows in dialogue with African Religion. In the African democracy model, the people and their experience are important elements to understand it. African Christianity is a Christianity of the poor, the women, and black people (Maluleke, 2010:376). So the BTL has to play their prophetic role in churches and society in South Africa. The BTL is relevant in order to maintain and restore the Kingdom of God in South Africa.

The SACC and the South African churches are to seek the pursuit of a life-giving democracy which is to share, to restore a just and sustainable society based on the principles of the BTL where they came from for the kingdom of God.

Epilogue

In post 1994, there were many changes in South Africa. As I researched, the big change which was the realisation of democracy in South Africa. People can demand their rights freely. In 2015, students of the universities demanded a reduction in their school fees. So the president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma promised them not to increase school fees. In 2016, in most of the Universities in South Africa, the students such as University of Witwatersrand, University of Cape Town, North-West University and University of Pretoria etc. again demand #FeesMustFall. They demanded FREE EDUCATION. They also started to demonstrate in their institutions. But they did not only demand free education but also decolonisation. Police opened fire on the students and oppressed them. History repeated itself in our generation.

At the time of writing my dissertation, my country South Korea is changing dramatically and democratically again. The people demanded that the current president Ms. Park. Keun-hye of South Korea resigns from her position. She is the daughter of Mr. Park. Junghee who was a former President of South Korea and a dictator of the Yushin government. The people of South Korea were also struggling under his government for many years. But he was killed by one of his security forces. Now his daughter has repeated his ways, and her friends and the ruling party Saenuri are trying to rule South Korea in their own way.

The people of South Korea who really want to democratise the state are gathering in the plaza of the City of Seoul. More than one million people of South Korea came out from their homes every weekend for twenty weeks and demonstrated peacefully with candles against the government. People are making a new culture of demonstration. People are dancing, singing, talking and satirising. As time went on, the truth came out.

The South Korean members of parliament impeached her on the 9th of December 2016. On 10th March 2017, the Constitutional Court of South Korea removed her from presidential office. On 30th March 2017, she attended a nearly nine- hour

court hearing. After this, she was arrested for corruption investigation. Now she is in prison. We have elected a new president Jae-in Moon On May 2017.

I believe that democracy is a gift from God to this world. Through the history of the world, people have tried to keep their power and conquer the world. Sometimes they have justified what they have done to achieve power in the name of religion. Even Christianity has sometimes cooperated with them in order to survive. The church has simply closed its eyes.

People have a right to enjoy their freedom. No one has a right to limit our rights. We were created like this. Freedom is the will of God. Democracy is evolving. But there is one thing that cannot be changed. Truth cannot be changed.

In Sharpeville, Soweto and Seoul, Korea, is a God who suffers together with His people. The church must be there where people are suffering and struggling.

The church must be the reconciler as Jesus was.

The church must be the peacemaker as Jesus was.

The church must be there where people are suffering as Jesus was.

I believe that the church is still the hope in this world. God gave us the church as the hope in this world, the church must do our mission.

Peacemakers who sow in peace raise a harvest of righteousness (James3:18).

Bibliography

Books and Articles

Adebo, AO & Harold, G. (2013). 'The relevance of Black theology in post-apartheid South Africa', *South African Baptist Journal of Theology*, vol. 22, pp.181-198. Available from: <http://www.ctbs.org.za/sa-baptist-journal-of-theology/>. (Accessed 8 August 2016).

Biko, S. and Stubbs, A. (ed.). (2005) *I Write What I Like: Steve Biko. A selection of his writings* edited by Stubbs, A. Available from: <https://studycircle.wikispaces.com/file/view/I+Write+What+I+Like,+Steve+Biko.pdf>. (Accessed 6 May 2017).

Boesak, A. (1978). *Black Theology and Black Power*. London: Mowbrays.

Boesak, A. (1984). *Black and Reformed: Apartheid, Liberation and the Calvinist Tradition*. Johannesburg: Skotaville.

Boesak, A. (1986). *Farewell to Innocence: A socio-ethical Study on Black Theology and Black Power*. New York: Orbis Books.

