

## CHAPTER 3: EARLY CHURCH MULTICULTURAL LEADERSHIP MODELS

### 3.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.2 The Jerusalem Church Model

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **3.3 The Pax-Romana and the Antioch Church Model**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Antioch –the Pauline prototype model***

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.4 Paul – The Man of Two Worlds but One Empire

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **3.5 Structures of Leadership and Training Employed in the Pauline Model**

#### ***Pauline structures of leadership in the city church and house church***

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Structures for developing leadership in strategic evangelism***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **3.6 Styles of Leadership and Teaching Used by Paul**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



### 3.7 Values in Paul's Leadership

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

#### *Love and the closely aligned values of unity and peace*

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

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

#### *Hope and the closely aligned value of reconciliation*

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

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

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

***Faith and the closely aligned values of forgiveness and prayer***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***The transcultural nature of the Pauline missionary team***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

### **3.9 Pauline Belief Structures and His Theologies of Reconciliation and Election**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

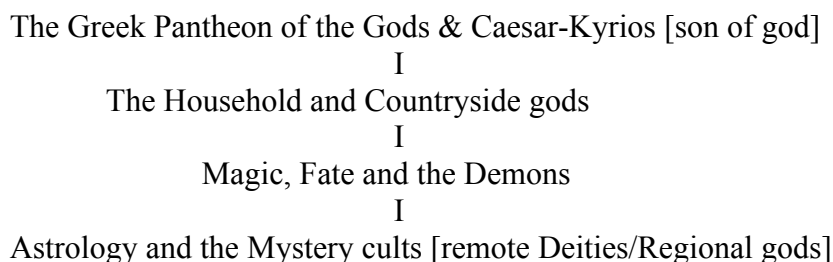
Christological title to Paul's preaching – he dares invoke the *Kyrios* title in the same breath he talks of *God the Father* as alluded to by De Visser (2000:4) in quoting Weber (1983:76):

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“It is the open confession that Christ is *Pantocrator* and sovereign over all rivals; the astral deities prostrate themselves in admission that their regime has ended.” The moral implications of this claim that Christ is Lord of destiny could be explained in a way which had no parallel in any of the Mystery cults. Martin continues: “It assures us that the character of the God whose will controls the universe is spelled out in terms of Jesus Christ. He is no arbitrary power, no capricious force, no pitiless indifferent Fate. His nature is love ... His title to lordship can be interpreted in terms of self-denying service for others.” He points out that the Song of the Stars in Ignatius is an expression of just this victory over the astral powers. It meant incalculable relief to the ordinary Hellenistic man<sup>4</sup>.

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***General foundational and Pauline concepts in election and predestination***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.10 Pauline Church Structure(s) of Community

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

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

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

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

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

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

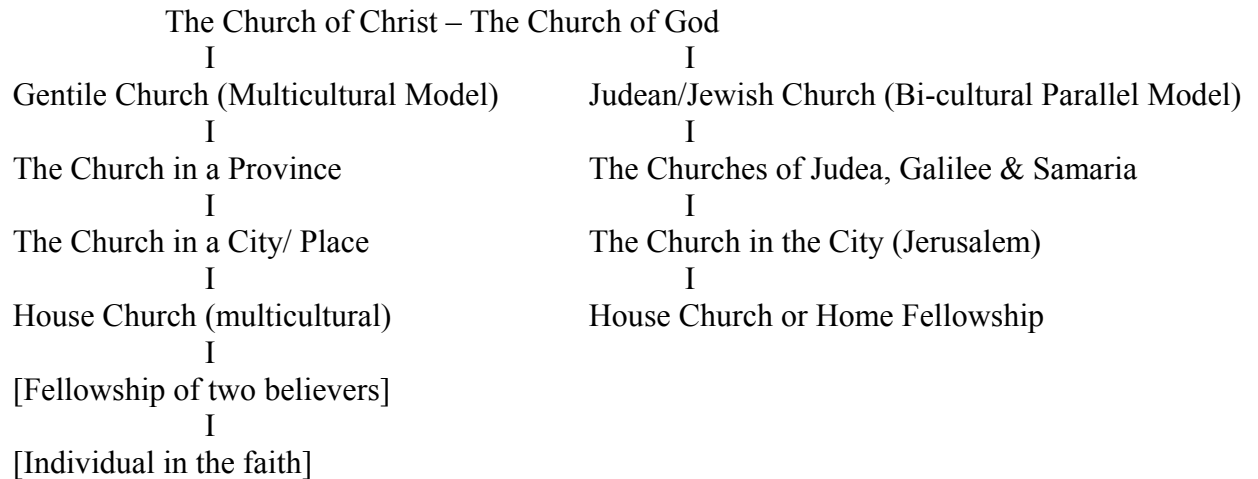
Though it would probably be a gross miscalculation to derive from this structural framework (see Figure 3.10 – overleaf) that Paul saw these conceptual links between the church levels not only as an expanding framework of relationship, but as a line authority structure leading to a system of governance.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

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



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

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



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

### 3.11 Overview of the Roman, Antioch and Pauline Contribution

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAPTER 4: LEADERSHIP MODELS OF THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICAL LEADERS

### 4.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

## 4.2 Morena Moshoeshoe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Structures employed in Moshoeshoe's model of leadership***

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Styles of leadership used by Moshoeshe***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Values of Moshoeshoe's leadership***

#### *The values of unity and restoration*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *The values of magnanimity, forgiveness and reconciliation*

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



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

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

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

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

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

#### *The values of peace, ubuntu and service*

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

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

Thaba Bosigo, Midnight, 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1852.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *The value of calculated humility*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Moshoeshoe's traditional and Christian beliefs***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Max du Preez (2004:44-45) – using a reconstruction of the story composed by Ntsu Mokhehle, who later became Prime Minister to Lesotho, gleaned by interviewing many of the old people of Lesotho who were gifted in recalling the past, and many of whom were alive less than two decades after Moshoeshoe's death (not Mohlomi's as du Preez states<sup>5</sup>) – records the seer's parting instructions (*italics mine – see Glossary of Terminology*):

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



### 4.3 Jan Smuts

#### *A brief commentary on Smuts' life and rise to leadership*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Structures employed in Smuts' model of leadership***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

***Styles of leadership used by Smuts***

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *The value of reconciliation*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *The values of loyalty and magnanimity*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***How Smuts’ political convictions effected lasting national change***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.4 Nelson Mandela

##### *A brief commentary on Mandela's life and rise to leadership*<sup>6</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Structures employed in Mandela's model of leadership***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

### ***Styles of leadership used by Mandela***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Values of Mandela’s leadership***

#### *The value of unity*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *The value of reconciliation*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Tomorrow", he had said, "we are being born again; born again not as individuals, but collectively as a people, as a viable nation of Zimbabweans ... It's tomorrow then, not yesterday, which bears our destiny ... Henceforth you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to another by a bond of national comradeship ... The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten" (1984:120).

Not only was this reconciliation offered by Mugabe a political masterstroke, but he also managed to balance words with actions by keeping on the former Rhodesian Supreme

Commander, General Walls and by always having at least one white in his cabinet in the first few years of his presidency. Yet it was but a few years later that the massacre of the Ndebele at the hands of the notorious North Korean trained Fifth Brigade reminded the few who knew the real magnitude of these attacks, of the past. These echoes from the past still whispered of the mysterious deaths of Herbert Chitepo (Mugabe's predecessor) and Josiah Tongogara (the commander of the ZANLA forces), both of whom died at the dawning of Zimbabwe's independence, and proved that not all had been completely above board during the liberation struggle (Chan 2003:17-18; 24).

Mugabe's real intentions of power at any price were seen years later with his use of the land issue to retain his place at the helm after rigging the 2001 presidential elections. The land issue was to have disastrous consequences for the economy of Zimbabwe. Mugabe's apparent change of heart towards reconciliation, can possibly be explained by the fact that reconciliation never really existed as a value for him. In the early 1980's he saw immediate benefit from marrying a government dominated by the Shona with an economy dominated by white commercial enterprise and hence reconciliation suited the immediacy of the circumstances. Unfortunately people all too readily believe a seasoned politician's words at the expense of looking more closely at his actions. He was far more ruthless in his eradication of the rural Ndebele than he was with the removal of the white farmers in 2001. A commission set up by the Catholic Conference for Justice and Peace recorded an estimate of 20 000 people killed in the Ndebele massacre (Sparks 2003:318).

Zimbabwe could have used her own Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for the offer of reconciliation by Mugabe came too cheaply. And true reconciliation, according to Tutu (1999:270) is not cheap, for if offered superficially the *ghosts of the past* will most certainly come out to haunt you, and in Zimbabwe's case there were more than enough! In contrast to Mugabe's rollercoaster message of reconciliation, Mandela managed to enact a straight and consistent reconciliation message. Perhaps one of his saving graces was that he had the humility to realise his human limitations even while some of the ANC's faithful would have wanted him elevated in the political arena to the god-like mythical status he had acquired on Robben Island. By naming his successor he chose a single term of office without proclaiming the honours of a "Life President" or the equivalent, as some South-Central African neighbours had done. Once proclaimed, things in the African world seem impossible to rescind for fear of losing face. Here too Mandela has achieved the seemingly impossible of deference and promising the minimal, while delivering on the essentials.

#### *The values of magnanimity and forgiveness*

Without doubt, Nelson Mandela represents more than any living South African the role model *par excellence* of magnanimity and forgiveness. Desmond Tutu's foreword to the biography, *Mandela: In Celebration of a Great Life*, shows his boundless big heartedness:

"Who can easily forget the scenes at Ellis Park when he walked onto the turf wearing Francois Pienaar's No. 6 on his Springbok jersey on the day of the final for the Rugby World Cup in 1995, when an overwhelmingly white crowd, mostly Afrikaners, broke out in reverberating chants: 'Nelson, Nelson, Nelson'. He has the knack of doing the right thing, which with some political leaders would be contrived or gauche. With him it turns out to be exactly what touches responsive chords in the people. He has bowled South Africans and indeed the world over with his extraordinary magnanimity, his readiness and eagerness to

forgive. He invited the widows of former South African political leaders of all persuasions and races to a tea party at the Presidency and charmed them off their feet. He stole the hearts of many Afrikaners, whom he had already attracted by supporting the Springbok emblem for rugby, by going to visit the widow of Dr Verwoerd in her Afrikaner exclusivist stronghold – Orania. Here he was having tea, at some inconvenience to himself, with the widow of the architect and high priest of apartheid. Unbelievable! He later had a meal with Dr Percy Yutar, the man who had prosecuted in the Rivonia Trial and who many believed had gone well beyond the accepted conventions in passionately demanding the death sentence for the accused. His magnanimity knows no bounds....” Archbishop Desmond Tutu, 1998 (Smith 1999:8-9).

Cassidy (2005:10) relates a story Mandela told him which shows the true spirit of generosity and magnanimity he holds towards all white South Africans, which supports Tutu’s view:

I remember him telling me a very moving story about the *Dominee* who used to come to prison and whom he saw quite often and they began to strike up a bit of a friendship. And he said that one day he – when the *Dominee* was coming – he kept a piece of fruit that he had been given for his lunch, a guava, and he presented this guava to the *Dominee* to give to his wife. And the *Dominee* was just overwhelmed by this act of graciousness and generosity. And then Mandela said the prison authorities realised that he was building up a relationship with this *Dominee* and he never saw him again. That sort of thing just made you want to cry and made you realise, you know, what culpability we have to answer for – what we did to black people, and where would we be but for the spirit of forgiveness that is in blacks generally and in Mandela particularly.

This value of forgiveness was not just a nice gesture. And far from being an act of weakness from a destroyed man stepping out of prison, it was part of a political strategy from a position of strength. Both Mandela and Graca Machel saw reconciliation and forgiveness as a necessary antidote to bring about peace (Sampson 1999:515, 525). This aspect of Mandela’s strategy was seen as essential to saving the country from a tragic end. Graca, like her husband, refuted any doubters who might have thought otherwise:

“He symbolized a much broader forgiveness and understanding and reaching out. If he had come out of prison and sent a different message, I can tell you this country could be in flames. So his role is not to be underestimated too. He knew exactly the way he wanted to come out, but also the way he addressed the people from the beginning, sending the message of what he thought was the best way to save lives in this country, to bring reconciliation. ...Some people criticize that he went too far. There is no such thing as going too far if you are trying to save this country from this kind of tragedy” (Sampson 2000:525).