Borer, T. (1998). *Challenging the State: Church as Political Actors in South Africa 1980-1994*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Buffel, OA. (2010). 'Black Theology and the Black Masses: The Need of an Organic Relationship Between Black Theology and the Blackness' *Scriptura* Vol. 105. Pp 470-480. SU LIS. Available from: <http://scriptura.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/166/745>. (Accessed 9 September 2016).

Buhlungu, S. (2007). *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*. 4th ed. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Castro, E. (1985). *Freedom in mission: the perspective of the kingdom of God: an ecumenical inquiry*. Geneva: WCC Publications (*Oikoumene*).

Catt, H. (1999). *Democracy in practice*. London: Routledge.

Christian Institute of Southern Africa. (1972). '*Social Change*' *Christian Action. Pro Veritate January 1972*. Available from: <http://disa.ukzn.ac.za>. (Accessed 24 September 2017)

Christian Institute of Southern Africa. (1973). *Black Theology Resolution: Pro Veritate*, vol12, no.3, 15 July 1973. Available from: <http://disa.ukzn.ac.za>. (Accessed 17th March 2017)

Clark, N. L. and Worger, W. H. (2011). *South africa : the rise and fall of apartheid*. 2nd ed. Harlow, England: Longman

Cochrane, J. (2004) "*Research Challenges on Religion in South Africa*," in *Religion, Politics, and Identity in a Changing South Africa* edited by Chidester, D. Jayob, A. & Weisse,W (eds.). New York: Waxmann Munster. pp. 225-240.

Cone, JH. & Williams G.S. (eds.). (1979). *Black Theology: A Documentary History, Vol 1: 1966-1979*. New York: Orbis.

Cone, J H. (1985). *For My People: Black Theology and the Black Church*. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers.

Conradie, E M. (2013). *South African Perspectives on Notions and Forms of Ecumenicity*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press.

Crais. C. (1992). *White supremacy and Black resistance in pre-industrial South Africa: the making of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Davenport, T. R. H. (2000). *South Africa: A Modern History*. 5th ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

De Ste. Croix, G. E. M. (1981). *The class struggle in the ancient Greek world: from the archaic age to the Arab conquests*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

De Gruchy, J. (1995). *Christianity and Democracy: a theology for a just world order*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

De Gruchy, J. & De Gruchy, S. (eds.). (2005). *The Church Struggle in South Africa 25th Anniversary Ed.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

De Gruchy, J. (2016). *The Church and the Struggle for South Africa*. Available from: <http://0-ttj.sagepub.com.innopac.up.ac.za/content/43/2/229.short>. (Accessed 9 November 2016).

Duffey, M. (2001). *Sowing, justice, reaping, peace-Case study of racial, religious and ethnic healing around world*. Sheed & Ward: Chicago, USA.

Dugard, J. (1978). *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Duncan AG. & Egan A. (2015). *The Ecumenical Struggle in South Africa: The Role of Ecumenical Movements and Organisations in Liberation Movements to 1965: Research Article (Church History and Church Policy)*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. Available from: <http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/52811> (Accessed 8 September 2016).

Du Toit. A. & Hermann. G. (1983). *Afrikaner political thought: analysis and documents*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Elphick, R. & Davenport, R (eds.). (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Ferm, D.W. (1988). *Profiles in liberation-36 Portraits of third world theologians*. Mystic, Conn.: Twenty-third pub.

France, R.T. (2007). *The Gospel of Matthew*. Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Fredrickson. G.M. (2002). *Racism-A Short History*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

GMCSA. (1906). *Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference of South Africa Held at Johannesburg, July 5–11, 1906*. Johannesburg: General Missionary Conference of South Africa.

Goodall, N. (ed.). (1968). *The Uppsala Report 1968*. Geneva: WCC.

Graybill, LS. (1991). *Christianity and Black Resistance to Apartheid in South Africa: A Comparison of Albert Luthuli, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko and Desmond Tutu*. London: UMI Dissertation Service.

Graybill, LS. (1995). *Religion and Resistance Politics in South Africa*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Hofmeyr, J., Millard, J. & Froneman, C. (eds.). (1991). *History of the Church in South Africa: A Document and Source Book*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Hofmeyer, J., Lombaard, C J S. & Maritz, P J. (eds.). 2001. *1948 Plus Fifty Years theology, apartheid and church past, present and future*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria Printers.