In addition to Mandela’s magnanimity and forgiveness and arising out of these values, he has always seemingly managed to stay above the fray in an even-handed manner and acting in a non-partisan way, especially in matters affecting the state. Michael Cassidy relates the impact of Chris Hani’s assassination and Mandela’s subsequent address to the nation from a white South African perspective:



They glimpsed the massive resolution in the black soul to take over the country and put to death the iniquitous system of apartheid which had so dehumanized them. And with no white leaders anywhere in sight on television, but only Mandela addressing the nation as the heir apparent to the presidency, they saw power moving imperceptibly from the *de jure* government of President de Klerk to the *de facto* government of the ANC. In seeking to calm people, Mandela, in statesmanlike fashion, reminded blacks that it was a white Afrikaner lady and neighbour of Chris Hanu who reported the registration number of the vehicle in which the killer had escaped. He noted that it was a twenty-year-old white Afrikaner policeman, only two years in the force, who some minutes later had arrested the assassin. As white South Africans stared into this awesome happening they saw with eyes of fire that an assassination such as this was really the work of weakness. Whites now saw, and many for the first time, where real strength and moral authority lay (Cassidy 1995:19).

#### *The Value of Humility*

An example of Nelson Mandela's remarkable capacity to remain humble and himself ask for forgiveness is recorded by Desmond Tutu. When Tutu, as the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, was not the first as a matter of correct procedure, to be informed of Dumisa Ntsebeza's innocence from the findings of Judge Goldstone's report – he was understandably upset. The President had broken with protocol by phoning Dumisa first, and Tutu told the President's secretary that this was unacceptable! Tutu records what happened next; "Within minutes of my call the President was on the line. He said, 'Mpilo [my African name], you're quite right. I am sorry, I should have told you first, but I was concerned for that young man. I apologize.' Wow! I don't know that there are many with that level of greatness measured by their readiness to be humble" (Tutu 1999:207).

In his younger days, Mandela was a rather more arrogant person, confident in his own leadership abilities beyond what was normal for the racist society of his day. This was a much needed stance, but the way in which he voiced this confidence, clearly betrayed an arrogant streak:

Mandela could be a rough agitator. At one meeting the African communist J.B. Marks delivered a clear and logical speech describing how white supremacy could be overthrown, to frequent applause. Mandela, who had been instructed by his Youth league bosses to break up the meeting, arrogantly went up to Marks and insisted on addressing the crowd. "There are two bulls in this *kraal*," he declaimed. "There is a black bull and a white bull. J.B. Marks says that the white bull must rule this *kraal*. I say that the black bull must rule. What do you say?" The same people who had been screaming for Marks a moment earlier now turned around and said, "The black bull, the black bull!" (Sampson 2000:63).

Sparks attributes the development of humility, which was somewhat absent in the youthful Mandela, to the hardship of his prison days. As has been mentioned earlier, amidst the trying circumstances of Robben Island's monotonous routine and malicious punishment the prisoners were "...steeled but also imbued with a humility and a depth of human

understanding. They learned how to negotiate with the racist warders and how in the end to humanize them” (Sparks 2003:255-256).

Humility for the Robben Islanders, may have been born out of necessity in order to get through the harsh reality of prison life. For Mandela it was not so much a sign of defeat: it was doubtlessly pragmatic, but more importantly it gave him a platform from which to speak with the authorities, and enabled both prison needs and greater political ends to be met. According to Mac Maharaj, it also gave him the ability to see further than most:

Mandela learnt in prison that the humblest people can sometimes have the greatest insights. Mac Maharaj, former Minister of Transport, says, “His genius was that he gave leadership to a disparate body of prisoners to act in concert to improve prison conditions. But he never made prison conditions the sole reason for any interaction as there was always a greater political purpose. Madiba also conducted himself in such a way that the authorities could never have the excuse to close the door on him” (Smith 1999:65).

*The Value of Strategic Conciliation:*

It is significant that Nelson Mandela was more prepared than any other person for negotiations with the Nationalist government – more so than his exiled counterparts and certainly more so than President P.W. Botha. Mandela sparked the initial negotiations while still imprisoned through deliberate and long term discussions with Kobie Coetsee, at the time the minister of Justice, and others from 1985 onwards (Mandela 1994:525). He was under no illusions, knowing full well that these negotiations would involve compromise. He was under no illusions that negotiation would be at all easy, but he employed a political policy of conciliation while firmly resolved to safeguarding the non-negotiable objectives of the ANC. When Joe Slovo suggested the sunset clause, which broke a deadlock in the negotiating process during the CODESA talks of 1992, Mandela did not hesitate to add his support to the idea (Mandela 1996:193).

Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert mentions the various other parties involved in the behind-the-scenes negotiations before Mandela’s release, and later describes Mandela’s long-term role in the process of negotiations. A process for which he attempted to gain support as a viable option and the culmination to all other efforts:

The very notion of a negotiated transition in South Africa was a highly controversial and contested issue. For the NP under Botha it was inconceivable that negotiations would even take place other than on their terms and with whom they chose. I had personal discussions with Ramaphosa, Hani, Slovo, Tambo and Mbeki on the likelihood of negotiations. Almost without exception there was deep scepticism about this coming about, and transition through attrition was seen, if not as the preferred route, then the most likely one.

...The process of negotiation and the process of reconciliation became flip sides of the same coin. ...Given the past that I have alluded to, how did South Africans, across the spectrum, reconcile themselves politically, with a liberal democratic state; socially, with the ideals of an open society; and economically, with a market-driven economy? Some clues to the process that made this possible can be found in extracts from speeches by Mandela following immediately after this introduction. An example: “Negotiations must be viewed

as the culmination of all our efforts on different levels, through the use of a variety of methods, under different conditions to achieve our strategic objective – the transfer of power from the minority to the majority” (3 September 1993). In the old South Africa, this position would have been a provocation for violence and repression. In the new South Africa, majority rule was a non-negotiable for reconciliation (Van Zyl Slabbert 2003:98-99).

Reasonably speaking, if it was not for the commitment of the ANC and Nelson Mandela in particular to strategic conciliation – being willing to compromise on non-essentials in order to achieve universal suffrage – a negotiated settlement would never have come about.