Hopkins, DN. (1990). *Black Theology of Liberation in the USA and South Africa: Politics, culture and liberation*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

International Commission of Jurists. (1975). *The trial of Beyers Naudé: Christian witness and the law*. London: Search Press.

Jacques, E. (1972). *False presence of the kingdom*. New York: Seabury Press.

Kairos theologians. (eds.). (1986). *Challenge to the church: a theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa: the Kairos document*. Michigan: Eerdmans Pub Co.

Kinnamon, M & Cope. B. (Editors). (1997). *The Ecumenical Movement: An*

Anthology of Key Texts and Voices. Geneva: WCC.

Kretzschmar, L. (1986). *The voice of black theology in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Kunnie, J. (1994). *Models of black theology: issues in class, culture, and gender*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International.

Kumalo, R. (2013). Facts and Faction: The Development of Church and State Relations in Democratic South Africa from 1994–2012. *Journal of Church and State* vol. 56 no.4, pp627–643

Kuperus, T. (1990). "Building Democracy: An Examination of Religious Associations in South Africa and Zimbabwe," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no.4, pp. 278-306.

Kuperus, T. (2011). "Political Role and Democratic Contribution of Churches in Post-Apartheid South Africa". *Journal of Church and State* vol. 53 no. 2, pp. 278–306.

Lodge, Tom. Sharpeville : *An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, OUP Oxford, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.uplib.idm.oclc.org/lib/pretoria-ebooks/detail.action?docID=800804>.

Moore, B. (ed.). (1973). *Essays in Black Theology: South African Voice*. London: C. Hurst and Co.

Maluleke, T.S. (1994a) 'Review', Villa Vicencio, C, 1992, "A Theology of Reconstruction. Nation and Building and Human Rights," *Missionalia*, 22(2), pp186-188.

Maluleke, T. S. (1994b) "The Proposal for a Theology of Reconstruction: A Critical Appraisal," *Missionalia*, 22(3), pp. 245–258.

Maluleke, T. S. (1997). "'Dealing Lightly with the Wound of My People?' the TRC Process in Theological Perspective," *Missionalia*, 25(3), pp. 324–343.

Maluleke, T. S. (2009). *The Zuma Government: Challenges and Opportunities for Ecumenical Witness*. Conference proceeding of the National Church Leaders' Consultation. Conducted by the National Church Leaders' Forum. Available from: <http://www.efsa-institute.org.za/documents/20090629-MalulekePaper.pdf>. (Accessed 3 October 2017)

Maluleke, T.S. (2010). Of Africanised bees and Africanised churches: Ten theses on African Christianity. " *Missionalia*, 38(3), pp. 369-379

Maluleke, T. S. (2012). *Biko on Religion and Black liberation*. Available from: [biko-on-religion-and-black-liberation-by-tinyiko-maluleke](#) (Accessed 7 December 2016)

Mofokeng, T. (1993). *The Future Image of South African Black Theology*. Presented at Princeton Theological Seminary of Princeton on April 20, 1993. Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/the-future-image-of-south-african-black-theolog>. (Accessed 8 November 2016)

Moltmann, J. (2012). *Ethics of Hope*. London: SCM Press.

Mosala, IJ. (1989). *Biblical Hermeneutics and Black Theology in South Africa*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Mungazi, A. (2000). *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Desmond M. Tutu and Abel T. Muzorewa*. West Port, Connecticut: Praeger Publisher.

Murphy, S. (1996). *Democracy through the lens of Christian Theology-Review of John W. De Gruchy's Christianity and Democracy, A Theology for a Just World Order*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame.

Ndalamba, K.K. (2010). *'In search of an appropriate leadership ethos: A survey of selected publications that shaped the black theology movement'*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation M.Th. thesis, Bellville: University of Western Cape.

Mandela, N., Asmal, K., Chidester, D. and James, W. G. (2003) *Nelson Mandela: from freedom to the future: tributes and speeches*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Omer-Cooper, J.D. (1987). *History of Southern Africa*. New Hampshire: Heinemann.

Orobator, AE. (1997). The Idea of the Kingdom of God in African Theology in *Studia Missionalia*, Vol.46: pp.327-357.