### ***Mandela’s Christian and political beliefs***

Mandela’s Christian belief was not always an essential part of his life: “At Qunu, the only time I had ever attended church was on the day that I was baptized. Religion was a ritual that I indulged in for my mother’s sake and to which I attached no meaning. But at Mqhekezweni, religion was a part of the fabric of life and I attended church each Sunday along with the regent and his wife” (Mandela 1996:11).

While as a student Mandela seems to have developed something of a personal faith, and as a high school student, he was a Sunday school teacher for a few years (Meiring 2003:117). He even joined the Student Christian Association at Fort Hare and taught Sunday bible classes in the nearby villages (Mandela 1996:18). Later on, in pursuing the nationalist cause and being exposed to the communists and their ideals, Mandela dispensed with his early Christian beliefs (Sampson 2000:66). In the long term the more accurate perspective of Mandela’s faith is probably a pragmatic synthesis of these two world views after he came through a dissenting phase. Sampson reflects on this latter phase: “But, he was later to reflect in jail, the true saints in the fight against cruelty and war were not necessarily those who had mastered the scriptures, or who wore clerical robes” (Sampson 2000:66).

The morning before his inauguration as President he shared in the devotions of Kobus Meiring (the former administrator of the Cape Province) and his family, which in a letter of thanks written to the Meiring’s afterwards, he made special reference to. They had read to him from Psalm 121, so that, as he embarked on the Presidency, he would in his hour of need know the answer to the question: “Where will I find help? It will come from the Lord” (Meiring 2003:117, 65). His deep personal faith which was rekindled in prison, may have done more than most realise to inspire his political positions on forgiveness and reconciliation. It was in prison that Mandela was reignited with the “Christian spirit”:

On that occasion there [pointing to a photograph of himself and Mandela] in March 1993 when that particular picture was taken, I had another time with him in 1996 ... but he told me at that time when he was in prison that he never missed a bible study or a service or – you know something that was happening in the prison. He read his bible, I believe, faithfully and there was some kind of infusion of the Christian spirit there (Cassidy 2005:9).

This is not just wishful thinking or pure conjecture on Michael Cassidy’s part, for at a meeting between Mandela and the *moderamen* of the Dutch Reformed Church’s

(*Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk*) General Synod, the *dominees* (ministers) raised the hitherto unanswered question as reported by the missiologist P.G.J. Meiring (2005:11-12):

“Sir, forgive me for asking, but we *do* want to know: Are you a committed Christian? Have you accepted Jesus Christ as [your] personal saviour?” I vividly remember the future president’s answer. With a quiet smile, he put down his knife and fork, looked the dominee in the eye and said that the answer was “Yes” – but that he had long ago in prison decided that he will never use his personal faith as a political argument. That has too often happened in the history of our country, with dire and often very painful results.”

The debate over Mandela’s faith can be understood by two factors: Firstly Mandela decided, within the confines of Robben Island, not to use his own faith to espouse a political conviction (later he stayed true to this course and chose not to use it for political leverage). Secondly flowing out of this, it is important to understand that his faith has been kept essentially a private matter. However, one must not underestimate the impact of his belief system on the resistance culture movement, and *visa versa*. The resistance culture went far beyond Mandela and his associates on Robben Island, even beyond those in exile and the ANC at large, to something inherent in the culture of all African peoples, a point Graca Machel herself makes: “She saw the South African forgiveness as widespread, and part of a pattern through Africa: ‘It is there in our culture. When we are faced with such a challenge we draw from that culture which is deep inside ourselves’” (Sampson 2000:524-525). This attribute of forgiveness, of a willingness to see the best in others is closely associated with the African concept of *ubuntu*.

Mandela was brought up with the African notion of human brotherhood, or *ubuntu*, which described a quality of mutual responsibility and compassion. He often quoted the proverb “*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*,” which he would translate as “A person is a person because of other people,” or “You can do nothing if you don’t get the support of other people.” This was a concept common to other rural communities around the world, but Africans would define it more sharply as a contrast to the individualism and restlessness of whites, and over the following decades *ubuntu* would loom large in black politics. ...Mandela regarded *ubuntu* as part of the general philosophy of serving one’s fellowman. From his adolescence, he recalled, he was viewed as being unusually ready to see the best in others. ...[I]t was to become a prevailing principle throughout his political career: “People are human beings, produced by the society in which they live. You encourage people by seeing good in them” (Sampson 2000:12).

These notions of *ubuntu* and even concepts such as political independence were no doubt reinforced by a culture more specific to the resistance movements of Southern Africa. Yet Nelson Mandela’s political views, even if later refined by the nationalist credo of the ANC, can more precisely be traced to his childhood years as part of the regent of Thembuland’s household. The emphasis Mandela himself places on his circumcision bears this out. The main speaker at Mandela’s circumcision was Chief Meligqili. After beginning by saying what a fine tradition they were an extension of, he startled his youthful audience when the tone of his speech suddenly shifted:

“There sit our sons,” he said, “the flower of the Xhosa tribe, the pride of our nation. We have just circumcised them in a ritual that promises them manhood, but it is a promise that can never be fulfilled. For we Xhosas, and all black South Africans, are a conquered people. We are slaves in our own country. We are tenants on our own soil. We have no strength, no power, no control over our own destiny in the land of our birth. ...The abilities, the intelligence, the promise of these young men will be squandered in their attempt to eke out a living doing the simplest, most mindless chores for the white men. These gifts today are naught, for we cannot give them the greatest gift of all, which is freedom and independence” (Mandela 1996:15-16).

As has been indicated, his childhood Christian and tribal political concepts were baptised and remoulded in the ANC nationalist movement. In Mandela’s early days in the Youth League, he was highly influenced by people such as Walter Sisulu, with whom he had many discussions, both deferential and heated debates. As late as 1950, as president of the Youth League, Mandela still had doubts about joining forces with the communists, coloureds and Indians. In 1951 he argued in favour of the ANC independently organising mass action campaigns, but Sisulu in the ANC’s Executive Committee vehemently opposed him (Mandela 1994:123).

Mandela later came round to the idea of joining forces with other revolutionary agents after he was confronted by the likes of Ismail Meer and J.N. Singh. Once he had changed his views he did not look back and used his influence to permanently change the outlook of the whole Youth League towards the Communist Party in particular. These early nationalist ideas too were remoulded on the anvil of Black Nationalist writings and fired in the kiln of other South African communist and other Marxist writers. Beyond these, the works of Indian passive resistance gurus such as Nehru and Gandhi and many Western philosophers gave him a unique breadth of perspective. In all these philosophical writings he often read the more pragmatic ones in contrast to the more intellectual Tambo (Sampson 2000:65).

This pragmatism and the significant global changes taking place at the time possibly explain his willingness, once he became President, to traverse the canyon from a policy of nationalisation to a market driven economy. Over and above these influences his own personal faith was resurrected, and somehow as only hardship can do, he was forced to reconsider his childhood beliefs. It is probably true to say that while in prison it was actually his political beliefs that had undergone a *baptism of fire* from his reawakened Christian beliefs: “Many of his friends were puzzled and sceptical”, and at times he was seen to be going too far by his fellow ANC colleagues, who “balked at his more extreme acts of forgiveness” – even his ex-Robben Island inmates! (Sampson 2000:513, 515).

For Madiba, his was not just a personal faith that appeared to the outside world, if ever they should catch a glimmer of it, to be safeguarded on an individualistic level and thus to be deeply personal, but it was experienced within the community of Robben Island where he regularly attended bible studies and other Christian meetings (Cassidy 2005:9). However, Robben Island had cut him off from normal means of Christian support and community, and once released his celebrity status and political intensity had not afforded him the space to become a part of any of the regular channels available outside the confines of prison. In a meeting with his presiding Methodist Bishop, Bishop Mvume Dandala, Mandela was told the importance of not just being a general member, but of being connected to a specific

church as a member who has their name recorded in that church. The subsequent dialogue between the two men is reported by Professor P.G.J. Meiring (2005:12) the missiologist:

“I am aware of that”, the president said. “Will you please see to it that it is done”. With a smile Bishop Dandala answered: “I have already done so”. “You have already recorded my name?”, Mandela reacted with surprise. “Of which congregation am I a member?” “Mr President, your name is recorded in the books of the Qunu Congregation in the Eastern Cape”. “That’s correct. That is how it should be”, was Mandela’s reaction. “That is where I grew up as a young boy. That is where my home is.”

### ***The basis for Mandela’s ability to cross socio-political boundaries***

Mandela’s ability to cross socio-political boundaries are rooted in his childhood training. In Thembuland he learned of all the African heroes, not only those of Thembu decent. He was influenced by a number of chiefs, one of whom was Chief Joyi, an authority in Thembu oral history. Mandela relates Joyi’s belief that the divisions in the African peoples were deliberately caused by the white man. The unity between the tribes, found in the African understanding of *ubuntu* had been shattered:

Once, he said, the Thembu, the Pondo, the Xhosa, and the Zulu were all children of one father, and lived as brothers. The white man shattered the *abantu* [*ubuntu*], the fellowship, of the various tribes. The white man was hungry and greedy for land, and the black man shared the land with him as they shared the air and water; land was not for man to possess. But the white man took the land as you might seize another man’s horse (Mandela 1994:23-24).

Yet, oral tradition and tribal beliefs did not supply him with much more than theory. When Mandela went to school the tribes were still deeply divided. His crossing of boundaries had a lot to do with his own unique personality and willingness to enter into the other man’s world, which he did time and again in various academic institutions (Mandela 1996:16; 32). The roots of his trans-tribal ability can be traced justifiably (as they are alluded to by Mandela himself) to his own father’s willingness to entertain two amaMfengu brothers, George and Ben Mbekela. It was no coincidence that both brothers were strong Christians, and through their influence Mandela was baptised into the Methodist Church. Quite obviously this relationship that crossed the barriers of both tribe and belief, must have presented the young Mandela with a powerful role model for the future. These early seeds of faith even if they were only truly realised later on by Mandela, were reinforced by the Regent of Thembuland’s own adherence to the Methodist Church, which was part and parcel of the way of life at the royal kraal. Mandela’s own personal convictions developed more fully by the time he started attending Fort Hare, where as mentioned earlier, he taught bible classes in neighbouring villages and became a member of the Student Christian Association (Mandela 1994:9-11; 18).

Mandela’s concepts of national unity and reconciliation go beyond those of just values for value’s sake, but are deeply motivated by a political vision for national unity. Mandela understood the urgent need in Southern Africa for a philosophy that “bridged the divide” between the races; which provided for a “national cultural identity” (Mandela 1993:290). It was possible in South Africa’s case to achieve this by building a new morality based on

reconciliation and mutual respect. This was exemplified by Mandela on a personal level, where it flowed directly out of his tribal understandings of dignity and *ubuntu*, the Christian concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation, and an inherent culture of tolerance within the liberation movement. The key concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation were necessary as a political strategy:

Mandela remained adamant about the necessity to conciliate Afrikaners, which he saw as an act of courage, not of weakness. “We don’t need to remind ourselves about past evil,” he told me when I argued the point. “Courageous people do not fear forgiving, for the sake of peace.” Reconciliation was certainly crucial to his political strategy. The more he reached out to individual Afrikaners, the more he could divide and disarm them. Forgiveness was an aspect of power, establishing moral supremacy which reminded everyone that the balance had shifted. “You never quite know,” said one of Mandela’s colleagues, “whether he’s a saint or a Machiavelli” (Sampson 2000:515).

This vision of a new national unity, was to have a long term effect on South Africa, for as

Trevor Lekota says, “Mandela had a vision of a united country which he developed with his policy of national reconciliation. He piloted that more than anyone among our ranks. He also considered it very important for stability that the supporters of minority parties should be protected. Nelson was able to assure the international community of our commitment to democracy. He won them over to give maximum support to this fledgling democracy” (Smith 1999:148).

The policy of *national reconciliation* with which he re-entered South African society, was forged for Mandela in the confines of prison, where he combined the elements of his early youthful Christian convictions with his Nationalist ideology and the long shadows that moral giants such as Gandhi had left across the veld of South Africa. Gandhi’s philosophy of *Satyagraha* made an impression early on in Mandela’s life while he was still in the ANC Youth League and exploring the possibilities of peaceful demonstration before this concept was replaced by a more aggressive military one for Mandela. The policy (of national reconciliation) was backed up by a personality of such dazzling brilliance that at times it quite simply overpowered the previous racial order. No one was quite ready for Mandela’s vision, not even within his own party, save perhaps the likes of Tutu. So powerful was his bearing that all and sundry, from radical young black activists to rugby crazed Afrikaners were quite literally swept up in its river of light. Who would have dreamt that the rays of reconciliation and forgiveness could break forth from a dark and gloomy prison cell (in the reverse sequence to the metaphor of sunlight which penetrates from the outside in) in a way that so closely echoed the Christian message of the empty tomb?