Available from:

http://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1510&context=thet_fac. (Accessed 8 Sep 2016).

Orkin, M. (ed.). (1989). *Sanctions against apartheid*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

Pillay, J. (2015). Ecumenism in Africa. *The Ecumenical Review* v. 67 (4) (December 2015), pp635-650.

Pillay, J. (2017). Faith and reality: The role and contributions of the ecumenical church to the realities and development of South Africa since the advent of democracy in 1994. *HTS Theological Studies*, 73(4), pp.1-7.

Pityana, NB. (ed.). (1991). *Bounds of possibility: the legacy of Steve Biko & Black consciousness*. New Jersey: Zed Books.

Pityana, NB. (2012). *Black Consciousness, Black Theology, student activism, and the shaping of the new South Africa - The Inaugural Steve Biko Memorial Lecture, Europe*. London: London School of Economics and Political Science. Available from:<http://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/Steve%20Biko%20Memorial%20Lecture-Europe%202012.pdf>. (Accessed 6 February 2017).

Pityana, NB. and Schuller M. (2002). *Racism* in in Dictionary of the ecumenical movement. 2nd edition: pp.953-955. Geneva: WCC.

Pityana, NB. & Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.). (1995). *Being the Church in South Africa*. Johannesburg: SACC.

Plaatjies-Van Huffel, M-A., & Robert. Vosloo, R. (eds.). (2013). *Reformed Churches in South Africa and the Struggle for Justice: Remembering 1960-1990*. 1st ed.

Stellenbosch: Sun Press.

Prozesky, M. (ed.). (1990). *Christianity Amidst Apartheid: Selected Perspectives of the Church in South Arica*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Reddy, E.S. (1992). *The struggle for liberation in South Africa and International Solidarity: A selection of papers published by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

Ridderbos, H. (1962). *The Coming of the Kingdom*. Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian & Reformed.

Rogers, B. and World Council of Churches. *Programme to Combat Racism (1980) Race: no peace without justice: churches confront the mounting racism of the 1980s*. Geneva: Programme to Combat Racism, World Council of Churches.

SACC. (1968). *A Message to the People of South Africa: Worldview Magazine Archive (1958-1985)*.

Available from: <https://worldview.carnegiecouncil.org/archive/worldview/1968/11/1733.html>. (Accessed 15 March 23017).

SACC. (1976). *Liberation-Papers and Resolutions of the Eighth National Conference 1976*. Johannesburg: SACC.

SACC. (1989a). *Confessing guilt in South Africa: the responsibility of churches and individual Christians*. Cape Town: SACC.

SACC. (1989b). *The Standing for the Truth Campaign* (Pamphlet). Johannesburg: SACC. Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/the-standing-for-the-truth-campaign>. (Accessed 8 September 2016).

SACC. (n.d.). *Prophetic Ecumenical Statements*. Available from: <http://sacc.org.za/history/prophetic-ecumenical-statements/>. (Accessed 8 March 2017).

SACC. (2014). *South African Council of Churches (SACC) Triennial Conference Statement*. February 28, 2014. Available from: <https://kairossouthernafrica.wordpress.com/2014/02/28/south-african-council-of-churches-sacc-triennial-conference-statement/>. (Accessed on 30 August 2017).

SACC. (2015). *SACC Renewal*. Available from: <http://sacc.org.za/about/campaigns/sacc-renewal/>. (Accessed 25 August 2017).

Sibeko, D. (1976). *Sharpeville Massacre, 21 March 1960*.

Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/sharpeville-massacre-its-historic-significance-struggle-against-apartheid>. (Accessed 4 April 2017).

Sifisiso, MN. (2007). *The road to democracy in South Africa. Chapter 7 in South African Democracy Education Trust (ed.). South African Democracy Education Trust (ed.)*. Pretoria: UNISA Press.

Siwa, ZD. (2017). *SACC PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 2017* by Bishop Ziphozihle D Siwa. Available from: <http://sacc.org.za/news/sacc-presidential-address-2017/>. (Accessed 24 August 2017).

Smit, D.J. (2002). "Kingdom Of God" in *Dictionary of the ecumenical movement*. 2nd edition edited by Lossky N. pp 644-646. Geneva: WCC.