#### ***How Mandela’s political/Christian convictions effected lasting national change***

The changes that Mandela brought about, quite apart from the changes that his legendary status inspired were multiple. Perhaps chief among them was establishing the basis on which negotiations with the National Party could take place and which ultimately brought democracy to South Africa:

Publicly the government said it would talk with the ANC only if it renounced violence; the ANC responded by saying government also had to renounce violence. Mac Maharaj muses: “We brought democracy to our country, but not within the textbook theory of revolution that we had cut our teeth on politically in the 1950s, as the world had fundamentally changed by the mid-1980s. But whatever changes are, history writes down as its leaders ... [those] who have both the ability to detect its shifts and the courage to act on it. This is a measure of the leadership of Nelson Mandela, who decided in the isolation of his prison cell to take the initiative and open dialogue with the hated apartheid regime.... History will record that Madiba ... read the moment correctly” (Smith 1999:71-72).

Mandela did not stop in helping to effect lasting national change once his work in negotiations was over or even once his term as president was complete. In his retirement he continues to forge the future by putting a great deal of effort into the next generation of South Africans. In a film done by BBC Worldwide, David Dimbleby captures on tape Mandela’s commitment to raising the next generation:

A crowd of children waits to give Mandela the kind of welcome reserved for pop-stars. He devotes most of his time to the needs of the next generation – better education, better health – his children’s charity has a thousand calls for help every month. [Zelda la Grange comments] “What drives him is the need to make a difference in people’s lives, and he knows he’s got the ability to do that. If there’s a worthy cause to support he’s happy to be used to support that cause.” [Mandela himself is recorded next] “I may be held in no position; no power; no influence, but I can contribute in questions of poverty, questions of disease and so on. I can mobilize funds to support children because no country can succeed if the future leaders are not educated” (Dimbleby 2004).

Mandela also played a historic role in helping to create the basis of a new society in South Africa, based on dispensing a new morality for a new national culture. The arduous task of recreating a new society and Mandela’s influential role in this was not without hardships. He had to overcome the past, including personal prejudice and a state infrastructure geared towards a minority and subjugating the majority. He also had to quell white and particularly Afrikaner fears of a black state, and instil instead hope in the plausibility of a new united nation, a nation in which the disparate peoples could be remoulded in their cultural assumptions and values into a united people. In forging a new culture, Mandela did not blindly assume an assimilation model in which a dominating black nationalist culture swept up the majority in its volcanic flow as Neville Alexander had once believed:

He accepted the image of the rainbow nation, embracing all the colours, which had been popularized by Tutu and others; but he had never believed in “colour-blind nonracialism,” as advocated by many left-wing theorists. He still recalled his long debates on Robben Island about the “nationalist question” with Neville Alexander.... Mandela saw unifying South Africa as a more gradual process than Alexander did, in the ANC tradition. As Albert Luthuli had put it: “From the beginning our history has been one of ascending unities, the breaking of tribal, racial and creedal barriers.” Mandela remained sensitive to the cultures of different races and tribes, and warned the ANC not to forget the minorities. “During the transition,” he said in March 1993, “minorities everywhere will say:



‘If the change comes, what is going to happen to me, to my spouse, to my children, to the national group to which I belong, to the values in which I believe, to my possessions?’” He hoped for a Government of National Unity under which everyone could say: “I am represented in that government”<sup>7</sup> (Sampson 2000:512-513).

Though he never categorically stated it, he seemed to understand that in order for his vision of a new nation to succeed, both tribal-ethnic identity and a new national cultural paradigm were essential. Only if the various groups felt secure in the fact that their cultural identities would be preserved and their rights as a minority protected would they buy into the new vision. And once they felt assured about their position, a new macro-culture, or as he called it a *national cultural identity*, was necessary to establish a newly united nation. These ideas are evident in the following two extracts from the opening address of the ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party Summit on 29 January 1990, and then his opening address of the Cultural Development Congress on 25 April 1993:

The attempts to divide our people along ethnic lines, to turn their rich variety into a dagger with which to pierce their hearts, must be made to fail. There can be no salvation for our beleaguered country but the realisation by all and sundry that we are one people – black and white. Cast in a mould that can be different, but one interdependent people all the same – irrespective of the political and ideological creed that each one of us might hold dear (Mandela 1990:117).

We too will die but that which we collectively contribute to our national cultural identity will live forever beyond us. We say ... begin today! Bridge the chasm, use tolerance and compassion, be inclusive not exclusive, build dignity and pride, encourage freedom of expression to create a civil society for unity and peace. We remain confident that a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state will be established in South Africa sooner rather than later (Mandela 1993:290).

In trying to verbally appease the Afrikaners who had now lost power, he was not so foolhardy as to believe that mere talk or empty words could bring about a new “national cultural identity” or salvage a nation heading down a slippery slope of a conflict that many believed would escalate to genocidal proportions. His tolerance for the Afrikaner went beyond the norm of the day to an understanding that his associates in the ANC needed to be aware of the sensitivities of the minority groups, especially the Afrikaner.

He was particularly concerned with conciliating the most dangerous minority, the Afrikaners with whom he was sharing government. He could not forget that they included, as he put it, “all sorts of people whose hands are dripping with blood.” But he had to make peace with them and make them feel part of the new nation: “We have to be alive to the sensibilities of the other group that has now lost power.” And his jail years had paradoxically left him with a special tolerance of the Afrikaners, and a belief that they could reverse their loyalties: “Once they change,” he would say, “They move 180 degrees” (Sampson 2000:513).

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<sup>7</sup> Nelson Mandela Speaks, p. 229.

Mandela has done much in creating a positive atmosphere in which a new South Africa – *The Rainbow Nation* – can flourish and conquer its past. He was and still is a catalytic agent striving for social transformation that is much needed by a nation comprising many peoples historically at odds with each other. He endeavoured to forge a new patriotism as a basis for a new nationhood in the aftermath of civil disobedience, military suppression, forced removals and demonstrations in which schoolchildren sacrificed their education for the liberation cause. For this to happen he realised he would need to forge a political strategy of reconciliation based in no small part on his Christian beliefs. He also knew that as an overflow of this a new national ethic of tolerance, forgiveness and mutual respect, or in Mandela's words, a new "social morality", had to be established and accepted by the majority. This was achieved because Madiba's actions matched his words, and so when he spoke, his words carried with them integrity and moral authority:

Mandela led by example, speaking again and again of the "great importance to assert the primacy of social morality among our people". He said this morality needed to "form part of a new patriotism which should inspire and motivate the majority of our people". It [is] needed to combat lawlessness, corruption, terror, and disregard for the norms of a just and equitable society: "...[C]ontinue the struggle to give life to ...the Freedom Charter – that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people as a whole" (Smith 1999:142).

He did not expect to be able to produce this on his own, nor did he see this work as exclusive to the ANC, but he continuously included others of all parties, backgrounds and religious persuasion in the process. All the while he actively sought the advice of the faith communities beyond the Christians, though they constituted a minority within South Africa, ensuring that they were not left out in the cold (Meiring 2005:12). And in actively pursuing the advice of the Christian community, in particular, Madiba reached out to the erstwhile institution and foster-parent of apartheid, the *N.G. Kerk*. He challenged the church to move beyond their past involvement in and complicitous relationship with apartheid and invited them to play a role in the formation of the new South Africa. To this end Mandela had a series of liaison meetings with the Dutch Reformed Church's General Synod (Meiring 2005:11).

It is true that this new patriotism, founded on a social morality for all South Africans is still in the process of being forged in the lives of some South Africans; for others there is still a denial of the loss of a previous privileged exclusivist position. Despite the fact that some South Africans have taken so long to grasp his vision for a common identity and others are still actively pursuing racist interests associated with the past, his very articulation of such a vision is exceptional when one keeps in mind his being so deeply wounded by apartheid's injustices. In time to come this new national patriotism based on a common social morality may indeed be the seedbed for a future truly multicultural South Africa that inspires lasting national societal change, as is already the case with so many South Africans.

#### 4.5 A Brief Comparison and Initial Implications of the Three Political Models for a Multicultural Leadership Model

**Table 4.5.1: Framework of comparison of the three Southern African political leaders**

	<b>Moshoeshoe</b>	<b>Smuts</b>	<b>Mandela</b>
<b>Structures</b>	(As young man – in <i>Matlama</i> circumcision class /tribal command/consensus). Later employed 3 tribal envelopes: 1 <sup>st</sup> direct rule of king; 2 <sup>nd</sup> kinsmen territorial chiefs; 3 <sup>rd</sup> other chiefs in allegiance = a confederation. Multicultural councillors & tribe. Beyond “kingdom” a network of tribute-giving and alliances.	(As young man–in commando /small units –hierarchical but hands-on command of guerrilla war). Conventional military pyramid. Political top down command leadership. United Party members both Afrikaners & English. Ancillary/collegiate with British Prime Minister. In Commonwealth/League of Nations & UN an equal partnership envisaged or “Round Table”.	(In youth – tribal hierarchical command /consensus with king & later collegiate in the Youth League) Consensus/collegiate/ command structure of ANC. M-Plan - <i>Command /cell structure</i> of MK and the ANC underground (7 cells formed a zone, 4 zones in a ward & ward leaders reported to Nat. Exec.) & in prison. Multicultural Executive of MK. Coalition networks.
<b>Style(s) (as a young man)</b>	(As young man – leadership by domination & fear/ autocratic)	(As young man – authoritarian yet fiercely loyal to superiors)	(As young man – arrogant / militant)
<b>Dominant</b>	Open-handed; mercy seeking consensus and restorative justice; concession making; deferential with superiors.	Versatile yet commanding; tactical; stubbornly tenacious; leading from front; visionary but pragmatic; tactful but firm; ruthless.	Collaborative / collegiate; negotiation; dual consensus / command; hands-off listening but no nonsense approach; pragmatic.
<b>Secondary</b>	At times autocratic top down.	Accommodative.	Executive decision-making.
<b>Situational Leadership Styles S1-S4</b>	S1 in youth & at times as Paramount chief. S2/S3 in <i>pitso</i> & <i>lekhotla</i> was persuasive & accommodating S4 in outer marches kingdom	S1 in his military & political leadership – style most used. S2 –appears not to display. S3 with Churchill & occasion - ally with Hofmeyr. S4 with Van der Byl.	S1 in his executive decision-making displayed in prison. S2 with Youth League leaders. S3 with prison/ANC colleagues S4 with Thabo Mbeki.
<b>Situational Apprentice -ship Styles AS1-AS4</b>	AS1/AS2 with Mohlomi. AS3 as chief’s son in <i>pitso</i> , using Mohlomi’s concepts. AS4 in pioneering new tribe.	AS1 with Khoi mentor-Adams? AS2 with De la Rey in early commando days. AS3 with Botha in South West campaign. AS4 as state attorney & later Botha’s deputy.	AS1 in early days of ANC. AS2 with ANC Executive while president Youth League. AS3 with Sisulu as a young man. AS4 in forming MK.
<b>Values</b>	Unity & restoration; forgiveness, magnanimity & reconciliation; peace, service & <i>ubuntu</i> ; calculated humility.	Trust & unity expressed in natural development; reconciliation; loyalty to friends & magnanimity.	Unity; reconciliation; magnanimity; forgiveness (even-handedness); humility; strategic conciliation (negotiation / compromise)
<b>Transcultural Ability</b>	Traditional wisdom; Christian teachings – reconciliation; familial model – grandfather son of Nguni; contact with many peoples of Lesotho highveld & Kingdom founded on this.	Contact with English in law studies at Cambridge, England; holism; Christian teachings - reconciliation; political pragmatism.	Thembu royal court. Role model of father /amaMfengu brothers; tribal concept of <i>ubuntu</i> ; Christian forgiveness/ reconciliation; liberation culture of tolerance; <i>Satyagraha</i> .
<b>Political / Christian Conviction</b>	African traditional religion / Christianity / Synthesis of the two.	Holism; love of nature; Christianity; evolutionary creationist.	Christianity; African nationalism; traditional concepts of brotherhood/solidarity – <i>ubuntu</i> .