Sjollema, B. (2002). "Programme to Combat Racism" in *Dictionary of the ecumenical movement*. 2nd edition edited by Lossky N. pp 935-937. Geneva: WCC.

South African History Online. (2011a). *South African Student Organisation (SASO)*. Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/south-african-student-organisation-saso>. (Accessed 27 September 2016).

South African History Online. (2011b). *Suppression of Communism Act, No. 44 of 1950 approved in parliament*. Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/suppression-communism-act-no-44-1950-approved-parliament>. (Accessed

30 September 2016).

South African History Online. (2011c). *Stephen Bantu Biko: The Death of Steve Biko*. Available from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/stephen-bantu-biko>. (8 May 2017).

South African History Online. (2011d). *Reverend Allan Aubrey Boesak: OSEO report on Allan Boesak*. Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/reverend-allan-aubrey-boesak>. (Accessed 6 October 2017).

South African History Online. (2012). *F.W. de Klerk announces the release of Nelson Mandela and unbans political organisations*. Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/fw-de-klerk-announces-release-nelson-mandela-and-unbans-political-organisations>. (Accessed on 8 September 2017).

South African History Online. (2014). *Sharpeville Massacre, 21 March 1960*. Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/sharpeville>. (Accessed 6 September 2016).

Spong, B. & Mayson., C. (eds.). (1994). *Come Celebrate!-Twenty-five years of The South African Council of Churches*. Johannesburg: SACC.

Thomas, D. (ed.). (1977). *Division of Justice and Reconciliation, Investment in South Africa (Report submitted to the National Conference of SACC, July 1977)*. Johannesburg: SACC.

Thomas, D. (1979). *Councils in the Ecumenical Movement South Africa, 1904-1975*. Johannesburg: SACC.

Thomas, D. (2002). *Christ Divided-Liberalism, Ecumenism and Race in South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA Press.

Todorov, T. (2000). *Chapter3. Race and Racism in Theories of race and racism : a reader*. Edited by Back, L. and Solomos, J. (eds) (2009). Second edition. London:

Routledge (Routledge student readers).

Tutu, D. (1982). *Crying in the Wilderness: The struggle for justice in South Africa*. Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.

Tutu, D. (1983). *Hope and Suffering: Sermons and speeches*. Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.

Tutu, D. (1994). *The Rainbow People of God: A Spiritual Journey from Apartheid to Freedom*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books.

Tutu, D. (1996). *Preface* in Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Religious Perspectives, Volume 1 edited by van der Vyver, JD. and Witte, J. Jr. The Hague/Boston/London: Martinus Nijhoff.

Tutu, D. (1999). *No Future without forgiveness*. Johannesburg: Rider.

Tutu, D. (2004). *God Has a Dream: A Vision of Hope for Our Time*. Johannesburg: Rider.

Urbaniak, J. (2017). "Faith of an angry people: Mapping a renewed prophetic theology in South Africa." *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 157:7-43.

Van Aarde T. (2016). 'Black Theology in South Africa-A theology of human dignity and black identity'. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 72(1), a316. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72n1.3176>. (Accessed 7 July 2017).

Van Der Bent, AJ. (2002). *WCC Assemblies* in Dictionary of the ecumenical movement. 2nd edition: pp.1231-1238. Geneva: WCC.

Van Der Borght, E. (2011). "Unity that sanctifies diversity". *Acta Theologica* 2011 31(2): pp.315-328. Available from: <http://www.scielo.org.za/pdf/at/v31n2/v31n2a03.pdf>. (Accessed 6 July 2017).

Van Der Walter, B J. & Swanepoel, R. (eds.). (1995). *Orientation. Jan.-Dec. (71-74):1994, International Circular of the Potchefstroom University for Christian*

Higher Education. Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

Van Der Walter, B J. & Swanepoel, R. (eds.). (1996). *Christianity and Democracy in South Africa: Christian Responsibility for Political reflection and Service*. Potchefstroom: The Institution for Reformational Studies on behalf of the Potchefstroom University.

Vellem, V.S. (2007). *The Symbol of Liberation in South African Public Life: A Black Theological Perspective*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Vellem, V.S. (2013). *South African Perspectives of Notions and Forms of Ecumenicity. Chapter 14 in Ecumenicity and a Black Theology of liberation* edited by Conradie, E.M. Stellenbosch: Sun Press.