***The historical context of the three political leadership models***

Each of these leaders assessment began with a section titled, *A brief commentary on the life and rise to leadership...*, which provided a perspective on each leader's life and the historical context of each. From these can be gleaned a contextual understanding but beyond this it may be helpful to add a few brief pertinent thoughts on the historical context.

Critical to understanding Moshoeshoe's context is an understanding that his new tribe was the antithesis of the raiding sectarianism of his day, which was exemplified by the *Mfekane* and violent raiding of the Ndebele and Zulu (the Nguni) warriors. What is striking is that, despite the necessity of adopting Sotho customs as a standard in his new tribe, there was a breadth of diversity incorporated into his new *tribe* that was never before seen on quite such a scale. In Moshoeshoe's new kingdom there was also a tolerance for those living in the outer marches, who were allowed to retain their own tribal customs. In order to build a new inter-tribal Kingdom, new concepts of nationhood and a new morality were employed by Moshoeshoe seen within the tribal framework of the *Nkosi* or the *Morena e Moholo* and consensus seeking, while all the time employing Christian concepts that reinforced the traditional wisdom.

In the case of Smuts, his early years were set in the divided and antagonistic context of Anglo-Boer relations. It is however important to remember his personal close associations with British Southern African roots before this in his studying law at Cambridge. In order to dispense with acrimony and bitterness towards the British overlords he sought to build a new nation based on a common white South African understanding. His failure, as has been clearly stated, was his inability to see beyond a coming together of the two white races to include his fellow black, Indian and coloured South Africans. This inability was inspired by a paternalistic outlook, an attitude that was not uncommon in his day, but was held by the Western powers towards all the indigenous peoples in their colonies.

With Mandela, the timing of his direct national leadership is more akin to present day Southern Africa. Particularly his emphasis on reconciliation and partnering in coalition can be seen as key ingredients in the ongoing development of a new national identity. The societal norms as Madiba came out of prison were such that the average South African did not perceive that such a national fusion was possible. The expectation was of an amorphous conglomerate, or worse still, an illegitimate child of no cultural distinction. Yet Mandela was able to recognise – beyond the bloodshed of the Zulu and Afrikaner, the ANC and PAC – a nation through whose veins flowed pride instead of hate; a nation who would achieve the hitherto impossible: peace in Madiba's time.

***A brief comparative analysis and initial application of the three political models***

In comparing and contrasting the three political leadership models of Moshoeshoe, Smuts and Mandela, there is a striking resemblance among the three. Firstly, each had a close association with a smaller group in their military and/or political activities. For Moshoeshoe his *Matlama* may have been of a moderate size, but still comprised of a smaller group of loyal followers from his circumcision class. Smuts' commando formed a small, mobile and loyal group of fighting men, and Mandela's was displayed in the cell structure of the MK and the ANC High Organ in the confines of Robben Island. Each leader developed new structures, even if for Smuts this was in the main true in the international arena, choosing to use traditional structures and/or adapting them at home.

Each of them showed that they could operate with more than one dominant style and each of them displayed the various situational leadership and apprenticeship styles (S1 to S4; AS1 to AS4 – see Figures 1.1 and 1.2 on page 11) required in different situations. Though a certain degree of conjecture has been applied, it appears Smuts jumped directly to AS2 in his situational apprenticeship style, possibly a function of his sheer brilliance and/or his early learning from his Khoi mentor – Outa Adams – in some regards. Smuts' shows a further gap with no record being found of his exercising an S2 style of leadership, which indicates a certain lack in his leadership arsenal due to his aversion for delegation, which neither Mandela nor Moshoeshoe suffered from.

Their values significantly overlap, with all three displaying national unity, reconciliation, magnanimity and forgiveness, while Moshoeshoe and Mandela both displayed a capacity for calculated humility or strategic conciliation that was part of their political strategy. Each had an ability beyond the norms of the day to cross the socio-political boundaries, which was motivated in part by their Christian convictions, even if Smuts was unable to cross the black/white divide. However beyond their Christian beliefs, the other bases to their transcultural abilities varied significantly apart from an overlap for Moshoeshoe and Madiba in tribal concepts of *ubuntu*. Yet on a pragmatic level each was impacted at a young age by the example of others and/or because of their contact with other tribes/ethnicities. For each man his Christian faith was very personal, even if Moshoeshoe's, Smuts' and Madiba's faith and/or conversion are thought to be hanging in the balance (a perspective this thesis has to some extent disproved, if not entirely in the case of Madiba).

Each sought a greater national unity based upon the concept of a synthesis of the tribes and/or ethnic groups represented. In Moshoeshoe's case this is perhaps seen most clearly, in part because of the time that has elapsed since his death, but also because of the success of the founding vision of the first King of Basutoland (now the Kingdom of Lesotho) to produce a kingdom identity within a highly disparate group of tribes and outcasts of society. The protégé of that vision, today would all call themselves singularly Basotho, even if their roots are still discernable. Beyond the fact that even Khoi-Khoi and perhaps a few whites were part of Moshoeshoe's kingdom, Mandela's vision of a new patriotism that will foster a new national identity is perhaps the most far-reaching of all three visions. Unlike Smuts he included all South African's in his and Tutu's dream of a Rainbow Nation who would in their values and conduct welcome all South Africans.

There are many useful implications, for today's Southern African city context, raised by this tabulated analysis of the three political models of leadership, such as the significance of a small group/cell structure and the coalition-networks/equal partnerships on the micro and macro-levels respectively, seen in each leader's life, as well as the need to develop new relevant structures to both counteract and cater for a progressively more individualistic Southern African postmodern society. From a brief survey of Table 4.5.1 it would appear that a highly versatile, yet at times executive leadership style is required. Values of reconciliation, forgiveness, and magnanimity may be as necessary to heal the internal wounds of this generation as they were the more external ones of Mandela's presidency.

With these brief thoughts, any initial inputs into a proposed multicultural model of leadership will be reviewed in more detail later, at the end of chapter 5; an initial synthesis of the model (tabulated format) will be delayed till chapter 6; and a detailed analysis and investigation into the implications of this multicultural model will be delayed till Chapter 7.