Vellem, V.S. (2014). Modern slavery in the post-1994 South Africa: A critical ethical analysis of the National Development Plan promises for unemployment in South Africa: original research. Koers: *Bulletin for Christian Scholarship*. Vol.79 no.2 (2014): 1-8.

Villa-Vicencio, C. (1988). *Trapped in Apartheid-A Socio-Theological History of the English-Speaking Churches*. New York: David Philip Publisher.

Villa-Vicencio, C. (1993). Beyond Liberation: A New Theology for South Africa, *Challenge Magazine*: 24-25.

Villa-Vicencio, C. (1996). *The Spirit of Freedom: South African Leaders on Religion and Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft4p3006kc/>

Villa-Vicencio, C. (2002). "*Rustenburg Declaration*" in *Dictionary of the ecumenical movement*. 2nd edition edited by Lossky N. p999. Geneva: WCC.

Walshe, P. (1983). *Church Versus State in South Africa: The Case of the Christian*

Institute. New York: Orbis Books.

Wayne, H. (ed.). (1998). *"The Dispersion and Restoration of Israel to the Land," in Israel, The Land and the People: An Evangelical Affirmation of God's Promises*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications.

WCC. (1960). *Cottesloe Consultation: The report of the consultation among South Africa member churches of the World Council of Churches 7-14, December 1960 at Cottesloe, Johannesburg*. Johannesburg: WCC.

WCC. (1961). *Report on the World Council of Churches mission in South Africa, April-December, 1960, (prepared by the WCC Delegation to the Consultation)*. Geneva: WCC Publications.

WCC. (1975). *Racism in Theology and Theology against Racism*. Geneva: WCC.

WCC. (1980). *World Council of Churches' statements and actions on racism, 1948-1979*. Geneva: WCC.

WCC. (1991). *PCR information: From Cottesloe to Cape Town: challenges for the Church in a post-apartheid South Africa*. Geneva: WCC.

WCC. (2011). *Overcoming Violence The Ecumenical Decade 2001–2010*. Geneva: WCC.

WCC. (2013). *Constitution and Rules of the World Council of Churches, 30 October 2013 (as amended by the 10th Assembly of the WCC in Busan, Republic of Korea, 2013)*.

Available from: <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/assembly/2013-busan/adopted-documents-statements/wcc-constitution-and-rules>. (Accessed 4 November 2016).

WCC. (2016a). *History of the WCC*.

Available from: <https://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us>. (Accessed 4 November

2016).

WCC. (2016b). *What is the World Council of Churches?*

Available from: <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us/wcc-history>. (Accessed 4 November 2016).

Webb, P. (ed.). (1994). *A long Struggle: The Involvement of the World Council of Churches in South Africa*. Geneva: WCC.

Wolterstorff, N. (1987). Forward in *If this is treason, I am guilty* by Boesak, A. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub.

Worden, N. (1994). *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation, and Apartheid. Historical Association studies*; Historical Association Studies. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dictionaries

Cross, F. L., & Livingstone, E. A. (eds.). (1997). *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ferguson, SB., Wright, DF, & Packer, JI. (eds.). (1988). *New Dictionary of Theology*. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press.

Harrison, EF, Bromiley, GW, & Henry, CFH. (eds.). (1999). *Wycliffe Dictionary of Theology*. Peabody, Mass: Hendrick.

Léon-Dufour, X. (1982). *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*. 2nd edition. London: G. Chapman.

Lossky, N. (1991). *Dictionary of the ecumenical movement*. 1st edition. Geneva: WCC.

Lossky, N. (2002). *Dictionary of the ecumenical movement*. 2nd edition. Geneva: WCC.

Makenzie, J.L. (1966). *Dictionary of the Bible*. London: Geoffrey Chapman.

Fahlbusch, E. & Bromiley, G.W. (eds.). (1999). *The Encyclopaedia of Christianity Vol.1*. Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans.

Fahlbusch, E. & Bromiley, G.W. (eds.). (2003). *The Encyclopaedia of Christianity Vol.3*. Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans.